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ENVER HOXHA

SELECTED WORKS

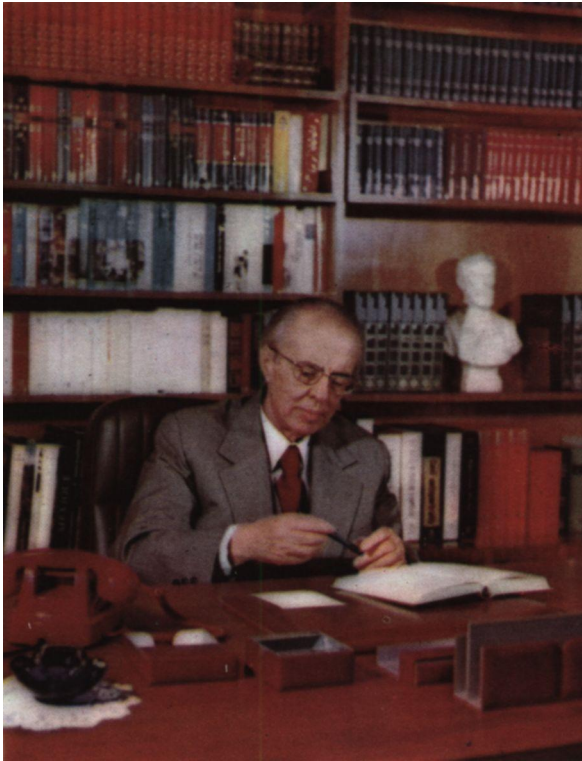
VI

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

ENVER HOXHA

SELECTED WORKS

PUBLISHED BY DECISION OF THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF
LABOUR OF ALBANIA



ENVER HOXHA

THE INSTITUTE OF MARXIST-LENINIST STUDIES
AT THE CC OF THE PLA

ENVER HOXHA

VOLUME

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FOREWORD

The 6th volume of Comrade Enver Hoxha's Selected Works, the last of the series in foreign languages, includes materials of the period 1980-1984.

The conversations, contributions to discussion, speeches, and notes, part of which are already available for the reader in foreign languages, are extracted from the volumes of Collected Works, the Diary, the volumes «Reports and Speeches» and thematic publications. This volume also includes articles and selections from Comrade Enver Hoxha's books of memoirs, which were published in this period, «The Khrushchevites», «When the Party Was Born», «The Anglo-American Threat to Albania», «The Titoites», and «Laying the Foundations of the New Albania».

Through the materials of this volume the reader acquaints himself with the work and efforts of the Albanian people for the advance of the country further on the road of socialism, with the consistent revolutionary struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania in defence of the Homeland and the victories of the people's state power. These questions, together with those of the development of science, education and culture, are treated in the context of the struggle against the ideological, political and economic pressure of imperialism, social-imperialism and revisionisms of all hues.

The selections from memoirs deal with the efforts for the mobilization of the Albanian people in the struggle for

the liberation of the country and the establishment of the people's state power, the struggle waged by the PLA against outside interference in the internal affairs of Albania and the subversive secret activity of foreign enemies against socialism in Albania, as well as questions of the struggle against modern revisionism, etc. The excerpts from the book, «When the Party Was Born», which is published for the first time for the foreign reader, describes the experience of the struggle of the Albanian communists for the formation of the Communist Party of Albania.

Some materials of this volume reflect the intensive work of the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha in drafting a five-year plan based entirely on our own forces and internal possibilities, without aid and credits from abroad. Here the reader will find theoretical generalizations and practical solutions to many current problems of the economic and social development of the country and the summing up of a comprehensive theoretical and practical work about problems of the perspective development of the economy on the road of socialism.

This volume highlights Comrade Enver Hoxha's economic thinking on questions of the development of the economy, such as the development of industry, the intensification of agriculture, the gradual transformation of property of the group into the property of the whole people, and the further improvement of the socialist relations of production. Also, it deals with questions connected closely with the psychology of people, with the communist education of the working people and the strengthening of their socialist consciousness. Some of the materials explain the relationship between the general interest and the personal interest, between the development of the city and the advance of the rural area, between understanding and applying the laws ruling production and distribution, the circulation of goods and currency in socialism, and the role

which work, discipline at work and active creativeness of the masses play in the process of the building of socialism. Likewise, they stress the importance of the historical conditions of the country and the proper assimilation of the Marxist-Leninist theory, deal with the relationship between this science and other sciences, the connection between science and technique, the views of bourgeois theoreticians on this question, etc.

This volume contains profound Marxist-Leninist analyses of the current world development. In its pages it reflects the stand of the PLA towards capital questions confronting the peoples and the Marxist-Leninist, revolutionary and liberation movements today. Having a profound knowledge of the political developments in the world and interpreting them on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Enver Hoxha reaches revolutionary conclusions, points out the major contradictions eroding the capitalist system from within, analyses the many-sided crises afflicting this system, and widens the scope of the struggle of the proletariat and the peoples. The writings of this volume specially expose the expansionist and hegemonic policy of the superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union.

Important questions dealt with in this volume are the struggle of the peoples, the genuine Marxist-Leninist forces and the revolutionary proletariat against capitalism and imperialism, the stand to be maintained towards imperialist war, towards chauvinism and national oppression in the capitalist and revisionist countries, as well as the elements determining the creation of the objective and subjective conditions and factors for the outbreak of the revolution and national liberation wars, as a constituent part of it, and the class which should emerge in the lead and guide them. Attention is devoted to the study, mastering and creative application of Marxism-Leninism, the creation of alliances

in favour of the revolution, the work Marxist-Leninists must carry out with the masses, among the unemployed, the youth, and the ranks of the bourgeois army.

Emphasis is laid on the work the Marxist-Leninist party must carry out among the working class to help it to find the road towards the revolution and not to allow itself to be split and manipulated, to avoid playing the game of reaction and reformism. Of great value are the conclusions about how to exploit the national moment in various countries and to expose the diversionist and mystifying methods of the bourgeoisie to lead the youth into the impasse of terrorism and to alienate the masses from the revolution by identifying terrorist acts with the true revolutionary activity.

Comrade Enver Hoxha opposes the various anti-scientific and reactionary theories which try to prove that socialism can be built under the guidance of any ideology — reformist, opportunist, or even fascist. He argues how the revolution can be carried out and the exploiting classes liquidated, how the independence and the victories achieved can be defended and further strengthened and true socialism, without debts and credits, be built with success, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

Relying strongly on the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Enver Hoxha analyses and argues with convincing facts the basis of the successes in Albania, explains where the strength of the policy pursued by the PLA and the Albanian socialist state lies. He exposes the aim of hostile slogans and propaganda about the so-called self-isolation of Albania and points out clearly the strategy of the capitalist, imperialist and social-imperialist states towards it.

The materials of this volume, like those of the previous volumes of Selected Works, reflect the experience of the PLA in the struggle for the construction of socialism in

Albania and the defence of the common cause of the proletariat and the peoples. They reveal clearly the defence of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and their profound understanding and creative implementation by the PLA on the basis of the concrete conditions of Albania.

THE GREAT WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS IS INTENSIFYING

July 1, 1980

The great world economic crisis which has a stranglehold especially on the two imperialist superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, as well as on the industrialized countries, Japan, Federal Germany, France, Britain, Canada, Italy, and others like Maoist China, Titoite Yugoslavia, the member countries of the Comecon, etc., is getting deeper and deeper every day. It is fraught with grave consequences for all the states dependent on international capital.

This major economic crisis is **a crisis of overproduction, of the industrial boom* but, at the same time, it has caused a profound crisis in production.** In fact, in all the capitalist and revisionist countries it has led to increased unemployment, inflation, price rises, etc. This means that, at present, production has fallen and the struggle has begun to clear stocks of goods. However the capitalist bourgeoisie does not clear these stocks of goods by reducing prices, but by turning the workers out on the streets, that is, by slowing down production. So, since capitalist industry no longer functions at its former level of productivity, the crisis of raw materials emerges. This crisis, likewise, is very grave and is accompanied with the colossal

* English in the original.

inter-imperialist struggle for markets. This struggle, sometimes open and sometimes subversive, is accompanied with an increase in military budgets and sophisticated conventional and nuclear weapons to levels incomparably higher than ever before.

The United States of America, the Soviet Union, China and other imperialist powers have become the most frenzied inciters of a new imperialist world war. Their hegemonic policy, their eagerness to preserve the existing imperialist status quo on the one hand, and to redive the spheres of influence on the other hand, have deepened and aggravated the contradictions among the great powers themselves and between them and their partners in crime, in their exploitation of other peoples, and so have created new conflicts.

The economic, political and military relations in the various imperialist and revisionist groupings have been shaken. The members of these groupings are striving to cause, to find and to exploit various splits and in this way to formulate excuses for refusing to adhere to commitments, treaties and agreements, which exist among them.

At present **the struggle of the peoples who are oppressed and exploited by world capital in crisis has assumed proportions and a variety of forms never seen before.** This is precisely the true source of the great economic crisis which has engulfed the capitalist and revisionist world. On the surface, it seems as if the armed conflicts, the conflicts in the field of economic-financial relations, the great energy crisis and so on are only between capitalist states, but in fact the origin of these conflicts is more deep-seated and is eroding the bourgeois capitalist state which is striving to defend itself, to stay alive, to heal its numerous wounds, etc. **The force which is eroding the beourgeois capitalist state is the struggle in all forms and at all levels that the peoples are waging all over the world.**

In one way or another, here with greater there with lesser intensity, the working class and all the exploited are aware of and fighting against all forms of the capitalist regime, either local or international, which is exploiting, impoverishing and oppressing them economically and morally. Hence, there is great discontent and revolt among the peoples of the world.

In almost all the capitalist countries today strikes involving millions of people are taking place, there are fierce clashes with the forces of law and order, there are armed revolts, but also military putsches, acts of terrorism and anarchism organized by the ruling bourgeois capitalist governments, there is a colossal amount of smuggling and theft organized on a national and international scale, there is an unlimited and monstrous development of political, moral and physical corruption. Thus the way is being prepared for fascism to come to power.

Today we are living in the period of the decay of capitalism, of the weakening, disintegration and bankruptcy of this system, this degenerate society. There is no way out of this chaos, this filth, other than the revolution, the surgical removal of the rotten tissue, the seizure of state power by the working class, which has the mission to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. What Lenin said about this process is being confirmed and it will certainly take place.

American imperialism with its chief, President Carter, is facing major difficulties in its policy, in the economy, in its alliances and colonies. American imperialism does not know which way to turn, how to cope with the dangers which are threatening it and increasing day by day. Thus it finds itself seized in an iron grip from which it is trying to free itself by applying an insane policy of intimidation, blackmail, economic and political pressure, open military intervention and subversive activities, etc.

In regard to current events it must be said that the struggle of the Iranian people during these last two or three years against the Shah and the United States of America is a heavy blow to American imperialism. **The crisis of Iran is the crisis of the United States of America.** Before this the peoples of the world were acquainted with the barbarous policy of the United States of America and its savage methods of domination and plunder, but in Iran they saw them still more clearly. The tool of the American imperialists in Iran was the Shah and his clique, murderers of the people. For decades on end, the external robbers in alliance with the internal robbers, the murderers and blood-suckers of the Iranian people, the Shah's government and administration under the direction of Washington, through the American embassy in Teheran, made the law in Iran in full accord with one another.

In the end, however, the Iranian people rose in revolution, swept the Shah from the face of the earth with the iron broom and captured and imprisoned all the spies of the American embassy who operated under the cloak of diplomats. For more than nine months now, the so-called diplomats of a great power which makes the law in the world have been in prison. *O tempora! O mores!* This could not happen in earlier times, but it has happened now and it is happening also to others besides the Americans, in other countries.

The United States of America suffered a major political defeat, which it is unable to repair either through diplomatic channels and economic blackmail, or through military intervention, as it attempted to do and failed with its air commandos in April at Tabas. In Iran the United States of America lost one of its most important sources of oil and energy and colossal profits. It lost the confidence of its Arab «allies» of the Persian Gulf, the American-Egyptian-Israeli agreement reached at Camp

David was shaken, *zizanies** and open and underground disagreements with its NATO partners emerged.

In these situations the Soviet Union whets its teeth and bites. It occupied Afghanistan and is driving wedges into NATO, etc. At the same time the contradictions between the Soviet Union and the United States of America are being deepened. Outwardly the Warsaw Treaty seems «monolithic», while cracks are showing up within NATO, «United Europe» and the European Common Market. The cracks are just as great within Comecon and the Warsaw Treaty, but there the Soviet army has a stranglehold on the «allies» of the Soviet Union, while the United States of America is losing its former influence over its «allies», especially over France and Federal Germany. «Meté, Meté, every man for himself,» our people say. When it wins, the United States of America wants to be the first to take the lion's share of the profits, while when it loses it wants the «allies» to pay for the losses, that is, to share its misfortunes and defeats.

But the law of the jungle operates; the capitalist will see you hanged, but will not come to your aid.

The France of De Gaulle and d'Estaing is in NATO and is not in NATO. It removed the NATO bases, that is, the American bases, from French soil, strengthened its army independently, built the atomic and hydrogen bomb and now recently the neutron bomb, too, and does not submit to the American dictate on this question. The current French policy proceeds from the position «better to prepare to defend myself first than wait for the United States of America to defend me late in the day.» This constitutes a breach between France and the United States of America. In recent months the United States of America and Carter have done their utmost to ensure that

* Quarrels (French in the original).

France and Federal Germany, especially, are united with them in all their actions against Iran.

Paris and Bonn condemned in principle the holding of the American diplomats as hostages by the Iranians, but they did not agree with the economic sanctions proposed by the United States of America against Iran, hence, they left it in the lurch. This is another breach between the United States of America and France and Federal Germany. The United States of America condemned the occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union. China and NATO also condemned this occupation. We condemned it, too, but not from their positions and aims. Tomorrow they will come to terms with the Soviets over this question, while we will never do such a thing.

As a sanction against the Soviet Union over the question of Afghanistan, President Carter declared a boycott of the Olympic games, which are to be held these days in Moscow, and demanded that all the others boycott them, too, but a majority of states, including France and even Italy which sent an allegedly unofficial team pi athletes to Moscow, left him in the lurch once again.

France went even further. Completely ignoring the United States of America, President Giscard d'Estaing met Brezhnev in Warsaw. Giscard made official visits to several countries of the Middle East where, in public speeches, he expressed doubts about the American-Egyptian-Israeli Camp David compromise and presented some flabby alternative formulations about the rights of the Palestinian people. This is another breach between the United States of America and France.

Even after these defeats Carter proposed that the United States of America should deploy some new «Pershing-2» and «Cruise» nuclear missiles in Europe for the «defence» of European NATO partners.

This proposal which Carter tried to impose was

rejected both by Giscard and by the German Chancellor Schmidt. Why? Apparently from fear that if the United States of America deploys its new missiles in Europe, the Soviet Union will match this by deploying its new «SS-20» nuclear missiles in the countries of the Warsaw Treaty. For this reason Schmidt is to go to Moscow soon and it is said that he will demand from the Soviets a moratorium for three years on the question of the deployment of new missiles in Europe. Carter was angry and wrote to Schmidt telling him not to go to Moscow to discuss the question of the deployment of new missiles. But Schmidt was unmoved and responded negatively to Carter's letter. Indeed, in regard to this letter Schmidt made the following declaration to the American newspaper *Washington Post*: «For 20 years it has been my custom to express my opinions without asking leave of anybody else», that is, I have no intention of asking leave of Carter now. This whole issue speaks of «unity» between France and Federal Germany and of rifts between them and the United States of America.

«United Europe» is no longer united in itself. The quarrels, rivalries, and opposing interests of each state of this so-called European Community are increasing to the extent that its very existence is in jeopardy. Britain, the most faithful ally of the United States of America, is refusing to pay the quota allocated by the European Common Market. Naturally neither Bonn nor Paris like this. France agrees that Greece should be readmitted to the military structures of NATO and become a member of the European Common Market, but it is against the admission of Spain and Portugal. Giscard knows that the admission of the Iberian states to the Western fold will bring difficulties for the sale of French agricultural products. On the other hand the Iberian Peninsula which, in reality, is an American military base, if admitted to the

NATO, becomes a new ally of the United States of America in Europe, on the side of Britain.

The contradictions between the United States of America and the industrialized European states were unfurled in the meeting of the heads of state and government of the main industrialized countries of the world which was held at the end of June in Venice. In the middle of the meeting, which was held in a monastery in an island of the Lagoon of Venice, a «small diplomatic meteorite» for Giscard and some others arrived from Moscow. Moscow announced that it was withdrawing a division of soldiers and 100 tanks from Afghanistan, leaving there 10 other divisions, if not more. Thus Moscow tossed a pebble into the stagnant pool, but the ripple it caused soon died away. It was a diplomatic manoeuvre, but short-lived. Cossiga asked Moscow to withdraw the remainder of its troops from Afghanistan, too, but it uncovered its batteries and showed its teeth, replying that far from withdrawing more troops from Afghanistan, it might, if need be, send other troops there.

Soviet social-imperialism is mounting arrogant attacks on the enemy camp which finds itself in difficulties. The Soviet leaders intend to use Giscard and Schmidt for this purpose, but to what extent and for how long, this remains to be seen. It is true that the Soviet sword is long but the others, too, are keeping their daggers drawn. **In this great cauldron which is boiling, in this big fire which is burning world capitalism, the national liberation struggles, the objective and subjective factors are increasing, mounting, expanding in quantity and rising in quality. The peoples of the world are moving.** Irrespective of the manipulations of the various ideologies in the service of capital, the world proletariat is fighting and leading the class struggle.

Viewing the situation as a whole with a Marxist-

Leninist eye, it can be seen that the class struggle is being waged in every corner of the world in classical and non-classical forms. Everywhere the peoples are extremely anxious and worried. Their discontent and anger at the oppressive forces, whether national or foreign, are increasing, mounting, taking specific material shape. Regardless of who is leading the national liberation armed struggles of the peoples, the blood of the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence reflects their hatred and wrath against local and foreign capitalist oppression, and in the course of these struggles the peoples distinguish the anti-popular stands of individuals or groups, and form alliances with the most progressive and most revolutionary forces. In every movement, in every demonstration or strike, in every public, political or economic manifestation, it is impossible not to protest against the destructive effects of the grave crises and not to put the finger on the persons responsible for the exploitation and oppression of the peoples, the forces which want the destruction of mankind.

In the capitalist and revisionist countries with one pseudo-communist party, with two or more pseudo-democratic parties, despite the efforts of these parties to lay the blame on each other, and despite the bourgeois states, separately or in groups, trying to put the blame on one another, nothing is changing; the oppression of the peoples continues, but their anger and revolt continue to mount as well. This anger and revolt are hitting the capitalist and revisionist bourgeoisie in various forms and with different intensities.

The peoples see that predatory imperialist war is threatening them. They understand who is preparing this war, who pays the cost of it and who profits from this war. Two phenomena stand out in this situation: there are some who are still afraid of imperialist war, there are others who fight against it. In the final analysis, however,

in various forms, the peoples are joining in the struggle of active resistance, in the initial stages of the national liberation war, in sabotaging and stopping the imperialist war and, in the end, are hurling themselves into revolution. The movements of opposition which are taking place in the world must not be judged from the standpoint of bourgeois governments and their parties which try to manipulate the peoples; it is necessary to see the essence of the problem, the resistance and the fundamental direction of the peoples' political or economic demands, which force the capitalist bourgeois leaderships either to take draconian repressive measures against these movements, or in order to restabilize their already shaken situation, to shift sometimes in one, sometimes in another direction and rely on one or the other superpower.

The Marxist-Leninists must master historical materialism and apply it in practice. They must see the development of the world and the changes occurring in it from the angle of Marxism-Leninism. He who upholds the occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet social-imperialists and considers it a just and necessary action cannot be considered a Marxist, he is an anti-Marxist. Those self-styled Marxist-Leninists who try to «argue» that the Afghan people and the elements of the middle and even of the top bourgeoisie who fight against the Soviet occupiers should not be described as patriots cannot be called Marxists, they are anti-Marxists. He who thinks and acts in this way has understood nothing of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on alliances, on national liberation fronts and struggles. Likewise the thoughts and actions of some «communist» comrades abroad who fail to see the anti-imperialist aspects of the struggle of the Arab peoples, the Iranian people and the Moslem world cannot be called Marxist-Leninist thoughts and actions. To underestimate these anti-imperialist moments, to fail to make the most

of them and display «orthodoxy» by demanding that these peoples in revolution abandon belief in their religion, and the customs and habits which derive from it almost at once, shows at least Marxist-Leninist ideological immaturity.

As the events in Iran prove, the masses of the people play an important and decisive role in carrying out the revolution. It was they who placed themselves in the forefront of the fight, overthrew the feudal monarchy of the Pahlevis and dealt powerful blows at imperialism. However we cannot say that they have triumphed and their struggle can be carried forward with the blind mediaeval fanaticism of the Ayatollahs. The communists must support and help the revolutionary masses and the progressive forces in their struggle. The struggle they are waging at present creates conditions for the communists to go among the masses, to work for their correct education, to deepen their own Marxist-Leninist ideological world outlook, to rely on the revolutionary people and on the working class, in the first place, and to be able to make use of every situation favourable for the revolution.

This is how the process of the development of the struggle of the peoples must be understood and followed. It is a grave error to confound and identify the sentiments of the peoples, whatever they are, with those of the bourgeois capitalist groups in power in a particular country. The people of Egypt, for example, cannot and must not be identified with Sadat and his clique, who until yesterday were in the service of the Soviets and have placed themselves in the service of the Americans today...

The Marxist-Leninist communists must be able to make correct analyses, to determine the proper strategy and tactics, to form alliances in favour of the revolution, to undertake correct revolutionary actions and not adventures and see all these from the standpoint of the Marxist-Leninist theory, because only in this way can one

serve the liberation of the peoples from capitalism and make revolution.

National liberation wars are just wars. They break out when the objective and subjective factors exist and have matured. The Marxist-Leninists themselves must help in the creation of these factors. The Marxist-Leninists must never sit idle and not take part in the just wars, either as parties, or as groups when they are not yet organized as parties, or as individual fighters. They must never stand aloof from the masses who are fighting for social and national liberation, but while fighting in their midst, they must confirm their communist convictions, organize themselves and place the working class in the leadership. Even when they are not organized, they must emerge in the vanguard of the masses through their struggle and sacrifices, so that the national liberation war advances towards its minimal objectives, and then goes on to its ultimate objectives.

The creation of conditions for the outbreak of national liberation wars does not depend on the will of one or the other personality. It is the objective and subjective situations that cause the outbreak of the national liberation wars which are a high level form of the class struggle. That class which emerges in the forefront and leads the national liberation war is the most progressive, the decisive factor. The working class is the most progressive of the progressive classes. It must assume the leadership of the liberation war. If at the outset of the war it has not ensured its leading position, it must stand in the forefront of the fighting and sacrifices, because only in this way can it take over the political and military leadership, ensure the fulfilment of the objectives of the national liberation war and realize its own desires.

In the situation developing in the world today, the Marxist-Leninist parties, the working class and its possible

allies, the broad strata of the peasantry and the progressive intelligentsia, must not only see clearly the danger of a new imperialist world war, but also organize themselves and assert their will in a thousand forms, in order to stop this destructive war, to expose the demagogy and falsity of the «democratic» slogans of enslaving capital and to free themselves from the restrictive chains of the various pseudo-democratic and pseudo-popular parties set up by the bourgeoisie.

At all times it is necessary to study carefully, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, every situation that is created in each country and in the ranks of each people, to draw conclusions and come out with revolutionary progressive joint actions. Nothing must escape the revolutionary eye of those who fight for the great cause of their own people and all peoples. The Marxist-Leninists must utilize every development of the situation. This is a struggle which must be waged every day, because in this way the great avalanche of the revolution will sweep away the enemies of the peoples, and bring freedom, progress, and socialist society and eventually communist society.

Therefore, in this great economic crisis of world capitalism the Marxist-Leninist communists, wherever they are in the world, must clearly define their line and stands and know how to apply this line in practice. In these highly complicated situations in which there are clashes of the interests of classes which are not separated by clearcut divisions, but are interlinked and interdependent, only a genuine Marxist-Leninist communist party can see clearly where the advantages and where the disadvantages lie, distinguish enemies from friends, know with whom to unite, against whom and how they must fight and carry this war forward, etc.

«The Superpowers»

THE WORK OF THE PARTY SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD AS A SCIENCE AND APPLIED SCIENTIFICALLY

*From the talk with the members of the Bureau of the
Party Committee and some cadres of the district of Korça*

July 18, 1980

I am happy to meet you comrades, responsible cadres of the Party and state here, in Korça. This meeting gives me the opportunity to acquaint myself with the work and life of the Party and your work in the district and to exchange some opinions. You comrades of the base have great experience in work, therefore I would like you to help me with your valuable opinions and experience. Without the aid of the base the leadership will be left like a fish out of water, as the saying goes, and I say this not out of modesty, but because it is a reality. Therefore, do not think I have come to this meeting to give you advice or special instructions. No. I think that the mutual exchange of opinions is very important, and while acquainting ourselves with the work of the Party and the state in your district, together we shall make some generalizations and reach some conclusions to carry the work further ahead. That is, we should assist one another. For me it is important to acquaint myself concretely with some key problems of first-rate importance for the development of industry and agriculture and science and culture generally, here

in Korça, because all the activity and the work of the Party and state in the district is reflected precisely in those sectors.

After the first secretary of the Party Committee of the district of Korça informed Comrade Enver Hoxha about the sound moral-political situation of the people in the district of Korça, about the mobilization of the working class and the cooperativist peasantry in the struggle to fulfil the state plan, the work being done for the education of communists and workers, the fulfilment of tasks in defence works and military training, and about the increase of the ranks of the Party with new blood, Comrade Enver Hoxha took the floor again:

In general, I, too, agree with the analysis of the problems which the first secretary of the Party Committee of the district presented, and I think that he dealt clearly with those problems which are concerning the Party in the district and in the whole country. His outline gave me an accurate general idea from which I assume that you here in Korça see the problems clearly, not only from the theoretical stand-point, but also in regard to putting the directives of the Party into practice. The leadership of the Party knows your situation, but from the outline that was presented I have gained further information that the leading activity of the Party here in the district has yielded satisfactory results which are tangible and which can be seen in the progressive development of the economy, in the improved well-being of the people and in the enhanced moral-political and educational level of the broad working masses of town and countryside, of the working class, the cooperativists and the people's intelligentsia.

Of course, just as you comrade secretary said, however much progress we make, there still remains much to be done. Bearing in mind the present stage of the development of our country, that is, the high stage of the construction of socialism, as well as the international situation, our Party and its levers are faced with the task of passing, on the basis of these achievements, from this stage to another even higher, more perfected stage of the work, of organization and ideo-political and cultural uplift, in order to give the development and strengthening of the economy and the whole of our socialist society a much greater impetus than in the past.

As you know, as a result of this concern of the Party, the objective of the recent meeting of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party (1) was the further development of science and technique and scientific-research work in our country. At this exceptionally important Plenum which is, you might say, the prelude to the coming Congress of our Party, which will be held next year, the Central Committee of the Party based itself on those orientations which we must carry out and which I mentioned earlier: the transition from the present stage to a higher, more advanced stage, and in the shortest time possible.

I believe you are preparing to examine and discuss the materials of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party in the proper way. This is not a simple matter that can be passed over superficially and easily, without going into it thoroughly, but on the contrary, here we have to do with a very important problem. For this reason, it is necessary to delve thoroughly into those materials, because, as we pointed out at the Plenum, all of us must

1 The 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA which held its proceedings from 24-25 June 1980 (See Enver Hoxha, Selected Works, vol. 5, «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1985, p. 1006, Eng. ed.).

analyse the existing situation thoroughly, looking at it from all angles, and then carefully calculate the 6step forward that we must take.

Science and technical-scientific progress should not be considered an aim in themselves. They are not so for our Party and state. Here we are not talking about pure science, science for the sake of science. No, we are talking about an advanced science which must find concrete application and yield results in the conditions of our country. Being Marxist-Leninists, we are not permitted to overreach ourselves, but must carefully measure the steps forward we take, bearing well in mind our real possibilities.

World science has made considerable advance in many directions, important new discoveries have been made in every field, from atomic energy to cybernetics, and likewise, major discoveries have been made in agriculture, in medicine, etc., etc. Naturally, parallel with these discoveries, the respective techniques have been developed everywhere in order to put such advanced science into practice. We, too, are advancing towards such development, but, of course, in conformity with our possibilities and forces. This does not in any way mean that our scientific workers should not further develop their knowledge; they must go ahead in step with the major discoveries of the time and make persistent and tireless efforts to master the new knowledge and discoveries in every field of science. It is important to bear in mind the fact that by thoroughly and extensively assimilating the new developments of world science, our workers of various fields of science will be able to apply them from time to time, in rational ways, in the conditions of our country. This undoubtedly will give a great impulse to our economic, scientific and ideological development and will enable our country, within a shorter time, to achieve great results for which others needed more time.

We are not against positive scientific results achieved by others. The mastering and development of science have nothing to do with whether this or that law or something else was discovered by such and such a chemist or physicist. Irrespective that they were bourgeois professors, Niels Bohr and Enrico Fermi, who worked in the atomic field, with the discoveries they made themselves, and many other famous scientists like the Curies, who made the first discoveries in the field of radioactivity, contributed valuable knowledge to the whole of mankind. We must master this knowledge and use it to the benefit of the people. In the capitalist-revisionist countries, science and technical-scientific development have been monopolized by the capitalists and revisionists, who use it not in the interests of society and mankind, but in order to exploit the masses, to dominate and enslave peoples.

The reason that we gave this direction to the proceedings of the recent Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party is that in this way we want to shake up the Party and all the state organs, and the organs of the economy and culture, and free them of many remnants of self-satisfaction and routine, liberalism and bureaucracy, we want to tell the Party that we will proceed on paths already opened, but with even greater strength, energy and clarity, that we shall place science and technical progress more effectively in the service of the development of the economy, the education of the new man and the strengthening of the defence of our country.

In order to achieve successes in these fields, however, the work of the Party must be conceived as a science and applied scientifically. The comrade secretary did well to devote a major part of his outline to the work of the Party, first of all. It is science to know how to work to master the line of the Party; likewise, it is science to know how to apply it. The communists work among the

people at large in industry, in agriculture, in education, in culture, in the army, and so on, in other words, in all sectors of life. Therefore, we must understand that the work of the Party is that spiritual force which raises the consciousness of the communist to such a scale that he carries out the task which is entrusted to him properly.

It is the duty of the communist to carry the socialist revolution continuously forward, to ensure that the well-being of the people is raised to an ever higher level, in order to have healthy people developed from every standpoint. All this party work must be understood and guided by the Marxist-Leninist ideology, by dialectical and historical materialism, while bearing well in mind the concrete historical conditions of our country, how we have advanced, how we have made the transition from an old feudal-bourgeois society to a socialist society, and how, in the future, we will advance to communism.

Obviously, we must all work with multiplied forces so that our development will make still greater strides forward. Therefore, I stress, the work of the Party must be understood, especially by its apparatuses, as a scientific activity, and not as routine, bureaucratic work.

Let us take, for example, the problem of admissions to the Party. We say that the proportions must be preserved, that there should be such and such percentage of women and girls, workers and cooperativists in the Party, that the distribution of the Party to all sectors must be kept in mind, and so on. As you said, comrade secretary, in the countryside there are basic organizations of the Party in almost all brigades. This is a very important achievement. So, we see that in these directions work is being done and is proceeding according to instructions, but here the question must be asked: how are these problems understood?

Basing myself on the experience of the whole Party, I

think that there is a somewhat bureaucratic and schematic understanding of these key problems of the Party. When we admit women and girls to the Party, we do not do this simply in order to say: «Look, there are women and girls in our Party,» but because they constitute half of our society and because they have raised their all-round level to such a stage that they deserve to be members of the Party. The correct and scientific understanding of the problem lies in this. Or, when we say that the overwhelming majority, the greatest percentage of members of the Party, ought to consist of workers, (2) this means that the working class leads. And it is indisputable that we must apply this principle. But the problem is that it must be understood scientifically. We must admit workers to the Party not just because they are workers, but because they are worthy of it. I say this because there is a category of workers who are called workers, but who leave much to be desired in their work and behaviour. Therefore, when we are discussing admitting a worker to the Party, we must examine his attitude with great care, must examine how he works to apply the directives and orientations of the Party about productivity and costs of production, about discipline, etc., etc., and see whether he really works in such a way as to become an example for all.

Hence, a key problem such as that of admissions to the Party, for example, must not be seen only on the basis of certain figures. Of course, we must keep the percentages in mind, because the Central Committee of the Party has laid them down, and from year to year corrections are made and advice and concrete instructions are given in connection with them. To be brief, what I am getting at is that both in the apparatuses of the Party and in life the

2 In 1986 worker communists made up 39.2 per cent of the membership of the PLA.

work of the Party must be considered one of the most advanced sciences. We see the scientific conclusions based on the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin applied in practice, materialized in the solution of this or that problem by our people; in those cases when someone puts the cart before the horse, that is, when someone is not advancing on the road of the Party, we say to him: «Stop!»

All these questions, seen with a scientific eye by the Party, play an important, even decisive role for the successful application of the whole program of the Party in all sectors of life. This is a program guided and inspired by a revolutionary science, by the Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The problems which the 8th Plenum of the CC of the Party dealt with and the tasks which it set in general outline will become even more concrete at the coming congress of the Party. But I recommend to you and advise you, what I pointed out a little earlier, that in the work which you are doing and will do for the detailed examination of the materials of this Plenum, you should engage in thorough-going revolutionary debate, and not get bogged down in formal discussion. In the meetings which you will hold you will deliver reports, and I am not against this, but they must not be reports for the sake of reports. The purpose of the reports and discussions at these meetings must be to give concrete assistance to the progress of the work. When a person stands up to discuss these major problems of science, which will carry our country forward, he ought to have some set objectives. For example, the turner may have many concrete things to say about his job, about how this or that tool should be made; he may not indulge in «flights of philosophy», but may speak simply about his lathe and give opinions about it. And the turner is able to present and back up these opinions better than, say, the secretary of the party

committee of the district. After presenting the situation, the turner may say: «If we want to advance, comrades, we ought to get the best out of this lathe, ought to do this and that, because the way we are working now, with this discipline not at the proper level, and with this obsolete technology, for example, we can't go ahead.» He might say, «I propose that we should apply another technological process which would be more suitable for our possibilities: the lathe is modern, but let us modernize it further. I propose to the government that we should have some special lathes here in our factory.»

All the opinions and proposals about the problem that is being analysed should be stated courageously. Then we will take them and study them carefully, will see how far we can go and then decide how much we can do. In the end we shall say: We accept this proposal, but not the other, because we don't have the possibilities for the time being, while tomorrow the possibilities might be created for us to accept it. This means that we do not reject a proposal out of hand.

As I said, reports will be delivered, but we are convinced that all the comrades (not only those who speak, but all the others) have plenty of good ideas in their heads. Then, what hinders them from expressing their ideas, from pouring them out as you might say, like those streams which pour water into the rivers, just as they see things? They should express their ideas because the good of the Party and our socialist development require it on all questions, such as those of industry, agriculture, education, defence, etc. In all these sectors, as you know and probably there is no need for me to tell you, there are many places where we must make improvements, strengthen the organization further and make qualitative changes. And this is where the strength of our Party lies. Everyone, every communist, wherever he works, first of all, must thoroughly

master his profession and truly regard it as a weapon to put the life-giving directives of the Party into practice. Communists are able not only to talk, to give advice, but, first of all, to accomplish things, to organize, to propose and to check up. The Party has spoken about all these problems, but now its orders and directives must be put into practice still better.

But, comrades, the application of party directives and the understanding of problems must be measured by the results. You may be a good, honest comrade and may even have a fine record, you may have taken part in the war (and no one denies the contribution which you have made, and your ardent desire is to go on contributing to the Homeland and you ought to continue to do so to the end of your life), but with the passage of time (this is a biological question), although you may have mental strength, your physical strength does not permit you to do the work of a younger person who is able to accomplish the tasks more quickly and better.

Our Party has worked in such a way that it has now created a large number of cadres. Besides them, the broad masses of working people, the workers and cooperativists, have also raised their level. Hence, those getting on in years should open the way to such people prepared by the Party, should open vistas of work, management and organization to them and trust them with responsibility for various questions. In short, we must make sure that the new generation continuously regenerates the immortal work of the Party in positive ways.

Now, after 35-36 years of free socialist life, we cannot say that we do not have experience in our work. The results achieved in all sectors show that we are on the up and up everywhere. Nevertheless, in some directions we have not fulfilled the plans we have set. Someone may ask: «Have we drafted these plans well, or have they been a bit

exaggerated, and have the failures to fulfil them, in some cases come about because they have not been fully studied?» I cannot say that there has always been perfection in the drafting of these plans. No, plans can never be perfect, indeed, there may even be shortcomings in them. But, generally speaking, the five-year plans which we have drafted have always been based on science, therefore they have been scientific. And yet we are conscious that we are far from the application of science in every sector in the carrying out of the plans. Therefore, we must work harder in this direction. In drafting plans we must always base ourselves on science and with careful consideration also rely on advanced experience.

We see, and this is encouraging, that in the agricultural cooperatives and factories there are groups, brigades and individuals who have not only fulfilled, but have also overfulfilled the plans which we have set. Here I do not wish to dwell on how they have overfulfilled the targets, because you certainly know this. We the leadership know the results, while you see concretely how those brigades in the cooperatives and those departments and workers in the factories work, with what will, with what discipline and clear minds they work, with what political clarity they see the targets of the plan, how they decide and what efforts they make to accomplish the tasks without fail. And, in fact, they do overfulfil the targets. But why? In order to gain the limelight, or to further their personal interests? No, these are not the reasons. The reality itself makes this quite clear. In a brigade which manages to take 45 quintals of wheat, or 80 or 90 quintals of maize per hectare, the pay for the workday is the same for all the cooperativists, it is the same, also, as the pay for the members of another brigade of the same economy, which takes 25 or 29 quintals of grain per hectare. Hence, it turns out that it is the general interest of society which

inspires these groups of people, these advanced individuals to achieve high results at work.

Therefore, we must regard the example of the advanced as a great movement, not just to accomplish the economic plans (and this, of course, is basic), but also as a political and ideological problem, as a new platform which has the upper hand of the remnants of the past. In an advanced brigade there may be members who have some hangovers which they express, for example, within the family or even in society. Naturally, they should be corrected so that all advance in every direction. When you see that among the working masses there is a broad political and ideological understanding of the major problem of accomplishing the plan, your heart is warmed and you are convinced that our plan is realistic.

Now the provisional 7th Five-year Plan is being drafted and, as usual, all you comrades of the base have discussed it and given opinions about different figures. The ministries are studying this information which will be passed on to the government, and will then be presented to the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party. The people at the base make the plan and, generally speaking, there is debate there, but there are occasions when there is no debate, and often there is formalism, which without doubt is not a good thing. For such questions as this of the plan, debate and confrontation is absolutely necessary. And if this is done in the correct party spirit (that is, not to reduce the guideline figures, but to raise them, following the example of the advanced), then the plan will not only be real, but will also be accomplished successfully in all aspects.

We must make ourselves familiar with the decisions of the Central Committee of the Party on various problems. The Party does not say that the Central Committee of the Party sees this or that problem correctly in order to boast,

but because, in reality, all the orientations issued are correct. The problem that concerns us now is the organization and management of the work to put them into practice. And it must be understood that this task does not fall on the base alone, but also on the centre, because our problems are closely linked with one another, there is no base divorced from the leadership, and leadership divorced from the base, either in good situations or in difficult situations. There are things which the base does not accomplish for many subjective reasons, but the leadership, too, does not accomplish many things which the base needs, because of lack of good organization, lack of management, check-up, and persistence in solving the problems raised.

The plan which we are drafting now, like all our former plans, is realistic. The communists, the workers, the young and old generations must always bear in mind that at all times the Central Committee of the Party has issued directives and has taken decisions in conformity with the respective situations. It has been and is precisely the development of situations which has compelled the Party to take other, new decisions on various problems. All the directives and decisions of the Central Committee of the Party show this. These things are all connected and make up the links of a single chain. Therefore it is important that not only we, the communists and cadres of our generation, who have drafted and applied these decisions and directives, but also the younger generation should study them, delve into them deeply and link them with one another so that they will be able to understand, analyse and put into practice the decisions taken recently, being very clear about their importance for the progress of our country.

I stress this because there are many comrades who, when they are informed about the decisions of the Plenum

on the problems of science and technique, say: «Ah,... is that all?!» True, the Party has raised these issues at other times, but not in this way because now we aim to achieve another, higher stage of the development of science and technique. Hence, many things have been said and these words have not been carried away by the wind, but they have been applied. On these problems we are not beginning from A, but we have not yet reached Z, that is, communism, to put it figuratively we are about three quarters of the way through the alphabet. In other words, this means we are not without experience in these matters. The line of the Party must be understood in the dialectic of the materialist development of our society.

At this period we have great confidence that the plan we are drafting, and this will be an intensive plan the accomplishment of which will be assisted by the revolutionary enthusiasm of the workers, the decisions of the 8th Plenum and the coming Congress of the Party which will be held in 1981, will be carried out successfully. All our people, from those with a low level to those with extensive all-sided culture, united in a bloc, must put their minds and shoulders to the work, with profound ideological and political understanding, in order to accomplish and overfulfil the targets and to further develop our socialist society.

The 7th Five-year Plan is based on the results achieved up till now, but we shall work to ensure that its accomplishment marks an even greater transformation of our society and that the well-being of the people is raised to a still higher level from every viewpoint, in this way laying the solid foundations for our future plans. Many important problems of energy industry, the mines, nitrogenous fertilizers, and so on, will be considered and studied now for the future plans. So the plan which we are drafting will be an even more powerful base for the future; we are

doing everything for the present and for the future. This, comrades, is how the proceedings of the recent Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party should be understood. Its decisions must never be considered separately from the tasks of the 7th Five-year Plan.

I do not intend to go into details in this short talk with you. It is a fact that we have many successes in our work, but, as you know, we also have shortcomings which you pointed out. We must not underestimate them, because in some places and at certain moments they are fostered also by external pressure. If the Party does not take measures to correct them, if it does not give proper advise and educate the people who make mistakes, then these shortcomings could become dangerous. Hence, if the Party goes to sleep, the shortcomings will certainly get worse and become a great obstacle and, indeed, a danger to our socialist order. «Oh,» someone may say foolishly, «it's only a small mistake that this man made and we shouldn't take any notice of it, because he fought in the war, too.» Don't misunderstand me. I don't say that we should take those who make mistakes to court at every instance. The type of measure which is taken depends on the gravity of the mistake or fault which has been committed. We can excuse even a major mistake when we see that it was made unwittingly by a person who has always been honest, etc., etc. In this case this person ought to be advised, too, and we should be convinced that he will make no further mistakes. But there are some who make mistakes and do not correct themselves, despite the advice they receive. With the passage of time the evil takes deep root in such people, who become dangerous and exert a bad influence on others by setting them on their wrong course. And there are such cases.

The Party must give importance to these problems, because they have to do with the ideo-political education of

our new man. The basic organization of the Party must be a leading vanguard detachment everywhere, in the factory, the agricultural cooperative or brigade, and play its leading role in the solution of every problem. Wherever it functions, the basic organization must urge the masses of workers to accomplish the plans and to be disciplined.

In the first place, the basic organization of the Party leads by means of its members who must be exemplary in every direction, have initiative and carry the masses forward with them to the accomplishment of tasks. With its work it should support the youth, provide possibilities for them to express opinions; it must insist with the leadership of every work centre, factory, agricultural cooperative or institution that the proposal of this comrade or that group of people should be discussed and studied carefully. Some manager of an enterprise or chairman of a cooperative might say: «Oh, let it be,» but the secretary of the organization should reply: «No, you must not leave the office without listening carefully to everything I am putting before you; if it seems to you that I am wrong, refute my opinion with arguments, and I will go to tell the comrades of the organization that this work cannot be done at the moment, or this or that proposal is not correct.» Hence, this is the spirit in which the basic organizations of the Party must work.

Why do we want to have a basic organization of the Party in every department of the enterprise or brigade of the agricultural cooperative? So that it will lead all the work there, and this will go in the best possible way. But the most important thing for the Party is the education of people with the attributes of our new man. If this or that person is disciplined, honest, active and studies Marxism-Leninism, all these things will be reflected in his work. And, as you know, it is through work that education is carried out; we must criticize or praise people there where

they work. We must be careful that we do not turn the basic organization of the Party into a forum which discusses and solves those problems which can be settled on the job, because otherwise the meeting of the basic organization of the Party will be occupied by such matters at a time when it is faced with much more important problems which certainly ought to be raised and solved in its meetings. In the course of the work, this or that worker (whether or not communist) can very well tell his workmate that he is not working well, is not disciplined, is not behaving well with the others, etc., etc. «Why do you act like this, why do you come late, why do you waste time at work? It's not right to act in this way, you ought to have good relations with your comrades.» This is how he advises or criticizes his workmate on the job. If the person criticized is a communist or a member of the trade-unions, the youth, etc., he should reply: «You are right, comrade, irrespective of whether or not I am a communist, I'll bear your criticism in mind and do everything possible to keep pace with the best.» And, generally speaking, this is what happens in practice,

However, when the manifestations of lack of discipline are noticed on a broader scale in the brigade, sector, cooperative, department or factory, then the matter must without fail be raised in the basic organization, for this is not a problem of just one person. This is how the Party must act about such matters. The secretary of the basic organization of the Party of a department, a whole factory or cooperative, must be in continual contact with the masses of workers or cooperativists, must listen to their opinions, have a general idea of their work and their problems, and so on and so forth. This is the living work of the Party. In this way we can eliminate many defects more quickly and in time and educate many people who make mistakes. Our Party

has great experience in this direction. Our Party has straightened out and made good people even of some of those «twisted trees» who are often said to be incorrigible. They have seen the correctness of the line of the Party, understood their mistakes and have rectified them.

Dear comrades, the further development of industry has exceptional importance for and great prospects in our country. The priority development of our industry will be one of the basic orientations of the coming five-year plan. Of course we cannot say that the industry we have is among the most modern. We shall do everything possible to ensure that the machines we import in the future will be as modern as possible. We plan to import factories, plants and production lines which will be of new models. But the problem is that with these alone the large-scale, all-round development of the country cannot be ensured. Our present industry is not old, but we do not have modern technology. Therefore, the task emerges especially for our master craftsmen (because now we have capable craftsmen), and our engineers, who have a very good and competent qualification, who far outstrip those specialists whom China sent us, to set to work seriously to ensure that we take bold steps forward in this field, too. And successes have been achieved in this direction.

The fact is that we have a modest people. And the cadres whom the Party has trained are like that, too. In their time we sincerely considered the Chinese and Soviet, not to mention the Yugoslav specialists, as friends, respected them and listened to them with attention and modesty. Now, when we see what our cadres are doing in all sectors of industry and when we consider retrospectively the skill of the foreign specialists who were sent to us in the past and the skill of our cadres today, we can say without boasting that those who were sent to us (and mostly they

were sent here with inimical aims) cannot compare with our capable specialists.

You have heard that we have achieved some good results in the oil sector; new oil-fields, which are of great importance, have been discovered by our own oil workers, technicians and specialists. Neither the Soviet nor the Chinese specialists ever seriously engaged in such work. On the contrary, they sabotaged us in this vitally important sector of our economy.

The same thing must be said, in general, of the other branches of industry. You know that the Chinese provided us with a credit, helped us to set up the metallurgical industry, but, at the same time, they sabotaged many plants and left many objects of this important industry half-completed. Now our people have set to work competently there to complete these objects and improve all the plants in the metallurgical combine.

Our cadres have been and are still being sent abroad for qualification or experience, to see, for example, various developed sectors of the economy such as the chemical industry, the metallurgical industry, etc.

What I want to stress once again is that in the existing conditions our scientists, scholars, master craftsmen and qualified cadres must quickly and continuously improve the technology of our industry. Another task of great importance is that these people must further study the problems of the economy, industry, agriculture, etc. You know that working groups have been appointed for this purpose. And as you heard, at the meeting of the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party it was decided to set up the Committee of Science and Technique which will organize, assist and guide the scientific work all over our country. The country's best scientists and best trained and competent people of various disciplines of science will take part in this Committee. As well as this, everyone,

specialists, master craftsmen together with the working class, wherever they work, will try to accomplish the targets in the course of their work and, at the same time, to develop and raise themselves ever higher.

Now I wish to express some ideas about agriculture. This sector constitutes the base of our whole economy. With this I am not saying anything new, but I want to stress the great importance which progress in agriculture has for us. The people need not only bread, but also clothing and footwear. Besides this, the fulfilment of targets in the other branches like industry, for example, is greatly dependent on agriculture. The industry which we have set up needs raw materials from agriculture such as cotton, sunflower, sugar-beet, tobacco, vegetables, etc., etc. These are all necessary in order to raise the well-being of the people, to ensure a better and continuous supply for the people and to create income from exports, too.

In the situation in which we are living agriculture assumes exceptional importance for our country. That is why the Party long ago launched the slogan, «Agriculture an issue for the whole people». Everyone must understand and apply this directive properly. All must be interested in agriculture. But the tasks are divided, some have been appointed to work in agriculture, others on the front of industry, or that of culture, etc., etc. Meanwhile the Party works and leads everywhere, in all sectors. Its permanent concern must be to see that the work in all these sectors goes like clockwork, in parallel and uninterruptedly.

Continual progress has been made in agriculture and good results have been achieved in all directions. When we speak about successes in this sector today, we have no need to make comparisons with the situation in the first post-Liberation years, but can make comparisons with the results achieved, say, ten years ago, and in this way we

will see what great progress has been made in agriculture, livestock-raising and fruit-growing.

In these sectors, too, however, there are districts which are outstanding, while there are others which are lagging behind in the accomplishment of the targets of the plan. Such a thing is evidence of the level of political understanding of the economic tasks which the working people in each district have. The fulfilment of targets in agriculture is greatly dependent on management and organization, and on the scientific and agrotechnical knowledge which the people who work in agriculture have acquired. In other words, it is greatly dependent on the work which the Party does at the base with the working people. This must be lively, concrete work which analyses and details the orientations and directives of the Central Committee of the Party and makes them thoroughly known everywhere, bearing in mind the conditions, the level of the people, etc., etc. In order to have the desired results all the time it is essential that the Party should work and impel the advanced ever further ahead, while it should encourage the backward to catch up with the best.

Progress in agriculture is brought about by people who have at their disposal all the necessary means, machines, seeds and fertilizers, who also have agrotechnical knowledge and experience in the work and who know what measures must be taken to make the land ever more productive, to increase livestock-breeding rates and get high yields of meat, milk, etc., etc.

It is a fact that our agriculture has now fully set out and is advancing with determination on the course of modern socialist farming. It is quite clear that collectivization is the true Leninist road for the construction of socialism in the countryside. The Bolshevik Party, with Stalin at the head, followed and applied this course in the Soviet Union. Our Party applied the teachings of Lenin and

Stalin and made agriculture advance in Albania. It collectivized agriculture and lifted our peasantry and the whole people from the great backwardness, misery and poverty which they inherited. The course which the Party has followed for the construction of socialism in the countryside, and the continuously improving results which have been achieved in agricultural and livestock products speak clearly of the superiority of the socialist cooperativist order. If we compare our agriculture with that of the revisionist countries, where the socialist agriculture has now been destroyed and turned into a capitalist agriculture, we shall see that an indescribable crisis reigns there. As a consequence of the course which has been pursued in regard to the countryside in those countries there are great shortages of agricultural and livestock products everywhere. For example, in Vojvodina of Yugoslavia hundreds of thousands of hectares of land and thousands of tractors are in the hands of the capitalist owners. In the Soviet Union they still retain some structures which are «socialist» in form, but in the countryside, in farming, capitalism is already developed there as it is in all sectors. In the other countries of the former people's democracy, as a result of abandoning the course of the socialist collectivization of agriculture, in one there is a crisis for bread grain, in another for vegetables, in another for meat, in another for everything, etc., etc. In those countries the capitalist law of supply and demand operates. And see, just a week ago in Gdansk, Warsaw and all over Poland big demonstrations were held. About 50,000 workers went on strike and came out shouting in demonstrations. Why? Because of the great shortage of agricultural and animal products. They had no meat or vegetables. This is occurring in the other revisionist countries, too. Bulgaria, which was rightly considered an agricultural country with ample production (we have been in Bulgaria when it was

on the socialist road and have seen the situation for ourselves), is now going through a grave crisis because the revisionists have destroyed agriculture there. There is no need for me to speak about Yugoslavia and the other capitalist countries.

That our agriculture has set out on the right course of collectivization is a known historical fact. And its further development by proceeding resolutely on this course is likewise known. From the small cooperatives we went on to their unification. This action marked a more advanced stage, a development of our socialist agriculture to a higher level. Later, we set up the higher-type cooperatives, which is another great stride forward, and today these have outstripped some state farms in regard both to productivity and income. We have taken and in the future will take other measures for the development of agriculture at high rates, to increase yields of all products. During the whole new five-year plan great importance will be given to agriculture, to the further improvement of land and also to improved organization of the work in this sector.

Now let us speak a little more concretely about the experience for the Plasa agricultural cooperative.

The chairman of the Plasa cooperative spoke in the discussion at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, and what he said made a very good impression on all the comrades. The Plasa cooperative has achieved good results, and so have other agricultural cooperatives and state farms in the Korça district. The Pojan cooperative, for example, has good results in the fulfilment of targets.

Hence, I want to know more concretely about how the work to spread the advanced experience of Plasa is proceeding in regard to the concentration, specialization and rotation of the crops. If I am not mistaken, the study on this pro-

blem was undertaken some 8 years ago. (3) But we have received no precise information about what is being done with that study since then. The question of the dissemination of this experience has been of great concern to me and Comrade Hysni [Kapo], whom we lost. Although every effort was made we could not save him from that grave disease which he suffered. He was a comrade with rare attributes, a man of extensive and profound knowledge and with a specially great experience in the affairs of the Party.

When a study is done, it should not be left on paper, but should be applied, because in this way we can see and judge both its good aspects and its negative aspects. Hence, application, putting the study into practice, will dictate the need for further improvement of it. You, and especially the comrades engaged in agriculture, are better acquainted with the superiority of this study, the purpose of which is, first, the concentration of agricultural crops; second, the specialization of them; third, the rotation of crops (this is very necessary, agriculture cannot advance without it). These three things are closely interconnected and all have to do with agricultural science. This system aims at the further development of agriculture, but also at advancing towards the continual strengthening of the common property, the transition from the collective property of the group to social property. Of course, before this aim can be achieved, you must first go through several stages, but it also requires improved organization on the most suitable scientific bases, which, as the Party teaches us, enables us

3 Reference is to the study on Plasa carried out by a group of specialists under the guidance of the Central Committee of the Party, a study which, as the documents show, was not applied because of the silent opposition of the enemy Mehmet Shehu. (See page 568 of this volume.)

to carry out intensive farming without neglecting its extensive aspect.

In some districts, concentration has been achieved in industrial crops, for example. Of these crops we have extended only tobacco a little more widely, and, indeed, we grow it in some districts where good yields are still not being obtained. This comes about because there the tobacco is planted on land not really suitable for it, where other crops, from which it is possible to get good yields, might very well be planted. We deliberately took this measure for tobacco, because there was a greater stimulus for this crop. However, for the general economy, whether of the co-operative or the district, this was a temporary solution. Meanwhile we have concentrated cotton and sugar-beet.

Hence, the interests of socialism and the intensive development of our economy have led us to the concentration of industrial crops. In the future, however, we must concentrate bread grain better, and likewise, forage crops, fruit-growing, etc. Look at the Maliq state farm, which has several main economic directions such as production of sugar-beet, wheat, and potatoes, and it also raises livestock, etc. The whole plain of Korça lies close to this enterprise. But should the Party not consider what this plain should produce so that even higher yields than hitherto are obtained in wheat, sugar-beet and potatoes? It was precisely for this reason that the Party gave the orientations and undertook that study on the Plasa co-operative 8 years ago.

What good does the putting into practice of the Plasa experience bring? It means that in the plain of Korça, for example, we will have an important centre of the intensive development of agriculture. And we give it all the possibilities to stabilize the yields in all crops. For example, we are concentrating winter potatoes in Korça

and Shishtavec. The other districts will plant potatoes, too, but mainly Korça and Shishtavec will ensure supplies of winter potatoes for our market, while we allocate the growing of summer potatoes to the others. In this way the situation in regard to potatoes can be regulated both for the internal market and for export.

We must act in a similar way for the other agricultural crops, too. Let us take wheat, for example, which has great importance. The problem of where wheat-growing should be concentrated must be studied. Let us say we decide to concentrate it in Korça, Lushnja, Fier, Durrës and Shkodra. The wheat production which we expect to get from those district not only must be sufficient for the whole population of Albania, but must also provide a surplus with which we create reserves and have some for export, too. This does not mean that we should no longer plant wheat or maize in the mountains. No, we will continue to plant them there, indeed, we will increase the area planted to these kinds of grain, but in the districts which I mentioned, where we are developing an ever more intensive farming, we will practice the Plasa system. We will apply this system in the mountains and elsewhere, too, but with different crops.

Or let us look, for example, at the question of livestock, raising sheep and goats. There are sheep and goats everywhere, but should we allow the keeping of sheep and goats on plains, like the plain of Korça, on heavy soils where we are going to plant wheat and maize, to use chemical fertilizers and supply machinery and other necessary means, when we have possibilities to develop sheep- and goat-raising in intensive and extensive ways in the hilly and mountainous zones? How are we going to apply the decision on the setting up of large sheep- and goat-raising enterprises? We have launched the idea that the flocks formed from the peasants' household sheep and

goats, for example, should not be kept on this fertile plain which we have allocated to the intensive development of main crops.

Thus, we must create big livestock enterprises in the mountains, where the flocks formed from the peasants' household livestock, which are an important part of the people's wealth, can be pastured. We have not yet applied the idea which was raised in the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party about the creation of livestock enterprises based on the Plasa experience. This will provide the possibility to study where the sheep- and goat-raising should be concentrated. Of course, this does not mean that the collective economies of the lowland zones should not keep sheep or goats at all. The problem is where should we concentrate the raising of sheep and goats, cattle, horses and mules? We should think this out and take measures for the development of all types of livestock, just as we have done for wheat, sugar-beet, and so on.

We have managed, comrades of agriculture, to improve the seeds of various crops, of wheat, for example, and now, if I am not mistaken, we have hundreds of varieties of wheat (today we have hundreds of types of hybrids which we produce ourselves, but which we bought in the past). As a result of the continuous persistent work that has been done by our people in this direction we have achievements in maize, too.

Careful studies are required for all these matters, otherwise we can make no headway. We must work with great care for livestock-raising, too.

This is how we must understand and work to study and apply the experience of Plasa. When this question is studied (and you have done this and sent in the conclusions), the pluses and minuses will certainly be seen. That is, it will be seen that this system cannot be applied

if this or that crop is not removed from this economy or that district. Korça, for example, will not grow this or that crop, but those which have been removed from another district and are suitable for the conditions of Korça will be allocated to it. And the state will provide it with the facilities to get high yields in those crops which have been allocated to it, but you, too, must make efforts in this direction. Thus, the districts will supplement one another.

The fact is that in the cooperativist system our socialist economy in the countryside is growing stronger and by means of this system the development of an even more advanced socialist agriculture is being prepared intensively. When the conditions are ripe, then the experience of Plasa will be applied on a broad front all over Albania. In the higher-type cooperatives we will not proceed in the same way as in the state farms. The Plasa system must be applied in certain higher-type cooperatives immediately, or in a whole district, and not over a period of ten or fifteen years. This system must be built up at once, for example, over the whole plain, while the others will still remain united cooperatives.

This is how we have raised this question in the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party.

Theoretically, we say that development is dynamic, dialectics carries it forward, but it is known that new things advance with difficulty, therefore, when we decide something, if we are convinced it is correct, we must look at the future of it, at the problems to which development and practice will give rise, which may prove that this or that solution is not suitable for the given period.

We set up the cattle-raising enterprise here as a separate economy, but when it was created the cooperatives of mountainous villages were included in it. That is, we made all the cooperativists workers and thought we were acting correctly! While now, when we see the results, we say:

«Why did we do that? In order to raise this number of cattle with great success, did we really have to include the surrounding cooperatives in this enterprise? This increases the cost and creates other problems for us.» Hence, this causes us difficulties. Then, what are we to do about it? We shall accept the situation and struggle to ensure that the mountain cooperatives we included in the enterprise grow apples, for example. Why do we say they should grow apples? Because apples grow well here.

Hence, what I am getting at is that we must find the most suitable forms of organization so that our work advances. We have some experience and we will have more experience, but we must know how to apply it, must study the conditions thoroughly and then take decisions. For example, we should concentrate cattle-raising where there are all the conditions and possibilities to get high rates of productivity of meat, and so on.

It is important that when an orientation is given, it is embraced, tested, applied, and followed carefully, and the leadership must be told with great courage, I stress, with great courage, that here it has acted correctly and there incorrectly, here things should be changed and there they should not be changed. Then, it is our duty to summon you and say bravo that you speak to us in this way, because this is what is needed, and then, say to you: «We have these possibilities, we have a total of so many leks in foreign currency, while you're asking for more.» Or, «You want so many tractors, so many fruit-trees, etc., etc., but we cannot give you so many.» This is how these things should be discussed, and not rejecting any suggestion by saying, «Oh, the matter has been decided, so nothing can be changed.»

In my speech(4) at the 3th Plenum I pointed out that

4 See Enver Hoxha, Selected Works, vol. 5, «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1985, p. 1006, Eng. ed.

the plan is the plan and we must apply it, but it should not be dogmatic, and when it is necessary to make a change in it, then this should be done.

For example, when a difficult situation is created, we bring out a strict law for a given question. Later we see that the situation changes, improves, and then the law can be annulled, because even if it is not annulled it has no juridical relations to regulate, and so is no longer applied.

In conclusion. I want to stress that we must look at these problems, not only in agriculture, but all problems, with a political eye. The communists, in the first place, and all our working people must be realists. Our Party is strong, its unity is like steel, the patriotism of the masses is great. We have made progress, but we also have difficulties, indeed, even greater difficulties may be created for us. We must never forget this.

«Reports and Speeches 1980-1981»

**ONLY IN STRUGGLE CAN THE MARXIST-LENINIST
PARTIES BE STRENGTHENED AND TEMPERED AND
GAIN CAPABILITY**

*From the conversation with Joao Amazonas, First Secretary
of the CC of the Communist Party of Brazil*

July 25, 1980

We rejoice to see you in Albania again, Comrade Amazonas. As fighters in the common cause we are always pleased to have you among us. When we meet we exchange opinions about the situation in our own or other countries and benefit from each other's experience. This is necessary for both sides.

We are very pleased that this time you have come to Korça and Pogradec, a part of Albania you had not visited before.

I believe that you like Korça, while you still have not seen Pogradec properly, but you ought to stay here for a day or two and have a good look around. The town has a beach, holiday hostels for workers and other working people, as well as children's camps. People from all over the country come here to spend their holidays.

The beach at Durrës is fine for the young folk, because they like to swim and sunbathe on the sand. It gets hot there, while for elderly folk like us it is better here, because the weather is cooler. Pogradec is a pleasant place, although it is small.

Albania is a small country, Comrade Amazonas. Speaking of its size, let me tell you an episode from the time of the National Liberation War. I remember as clearly as if it was today how once a comrade, after he had travelled on foot from one zone to the other and traversed mountain range after mountain range, said to me: «My word, Comrade Enver, this Albania of ours is a big place, it is not nearly as small as it is on the map. No, no, Albania is very big!»

COMRADE JOAO AMAZONAS: Well, Comrade Enver, we say that Albania is big, because of the political and social tasks it accomplishes. In this sense we may say that it is the biggest country in the world.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: The great ideology of Marxism-Leninism gives our country its importance. By applying it faithfully and correctly many successes and the happy days we enjoy have been achieved in Albania. Naturally, we also have shortcomings which we are combating and trying to eliminate. In our experience the other Marxist-Leninist communists see the great force of our common doctrine.

COMRADE JOAO AMAZONAS: Is the town an old one?

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: Before Liberation Pogradec was very small, but now it has expanded. It is an ancient settlement. Archaeological discoveries have proved that this place was inhabited by the Illyrians. There is a small museum here with exhibits from the Illyrian tribe, the Encheleans. In Korça, on the other hand, we have set up the Museum of Albanian Mediaeval Art.

In the Middle Ages our country had painters and builders who worked not only here, but also in Greece, Turkey and other countries of Europe. A number of mosques in Turkey, like the Blue Mosque and two or three others, were designed by Albanian architects in the 16th and 17th centuries.

In Albania there are a number of Byzantine churches which we preserve. One of them is found in a village of the Gjirokastra district where I was born. It is said to have been built at the same time as the church of St. Sophia in Constantinople. The man who worked on building the church of St. Sophia also worked on this church, which has the identical architecture, but is a miniature of the church in Constantinople.

The painting of Onufri, for example, which you must have seen yesterday in the museum of Korça, has been very highly praised even in Paris. Although it is of the Byzantine period, it does not have all the characteristics of Byzantine painting. It has human forms of real people. His painting is distinguished by its beautiful colours, particularly the red. Onufri also painted beautiful frescoes which are found in the churches built in the highland of the Elbasan district.

We are trying to concentrate and preserve in museums these cultural works, these icons, as we call them. Works of art are valuable to socialism. The people have handed over many icons, but there are others which we have not yet gathered up. A lot of work is being done in our country to preserve them. However, this is not all that effective, because we still do not have the proper technical-scientific means to preserve them properly and to protect them from the ravages of time and weather. As I have read, even Leonardo Da Vinci's famous fresco, «The Last Supper», has begun to show signs of damage, therefore, the alarm has been sounded for its restoration. There are beautiful icons in the church of Voskopoja. Voskopoja now is a village, but in the 18th century it was a flourishing town. At that time there was a higher school there to which students came from Greece to pursue their studies. Some went there to become priests. Learned people have emerged from Voskopoja. One of them was

a capable church librarian of the Holy Mountain near Salonika in Greece, which is called Athos. The promontory where these churches and monasteries have been built (most of them by the Russian tzars and the Patriarcate of Istanbul) has the form of the five fingers of the hand. Women are not permitted to enter there. But whoever visits it is struck by many ancient objects and artistically fine buildings. There is also a library. As I said, the librarian was an Albanian from Voskopoja, a very learned man. When Petersburg was built, the tzar of Russia, Peter the Great, summoned this man to organize his library for him. He went there, but died before he had finished the job. His grave can be seen there to this day. The inscription on his tombstone says he is an Albanian. So, since that time Voskopoja had learned men. Now there is a very old church left in that village which we are preserving, in which there is a very beautiful iconostasis.

Museums are exceptionally important for the education of the people. In Albania they have been created and enriched only since the Liberation of the country. Before Liberation archaeological research was done only in two places, at Pojan of Fier and Butrint of Saranda. The French were the first to start the work at these two archaeological centres, and then the Italians continued it. The Italians stole most of the objects they discovered, while the French did not steal so many as they. With what remained a small museum was set up in Vlora.

When fascist Italy invaded our country, among other things, the Italians bombarded this museum. The French protested against this action in the newspaper *Figaro*.

After the Liberation of the country, archaeological research developed not only in the direction of discovering objects of the ancient Roman and Hellenic cultures, but especially in the direction of the culture of the Illyrians, who are our ancestors. Many valuable things, vases and

ceramic objects, coins, various ornaments, statues, etc., have been found in the tumular graves excavated. Today our archaeological museums have been filled with many objects and documents. Apart from archaeological museums, today we also have ethnographic museums, which have been set up especially in the big cities. Now each city is trying to create its own ethnographic museum. Historical museums, too, have been set up in Albania in towns and villages.

For centuries on end our whole country was at war in defence of national freedom, and so even our smallest village has its own history. The Party has issued the directive that the historical records of all the villages, from the most ancient times when facts are available for this, must be written up. Now these historical records have been written and are being enriched with records and material, including even fire tongs, wooden cups and spoons, and so on. Likewise, information about historical figures of villages has been collected, their biographies have been written and they are being enriched with any sources or material object such as an article of clothing, a photograph, etc.

Apart from the history of the Albanian people's wars, the main museums of our country also reflect the period of the National Renaissance, that is, the struggle which our thinkers, philosophers, historians, scientists, and others waged in other countries.

Now we are also setting up specialized museums, for example, that of Kruja, the former capital of Albania in the time of Skanderbeg, which will be dedicated solely to the life of our National Hero.

What sort of records and objects have we about Skanderbeg that we can place in this museum? We don't have a great deal, although we have some documents written as early as the 15th century by princes and other

rulers and by merchants of Rome, Venice and the Slavonic countries, by great composers who have written musical works, and by poets and dramatists who have written beautiful poems and dramas about the life and wars of this hero against the Turks.

All the material documents that we possess about him will be reflected in this museum. Already our painters have begun work to acquaint themselves in detail with Skanderbeg's battles in order to present them later in paintings.

The most complete history of all his battles was written by an Albanian writer called Marin Barleti.⁽¹⁾ Up till now this is the most precise history, the basis of the history of the life and the protracted heroic wars of Gjergj Kastrioti.

This, Comrade Amazonas, is how we have worked on the question of museums which, as I said, play an exceptional educational role. In every country of the world these institutions are frequented by many people. But our aim is that by means of them our working people, and especially the youth, should be acquainted with the past, not only with the historical past, but also with the miserable economic past of our people during the centuries. Today, for example, we see the plains of our country systematized, protected against floods, drained with irrigation canals and beautifully tended, but we older folk who lived before Liberation know that they were not like this at that time.

Let me tell you a true story about this, Comrade Amazonas. A resident of these parts, about 50 years ago, when he was about 20 years old, had gone to the United States of America as an economic emigrant and had left Maliq a swamp. When he returned to the Homeland, not

¹ Marin Barleti, 1460-1513. He wrote the work, *The History of the Life and Deeds of Skanderbeg*, published in 1508-1510.

long ago, he was about 70 years of age. His son met him at Durrës and they set out together for Korça. On the way his son told him about the great changes which had been made during the time of the Party and time after time asked his father whether he understood.

«Yes, I understand you,» his father replied.

Nevertheless, when they were passing through Maliq the father asked:

«Where is the Maliq swamp?»

«I told you,» his son said, «we have drained it.»

«But where was it?» insisted his father.

«Right here,» explained his son, «this plain we are passing through was the Maliq swamp.»

At these moments, as they were talking, the first secretary of the Party Committee of the district was passing through the plain. The son stopped the car and pointed him out to his father.

«That man is the first secretary of the Party Committee.»

«Ah...» said his father, «that means he is the owner of this plain.»

«No,» replied his son, «today the plain is the property of the whole people.»

So, this Albanian who returned to the Homeland was quite unable to see all the transformations which had occurred, although he repeatedly said «I understand you, I understand you,» to his son on the journey.

The works which we place in museums are works of art which the people have preserved and have valued rather than works of religious belief. In regard to this I will tell you the history of a cross, which is proof not only of this evaluation, but also of the fact that religious strife has not existed in our country in those forms which are known in other countries. Moreover, in our country the followers of the Moslem religion have not been in

conflict with those of the Orthodox religion. In the church which I mentioned there is a very old cross said to date from the 14th century. During the years 1913-1916 Gjirokastra was occupied by the Greeks who, amongst other things, stole this cross and took it to Athens. However, the whole population of Gjirokastra, not only the Christians, but also the Moslems, arose against this act. A delegation, which included Moslems as well, went to Athens especially to demand the return of the cross. Those who made up the delegation said to the Greeks: «The cross is the property of our country, therefore it must be returned to the church it belongs.» And in the end that is what happened. The Greeks returned the cross to the people of Gjirokastra. While, when Khrushchev visited a museum during his stay in our country, (2) he said to us: «What good are these lifeless things to you? Oranges, tobacco... are what we need!-

In fact, our people in general have not been great believers. Even the prophet Mohammed «assisted» us in this direction. Why and how? Because in one of the verses of the Koran it is said that the Moslems should hear the sacred book of their faith only in Arabic. That is, he said the Koran should not be translated into other languages. Therefore, the Albanian Moslems could not understand this book at all, because it could be read only in Arabic. The church, too, acted in the same way at first, although later the New Testament was translated, but this did not occur with the Koran. The Moslem clergy in Albania were without schooling, while the Catholic priests had schooling, indeed higher schooling.

Despite the successes which we have in eliminating the religious influences, the Party still continues to wage a skillful and intelligent political struggle against religious

remnants and customs. However much they have been weakened, we cannot say that they have been completely eliminated, especially in the countryside, which has been more conservative and backward than the city. Likewise, we cannot say that, if we forget them, those remnants would not revive.

Recently, Comrade Amazonas, we have lost two outstanding comrades, Hysni Kapo and Arruda Camara, two great Marxist-Leninists. The death of Comrade Hysni was a great loss to our Party, but the death of Comrade Arruda also was a grief both for you and for us. When they learned of his death, all our comrades were very grieved because they knew him.

Comrade Joao Amazonas spoke about the circumstances of Arruda Camara's death and the question of party cadres, and expressed his appreciation of the works «Imperialism and the Revolution» and «Eurocommunism Is Anti-Communism,» then Comrade Enver Hoxha again took up the conversation:

As you have seen, we have tried to present the ideas in the book *Eurocommunism Is Anti-Communism* simply so that the masses of ordinary people can readily understand them. That is, so that the problems which we dealt with there are understood not only by those who have Marxist-Leninist culture, but also by ordinary workers. The aim of the analysis which we have made on the basis of documents which we have used in this book is to prove that American imperialism is the inspirer of modern revisionism through the corruption of communist parties. We have arrived at this conclusion by beginning with the question of Browder.

Our Party has spoken about Browder even before

this, but in this book his position had to be dealt with more extensively, because he was the first who preached the liquidation of the communist parties and declared that «communism is the Americanism of the 20th century.» He claimed that after the Second World War the United States of America would assist all the countries damaged and devastated by the war. In other words, Browder was the spokesman for the capitalist degeneration of communist parties. In order to present the most complete picture of his position we utilized all the documents in our possession.

Naturally, we also had in mind the question of China. For this, too, we delved into the documents of the Americans and the speeches of Mao and Zhou Enlai. And it emerged that during the whole period of the war they, that is, the Chinese leaders headed by Mao Zedong, had had close contact with the American military and diplomatic missions attached to Chiang Kai-Shek. Facts and documents have been discovered which show that as early as at that time, when they were fighting against Japan and Chiang Kai-Shek, the Chinese leaders were pro the United States of America, while they maintained a stand not totally hostile to the Soviet Union. In those documents we learn that the Chiang Kai-Shek lobby in the United States of America was stronger and that the American Department of State was not convinced that Mao should be assisted, but had hopes that Chiang Kai-Shek would liquidate him.

From these documents, the activity in China of Edgar Snow, who was an agent of the Department of State, also emerges clearly. Edgar Snow remained in Mao Zedong's headquarters and was informed about the internal activity of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of China. The things he has said about Zhou Enlai's requests addressed to the Americans are facts.

All that we have said about this question in the book

Reflections on China, is now being confirmed. While we were already convinced about the links, first, of the Titoites and then, the Khrushchevites, who were in power, with the American imperialists.

Through the analysis of Browderism, Titoism, Khrushchevism, Maoism and Eurocommunism in this book we see the unbroken thread of the whole strategy of American imperialism and world capitalism for the degeneration of communist parties into revisionist parties. One of the ideas of this book, based on documents, proves that the revisionist parties are renegades from Marxism-Leninism and agencies of world capitalism.

In this book we have dealt more extensively with the development of the events in the revisionist parties of Italy, France and Spain, because our objective was to expose Eurocommunism. Of course, our Party has done this previously, but now their anti-Marxist, counter-revolutionary stands and activities had to be summed up somewhat more clearly, by analysing the whole development of their degeneration. So, the problem was to define the main phases of their degeneration, how it came about and how it developed up to the present stage, while at the same time, also, pointing out realistically the positive aspects of certain moments of the Italian party, the French party or the old Spanish party which fought against Franco.

The present tactic of the Soviet revisionists is to take advantage of the stands of our Marxist-Leninist Party against Mao Zedong thought. Through this tactic they aim to draw us into their orbit, but neither your party nor ours falls readily into their traps. Of course, there are people in the world who do not understand the tactics of the Soviets.

Another aim of the Soviet tactics is to split the so-called Eurocommunist group, which cannot have unity because each of the revisionist parties which comprise it

is in the service and, in general, follows the strategy of the bourgeoisie in its own country. Thus, the Italian revisionist party is in friendship with China and, up to a point, in opposition to the Soviet Union.

We see this tactic of the Soviet revisionists being followed, for example, towards the French revisionist party. This has made Marchais's revisionist party to adopt a stand which at present is opposed to the Eurocommunist stand of the Italian and Spanish revisionist parties. Marchais is not against the Soviet Union in regard to the aggression it has committed in Afghanistan. Indeed, it must be said that he has begun to move close to the Soviet Union, not only on this question, but also on other questions.

It is our duty to be very vigilant, because the Soviets still have political and economic influence. The Soviet Union uses military blackmail and, if we judge the situation correctly, we see that at present, finding itself in face of many economic and political defeats, it is becoming ever more aggressive and is using not only its arrogance as a big imperialist state, but also weapons and aggression. Therefore, without in any way toning down the struggle against American imperialism, we must step up the struggle against Soviet social-imperialism, too, because militarily it is very strong, irrespective of the fact that it has been and is being discredited politically and ideologically. On the one hand, the Soviets act like capitalists, like imperialists and chauvinists, while, on the other hand, they proclaim themselves Leninists. They are trying to justify their aggression in Afghanistan as being done «to defend the revolution there». The Soviet social-imperialists' demagoguery to present themselves as Leninists and their referring to the past of their country can and does have an influence, not only on communists who are not tempered ideologically in struggle and battles,

but also on many other people who are afraid of revolutionary struggle and want to go down in history as communists, of course, as «orange-coloured» communists, according to Aragon's stand-point. I have mentioned this in my book. When it is only a matter of talking, these elements say: «We are communists,» while when it comes to putting up resistance they retreat.

The Soviets are trying to use the situation to their advantage. But without overestimating the strength of our Marxist-Leninist parties, we think that the Soviet revisionists realize clearly that Marxism-Leninism is an invincible force. Today or tomorrow this force will become a great avalanche. Even though they have betrayed Marxism-Leninism, they know its force and can never think that this great revolutionary ideology has been wiped out or has grown weak with age as is claimed by the Eurocommunists and many other revisionists who attack Lenin, because he is the architect of the revolution, while allegedly they spare Marx. In reality they are against Marx, too, because it was he who laid the basis for the complete overthrow of capitalism.

Hence, the Soviet revisionists know this great force of the Marxist-Leninist ideology. They know also that any revolutionary movement against capitalism assists the forces of the world revolution. Proceeding from this, they realize that if they do not act against the Marxist-Leninist parties, they will become big and powerful tomorrow, although they are small today, because all the peoples struggle for the revolution. The Soviet revisionists know that the subjective factor, that is, the parties which stand in the positions of Marxism-Leninism, will channel the gathering discontent and indignation of the peoples against American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

Previously, when Mao Zedong thought had not yet been openly exposed by our parties, the social-imperialists

and imperialists were rather tranquil, because they thought that this revisionist current was working within us like a worm in an apple. Now, after our exposure of it, we see that they have increased their attacks upon us. But how are they attacking us? In the way that Prestes and other factionalists do. We are acquainted with the factional struggle incited by capitalism and reaction, and now also by modern revisionism. Our clash with these various retrogressive currents is unavoidable, but now both we and you who have passed all these tests are much better armed against the strategies and tactics of our enemies. This makes us better able to discern their aims and the forms of struggle which they use. We, too, must build and in fact we are concretely building the forms of our struggle against them. Of course, our struggle is not and will not be easy.

We understand the difficulties of the sister parties in the struggle. We, too, liberated our country through struggle. Nevertheless, we are and must be continuously in struggle, at every moment, while we must also know how to use diplomacy, while adhering to our principles. At the same time we must also be vigilant both inside and outside the country, because, although the imperialists, social-imperialists and revisionists smile at us, they have their daggers ready to stab us in the back.

So, Comrade Amazonas, we have difficulties, but we will be able to cope with them, because we know that we are on the right road and we are convinced that the peoples understand us. From the information we have received about the books which our Party has published, it turns out that even progressive bourgeois elements find in them analyses and conclusions of interest, while others who are, you might say, communist sympathizers tell us that now they understand clearly what the Soviet Union and China are and what they are doing in Ethiopia, Al-

geria, Somalia and elsewhere. The question arises: Why do they tell us these things? Because in our books they find explanations for questions which they were unable to understand or explain before. Only Marxism-Leninism can explain and make these things understandable to all. That is why we are confident that we will overcome the difficulties. The victory, of course, is not achieved immediately. But in this way, through struggle against imperialism, revisionism and factionalism gradually our avalanche will be formed and build up. Only in struggle can the Marxist-Leninist parties be strengthened and tempered and gain capability to do very great things.

The Soviet revisionists say they are striving for general disarmament, but in reality they are continuing to arm themselves. The facts show that the situation within the organization of the Warsaw Treaty and that of Comecon is not all that peaceful, let alone monolithic. These organizations are propped up only thanks to the armed might of the Soviet Union. In all the Warsaw Treaty countries there have been strikes as big as those in the capitalist countries. There have been such strikes in Poland, for instance. Even Bulgaria has its objections within Comecon. In appearance the Bulgarian revisionist leadership is with the Soviet Union, indeed, is its most servile lackey, but on economic matters it has far from minor contradictions. In Rumania, too, there is degeneration. Czechoslovakia, likewise, is in economic crisis and the prices of all the goods have begun to rise.

In our opinion there is discontent in the Warsaw Treaty countries against the Soviet presence, but this is not at the same level and of the same strength as in NATO, where the policy of the United States of America has created a number of splits.

From the economic stand-point the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty are dependent on the Soviet Union.

They carry on the bulk of their trade with the Soviets. They get electric power, oil, gas and other raw materials mainly from them. Steel production in Hungary, for example, depends on the ore which comes from Krivoy-Rog. Hence, the member states of the Warsaw Treaty are unable to move from this organization. On the other hand, within NATO we see that France and West Germany have contradictions with the United States of America over the measures which the latter wants to be taken against Iran and the Soviet Union and over the deployment of new missiles in Europe, etc. This shows that there are splits in this bloc.

The existence and deepening of these splits is of interest to us, because they weaken the strength of the United States of America, but at the same time the Soviets, who know how to take advantage of them, are trying to exploit them.

There are people who say that the Soviets don't know how to conduct politics. No, this is not so. As you know, at the end of June, a meeting of heads of state and government of the main industrialized countries of the world was held in Venice. Carter was to go there and, amongst other things, decisions were to be taken against the Soviets over the question of Afghanistan. Carter went to Venice, but, before the meeting, Brezhnev sent Giscard d'Estaing a message in which he informed him that he was going to withdraw a division of Soviet soldiers and a hundred tanks from Afghanistan, although the Soviets have tens of thousands of other soldiers there. This was a carefully thought out political act on the part of the Soviets to come to the aid of d'Estaing and Schmidt in their stand against Carter's pressures. And in fact the Soviet action assisted these two.

As has been pointed out in that book, the work of the Marxist-Leninist party in the ranks of the bourgeois army

has great importance. This work must be done in three phases: before the sons of the people are conscripted to the army, while they are doing their military service, and after they complete it. Our experience and yours show how important it is to work with the youth before they go into the army. As we see, today, before they go into the army, the youth follow the revolutionary movements, the general movements of protest against crises, unemployment, and so on. The students also rise against unemployment when they graduate from the higher schools. Hence, among the youth we see a great movement, you might say, an opposition to the regime in power. This is apparent in many countries. We see also that the bourgeoisie is aware of the danger of this great force. Its parties place great importance on the problems of the youth.

Why? In order to cause degeneration of the youth through the use of drugs, the propaganda of sex, the spread of anarchism, terrorism, etc. Capitalism does all these things in order to disintegrate this massive force of the people which constitutes a danger to it, because both the working class, the peasantry, etc., are renewed through the youth. This is biological. Some people grow old, but at the same time the new generation, the youth, come along. The bourgeoisie tries to suppress precisely this new generation and eliminate its revolutionary spirit. We see the effect of this work, for example, in the role which the army plays. The soldier is the son of the poor peasantry or the worker who goes on strike, and yet he opens fire on the people. Of course, the entire youth cannot implicate itself in this evil hostile activity of the bourgeoisie.

Among the young people, whether workers, peasants or students, there are forces who think, politically and ideologically, not as we communists do. of course, but in progressive ways. These young people see all the injustices of the bourgeois order, the robbery, the plunder, and all

those things we mentioned earlier. They see all these things, but they do not see the sound organization which the Marxist-Leninist parties must carry out in order to create a situation which will channel all the healthy forces of the youth into a single front as occurred in our country, for example. During the National Liberation War the youth of our country were mobilized in the Anti-fascist Youth Organization which subsequently, after the Congress of the Unification of the Youth, was amalgamated with the organization of the Communist Youth to form the Labour Youth Union of Albania. These young people filled the ranks of our army. While acting in this way we did not underestimate the working class. On the contrary, even though it was small in number, we had it in the centre of our attention and our work. Neither did we underestimate the so-called nationalists, that is, the progressive elements, even when they were over 45 years of age.

If we look back at our war, we see that the ranks of the partisan brigades were filled mainly with the youth. Our Party, at first, was made up of only 200 people, most of whom were young, while the youth in the ranks of the army, whom the Party inspired, amounted to thousands. Our country was occupied, and this was an important national moment. We can also call the period of the oppression of our people by king Ahmet Zog and the occupation of Albania by fascist Italy national moments. Precisely at these moments the Party knew how to utilize the revolutionary patriotic sentiments of the youth.

We think that this national moment exists in every capitalist country today. In the various capitalist countries there is exploitation by the national bourgeoisie, as well as imperialist domination and exploitation, the domination and exploitation by multinational companies, etc. All these factors create the national moment which must be utilized in every way. However, there are some comrades who under-

stand this in simplistic ways, in somewhat classical ways.

Of course, we must adhere to and apply our principles. For example, as I told you, at the start of our struggle we did not have a big working class, it was small, but we based ourselves on its ideology. The working class is the backbone of the revolution, but this does not rule out its alliance with the peasantry, with the exploited strata of the people, even though various tendencies and situations exist within them.

Let us take just the problem of the youth. Various ideologies, that is, bourgeois and revisionist ideologies act upon the youth. As a result, within its ranks there is moral and physical demoralization. On the other hand, there is also the sound part within the masses of the youth. Therefore, it behoves the Marxist-Leninist parties to exert their influence on and create the front of the youth. This front cannot be set up, as some think, by creating a communist youth organization. No, that would be a very narrow organization which many of the young people would not join. But if a broad popular organization is set up, then tens of thousands of young people will gather in it. It is up to the party to think out how this youth organization should be created and gradually concretize its work. The Marxist-Leninist communists might have clear ideas, but they have to work to ensure that the young people understand and accept these ideas, while always safeguarding the solidarity of their own ranks. According to the situation, the Marxist-Leninist communists, without declaring themselves openly, can and must carry out propaganda among the young people, for example, against the bourgeois army, against price rises, against unemployment, etc. In other words, a broad program of work with the youth must be mapped out and applied.

Of course, these things that I mentioned cannot be done all at once. Our Party, for example, has always placed

great importance on work with the youth, and does so even to this day.

In the capitalist countries there is another problem, too, the problem of trade-unions. We have discussed this together, Comrade Amazonas, and we have been in complete agreement on everything.

Now I am referring to another issue, that of the unemployed. What is being done and what should be done with this mass, with this category of people of the working class and other working masses of town and countryside, whom capitalism has thrown out and continues to throw out in the street? This mass of people is more ready to struggle than those who are organized in trade-unions. While saying this we do not in any way forget the principle that the working class is the backbone of the revolution, therefore, we must not interrupt our work with it even for a moment. But the unemployed are workers, too. And it seems to me that here, among these unemployed workers, the party has a contingent fifty per cent ready to launch attacks. They are desperate and in revolt. Amongst them terrorism and anarchism take root, because they think that they can do something by these means. They think and act in this way, because they have nothing to eat, because, as Marx says, they have nothing to lose but the chains which enslave them. While the workers in trade-unions receive their pay, have guaranteed pensions and, as a result, nurture illusions about the strike movement which is manipulated by the aristocracy of the working class. We must work with them without fail, because they constitute the majority of the working class, but we must not forget the unemployed. We have reached this opinion on the basis of the experience of our Party.

However, there are comrades who do not understand alliances correctly. For example, some think quite rightly that alliances should be established with progressive ele-

merits, who are opposed to the regime in power and with whom you can reach agreement on a number of questions, with the exception of revisionists who are opposed to our ideology. The former, too, are against us, but the revisionists deliberately pose as being against the ruling state power, while in reality they are in alliance with this state and have the destruction of the Marxist-Leninist parties as their aim. Even though the progressive elements are representatives of bourgeois parties, they attack some aspects of bourgeois power, because they have economic contradictions and, first of all, political contradictions over the question of the majority in Parliament, etc. We exploit precisely these contradictions in order to create and deepen the divisions amongst them, while the revisionists unite with them to strengthen the state power of the bourgeoisie. Our tactic consists of this: we form alliances on certain issues with progressive people and not with the revisionists.

But there are some who think that they should meet even with the heads of the bourgeois parties. Very well, they, too, should not be underestimated, but the important thing is that contacts must be established with the base, with the rank-and-file members of those parties.

During the time of the National Liberation War we made efforts to meet with the chiefs of groups and organizations of the bourgeoisie. I personally was one of the comrades whom the Party had charged to talk with the chiefs who, at that time, posed as patriots and proclaimed high and low that «the time has come,» or «the time has not come,» to fight against the occupiers. Some «communists», especially the Yugoslavs, through Vukmanović Tempo, criticized us saying: «Why do you continue with them, why drag matters out, what is this opportunism...?» But, while we tried to talk to the chiefs and make things clear to them, on the other hand, we worked to win over their rank and file. We proceeded from the principle that

we must not abandon efforts to ally with the chiefs, because they had influence and because we could do our work through them, although we had no great hope in them and placed our hopes in the base.

This, Comrade Amazonas, is the way we see these things, that is to say, the question of the army, of trade-unions, of the youth and of the unemployed.

Speaking about unemployment and strikes, about the work of the party in the trade-unions and among the ranks of the youth, as well as about other questions, Joao Amazonas said among other things:

The problems which you raised today, Comrade Enver, and above all, the problem of the youth, seem to us timely, because in Brazil we have a militant youth. During our stay here we visited the martyrs' cemetery. Reading the dates of their birth and death it emerges that most of them were young people. In Brazil, too, the young people have a militant spirit. We have been aware of this for many years. For our part, while having the work with students at the centre of our attention, we have also given great importance to the work with the worker youth, who make up the majority, as well as the work with the peasant youth.

Comrade Enver Hoxha again took up the conversation:

The capitalist employs the most energetic people, those of 25-30 years of age. When the worker reaches 45 years of age, the capitalist has squeezed him dry and throws him out. It is not that the worker is not revolutionary at this age, but he is a little more cautious in struggle. It is the same also with women, who are rather more concerned about their children, while the youth throw everything into the struggle.

I have discussed the question of the youth personally with other foreign friends, too. In a talk with a friend from France, he told me that the youth in his country were degenerating. «The bourgeoisie,» he said, «with its conservative tendencies, is trying to save its own children from this great degeneration, but is working to cause the degeneration of the children of the working class.»

Then, the question emerges: Who must defend the youth of the working class? We, the Marxist-Leninist communists. The Marxist-Leninist party is the mother of the working class youth, therefore the party must open their eyes and save them from the dangers. This cannot be achieved in individual ways, but through mass organizational, political and cultural work and creating possibilities for the youth themselves to fight in this direction.

In our country we have party organizations among the civil population and in the army. Where there are fewer than three party members, joint groups of party members and youth can be created. We have approved this in the Constitution of the Party. The best cadres of the youth, who are members of these groups and take part in meetings, carry the line of the Party to the organization of the youth. Besides this, in this way, that is, within the Party, we educate and temper boys and girls with the spirit of the Party. We get most of our party members from the youth.

Our conversations with you, Comrade Amazonas, help us a great deal to see more clearly the successes you have achieved and the great possibilities which lie ahead of you. We are confident you will achieve further successes. The exchange of opinions with you is important for us, because it opens up to us the perspective of a more profound reflection on our own work. The complexity of the problems of workers, trade-unions, the countryside, the disruptive work

of the government, the church, etc., about which you spoke, help us to reflect.

The exchange of opinions with one another helps us to sharpen our vigilance against pressures from the capitalist-revisionist countries, but also to reflect on the assistance, with those possibilities we have, which we must give our Marxist-Leninist comrades.

Thank you very much for your visit, Comrade Amazonas!

I wish you success! Convey my greetings to all the comrades of your Party!

Published for the first time from notes taken during this meeting, which are kept in the Central Archives of the Party.

PROBLEMS AND TASKS FOR THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE HIGHER-TYPE COOPERATIVES INTO STATE FARMS

*From a talk at the daily meeting with the secretaries
of the CC of PLA*

September 9, 1980

The study of the situation of higher-type cooperatives is based mainly on some figures and achievements, which it is essential to know. But it is not only the figures which make us take this or that decision. The whole problem must be seen more widely, that is to say, how our socialist agriculture is going to develop further.

We are carrying the construction of socialism, in general, constantly forward and will further intensify it. In this context, we are working to intensify agriculture, too. But in order to do this successfully, we must raise the political and ideological consciousness and the progressive thinking of our cooperativist masses to a higher level.

One of the main problems for achieving this far from easy objective is the work which we must do to combat the remnants of the sense of private property, which still exist, and the petty-bourgeois mentality of our rural working people. If we do not do this political and ideological work properly and systematically, we will run into dif-

faculties during our advance. Naturally, we have worked continually in this direction and it is true to say that we have achieved results. At the same time, however, remnants of the petty-bourgeois mentality exist in our countryside and reappear here more strongly and there more weakly, disappear and return anew in the most varied forms. Of course, we know their forms, but the point is we must know them more thoroughly, because they keep changing from time to time. Likewise, we need better knowledge of the level of their intensity, not only among the peasantry as a whole, but also among particular groups and strata of the peasantry.

Now let us come to the concrete question, the development of socialist agricultural economies, that is, the social property of the whole people and the property of the group. This latter contains an element of capitalism. We have to understand that between the property of the group and the property of the whole people there is a distinction both from the psychological stand-point and in other social aspects. The Party knows these things, but I think it ought to know them even better.

The property of the group is a form of socialist property, but this form constitutes an intermediate phase. In time it must pass into property of the whole people, and we are working to arrive at that stage. This is a continuing process in movement, which began with the Land Reform, continued with the socialist collectivization of the peasantry, with the setting up of state farms — property of the whole people — and later, with the enlargement of agricultural cooperatives through their unification up to the establishment of higher-type cooperatives, which represent a higher level of the socialization of the property of the group on the course of bringing it closer to the property of the whole people, as well as with a series of other socio-economic measures which strengthen the social-

ist character of our agriculture. We must not forget that in carrying forward this process we have had difficulties, sometimes we have proceeded a little more rapidly, sometimes more slowly, but we have never taken a step backwards and we have never stood still in any phase. As we all know, in the initial phase of collectivization many peasants did not join cooperatives because they were not convinced, while later we came to a situation that all the peasants were convinced and set out on this road of their own free will. But this took about 20 years.

Throughout this whole period of development and progress, that is, from the setting up of the first cooperative to the establishment of hundreds of others, and then to their unification in bigger cooperatives and, finally, to the setting up of some tens of higher-type cooperatives and other measures which the Party has taken, we have had to work very cautiously. Changes and progress have been made in our countryside, not only in the material aspects, but also in the mentality of the peasants, in whom socialist consciousness has been strengthened step by step. Nevertheless, we must never think that now we have reached such a stage of socio-economic development that the petty-bourgeois mentality has been eliminated among our peasantry. We must not think that it has been eliminated among the working class, either, although, in fact, it is more advanced than the peasantry, because it is the class which leads the construction of socialism, and the Party is the edge of this sword, because Marxism-Leninism is its ideology. Even in the consciousness of the working class there are still remnants of the petty-bourgeois psychology and mentality, although less than among the peasantry. But how are they manifested? The Party has explained and explains this continuously. The manifestations of narrow personal interests which are observed even among some workers, the efforts of many of them

to keep the work quotas low, the breaches of discipline, the attempts which are seen among individual workers to take more from society and contribute less to it, etc., etc., all these are phenomena and expressions of the petty-bourgeois psychology.

When we say that such phenomena and manifestations are observed among the working class, it is understandable for us that they are observed among the intellectuals, too, indeed somewhat more frequently. And in the intellectuals they are more dangerous than they are in the peasantry, therefore, if care is not taken to combat alien manifestations among the intellectuals, they increase in more refined ways, and this greatly damages the work of the Party. The intellectuals are sons of the people, of workers and peasants, but since they are cadres, if they set out on a wrong course, submitting both to the pressure of petty-bourgeois remnants and the external pressure, the alien manifestations in their consciousness emerge more quickly and become much more dangerous and harmful. At our present stage of development we cannot completely eliminate these alien remnants and manifestations, therefore they will continue to exert a negative influence on our work. This faces us with the task that the struggle which the Party wages in this field must be vigorous and unceasing.

Now let us come to the problem of agriculture. We have said that the higher-type cooperatives are a transitional form of going over to state farms. But when are we going to pass on to this stage? Naturally, there is no cut-and-dry answer to this, but this does not mean that the Party should not think about this objective and that the question should be left to spontaneity. The fact is we have not worked as much as we should for this objective and this is something we certainly must do so that not only the members of higher-type cooperatives, but also the

others see the perspective. The cooperativists have to know that advancing on this course means a qualitative uplift, from the economic stand-point, their way of life, mentality and psychology.

The Party has not forgotten this objective. I am referring to the care which we must display in the great educational work we must do for the best possible preparation of the Party itself so that it will be clear about this course. The Party must do more work with greater perspective for this process in development, on the ascent, so that it can explain and make it clear to the cooperativists. This is a question of principle and a question of line. It must be made clear to the peasant that, just as he broke with the private property and joined the agricultural cooperative, so he must proceed on this course to the state farm, which is the property of the whole people. However, this has not been explained to him in such a way as to prepare him ideologically, psychologically, economically and organizationally for this change.

Let us come now to the study which is under way in connection with the higher-type cooperatives. We have discussed here the problems that emerge for the transformation of the higher-type cooperatives into state farms such as economic, payments, administrative, organizational and other problems. The study may show, for example, what should be done with those funds which the cooperatives possess. As we have discussed previously, we must study what has to be done, for example, over what period we will pay off the cooperatives, so that the members welcome this politically and discontent is not created among them. But the problem is not simply one of payment, it is linked closely also with the necessary goods which must be placed on the market to cover the money which will be given to the cooperativists, a thing which requires improved organization in the circulation of com-

modities, in distribution, etc. It is important that, at the moment of the transformation of the higher-type cooperatives into state farms, we are careful to ensure that the society is not unduly burdened and the interests of the cooperativists are not harmed. We have discussed these issues from all aspects.

Apart from these, the psychology of the peasants is also a problem. Foreseeing the development of events, in my opinion, they will be unprepared. Therefore, they may become discontented. Why will this occur? Because the facts show that no small number of higher-type cooperatives have levels of income and payment to their members which are almost equal to those of the workers of the state farms. When this is achieved within the property of the group, the cooperativists are satisfied, because, besides their remuneration for the workdays, they also have their individual plots. When the transformation of cooperatives into state farms is carried out, the state will pay them for the cows, sheep and goats, and so on, which they have owned on their personal plot and in the cooperative. I think that a reasonable price should be paid for their household livestock so that they are not damaged. As to what concrete course will be pursued to this end, this must be studied, because we are now forming joint flocks in more organized ways.

In regard to the payment for the livestock of the cooperative this should be paid in instalments. As a result of this, the cooperativist turned into a state farm worker, besides getting the same wage as the worker of the farm, will have an increased income from the payment for the cows, sheep and goats, etc., and this will be one of the ways to compensate partly for the income of some years which the cooperativist secured from the livestock and production of his personal plot.

Apart from this, the cooperatives have funds for

investment, which irrespective of when and how the state will give them to the members, are their property, too. However, the peasant mentality makes him think, «Before these are paid off the state will wipe them out, will take them from us,» etc., etc. Therefore, I say that for this reason, too, preparations must be done from the psychological aspect.

Possibly we could quite easily settle the question of the property that comes from the higher-type cooperative one way or another, and pay for it according to regulations which will be established. But here a question arises which we must consider carefully: Does the peasant really consciously accept this method which the state may decide or does he accept it because he is told to? It is essential that we work hard with the cooperativist so that he is convinced, accepts and understands concretely that the transformation of the cooperative into a state farm will be to his great advantage. That is a mentality that ought to have been inculcated, but up till now this work has not been properly done. When I say this I have in mind not only that the masses of cooperativists do not really know, but also that the cadres themselves are not fully clear about what is going to be done in this direction. Today they know only that when the time comes the higher-type cooperatives will be changed into state farms, but they know nothing about when and how this will come about. The Party must prepare them for this, because the socialist economic development continually creates new situations.

If the problem were presented that a good part of higher-type cooperatives should be transformed into state farms right now, it might turn out that the state could not cope with it financially. Therefore, it might be said that this is not the time to take this step, and we should postpone it for a little later. I think that, if we put off the solution of this problem for a long time, the problem

will become even more difficult. However, by proceeding on this course, their accumulation will increase, that is to say, a day will come when the cooperative members say: «Now, just hang on a moment, because we cannot agree to be paid 14 or 16 leks for ever when the yields of agricultural and livestock products are increasing. We want 20 or 22 leks per workday, we have a stack of money for investments», etc. Consequently, if this course is pursued, the pay of members of the higher-type cooperatives will outstrip that of the members of the state farms.

That is why I think that leaving this problem as it is, with the excuse that the time has not come, will create great dangers for us. In what do I see these dangers? In the mentality and psychology of the group property, which continues to grow stronger, as well as in the great differences in the pay of members and in their income from the group property, which will be bigger than those of workers. To prevent this from occurring and to maintain the proper level of pay and income in the cooperatives, the investments must be reduced, but this would mean deliberately hindering the development of agriculture. And we cannot allow this. The Party is for the uninterrupted development of productive forces. Hence, major problems are being created for us, into which we must delve more deeply.

If we look at the five-year plan, the investments in agriculture are of two types: state investments and investments made by the agricultural cooperatives. Of course, the investments of the cooperatives are smaller than state investments, which means that the state continues to invest in agriculture and in cooperatives in order to strengthen the situation of the group property. And when the time comes that these cooperatives are transformed into state farms, it seems as though the state ought to pay them. But in fact, by making investments in them the state is paying

them in advance. But when did these investments begin to be divided into and calculated as funds of the cooperative and funds of the state within the cooperative? This was done only when we created the higher-type cooperatives. However, our proletarian state has invested in cooperatives right from the time they were set up. The bearing in mind of the investments and aid which the state has provided for the higher-type cooperatives and for the other cooperatives has political importance, because it shows our concern for raising the group property towards the property of the whole people. In this connection, however, we must struggle to ensure that the cooperatives make full use of their own funds and investments for production and do not content themselves with the results achieved.

Apart from the investments which it makes, the state also provides the cooperativist economies with short- and long-term credits for investments. And, in fact, most of them have repaid the credits and have no debts. Hence, matters have reached such a stage that state credits are not always required. Why does this occur? Because some of the cooperatives have created their own special funds for investments or for the guaranteed pay, etc. But what occurs with some of these investment funds in the cooperatives? They have investment funds unused, because with the material base at our disposal we have not had possibilities to draw in these funds, that is to say, to use them to make investments in the cooperatives so that in time they would no longer exist as funds. Had we been able to draw in these funds, we would have no need to pay for them, as emerges now. Why would we not pay for them? Because they would have been materialized in investments in the land, for seed and in other directions. What would this have brought about? It would have brought about that the cooperatives would get more production and income, and

thus, speed up the process of transformation into state farms.

We must plan all the investments which are made in the cooperative, dividing them into investments by the cooperative and investments by the state. The accounts must be kept in this way, too. This must be done both in order to check up better on how the investments are used and also so that the members of the cooperative understand clearly and know that the group property of the cooperative is not entirely their property, but also belongs to the workers and the socialist state which has invested large sums. This shows clearly that the state is not indebted to the cooperative, but the cooperative is indebted to the state. Why do I say so? Because the production from investments which the state makes in industry, for example, benefits the whole society, while all the production resulting from the use of state investments in the cooperative benefits the cooperative and each of its members. Of course we do not leave all this production to the cooperatives, because we take part of it through the payments by the cooperatives for the services performed by the state and for the materials which are sold to them, etc., as well as because of those relations between the cooperative and the state which I explained above. But to be in order we must make the peasant understand these relations, so that he will combat the petty-bourgeois mentality in his own mind and implant the sound opinion that the state is not indebted to him. but on the contrary, he is indebted to the state, that he has obligations to the economy, as I said above. By acting in his way, we will proceed towards improvement of the situation.

In the existing conditions, when we are required to intensify agriculture, the state may invest in the agricultural cooperatives not 100 but even 200 million leks. To this end, for example, we will carry out drainage and land improvement schemes, will provide better cows, etc. And

we do this in order to get more production. But what does the cooperative do with this continual increase of production? It increases the accumulation of the group property. So, we must consider this problem more deeply, because you see what problem is emerging now. When we want to take a measure to advance further, this problem immediately emerges before us and we begin to think: «What are we going to do with these funds?»

Of course, even today, if you tell the members of economically weak cooperatives that they should go into state farms, they are ready. But the problem which we are discussing has to do with the most developed and economically strong cooperatives, those of the higher type. And their development will not stand still. Here the problem is that the development of the productive forces must be accompanied with the improvement step by step of the socialist relations of production. Thus, the great intensification of our agriculture, which is going to include most of the agricultural cooperatives, especially those of the plain in which we will make investments, more scientific regionalization and agricultural circulation, etc., will lead to uninterrupted growth of production and income. Consequently, this growth requires that we think continually about the further improvement of the socialist relations of production.

We have been and are very interested to ensure that agricultural production increases not only in the state farms, but also in the cooperatives, which include about 80 per cent of the area of arable land. If we get ample production, that will be all to the good. Then we will distribute it to the whole country, because if agricultural and livestock products of the cooperatives and state farms increase, they will be sold ever more cheaply on the market. As well as this, from this production funds will be secured for investments in agriculture and in heavy and light

industry, in the extracting and processing industry, etc., and the standard of living of the working people will be raised, and we are moving in this direction. All this will be done, not through raising wages, but through reducing prices or keeping them stable, through expanding the number of jobs available and employing new forces who are increasing, and so on. Hence, the problem of turning agricultural cooperatives into state farms and the problems which are linked with this process must be seen as part of the whole and connected closely with our whole advance on the road of socialism, and not as something separate.

Or let us take the problem of the cooperativists' personal plots. This is a problem of great economic, ideological and political importance, therefore we must study it very carefully and follow its tendency step by step. We notice that the volume of production and the total income from the plot has remained unchanged, or has increased slightly. It is not falling, although there is a tendency for it to diminish overall as against the production of the agricultural cooperatives. The volume of production and income of the cooperative must be increased continually, while that of the peasant plot should steadily diminish. Why? Because, since production is increasing and the income of the cooperatives is rising, this means that the needs of the cooperativists are being fulfilled ever better from the collective property, hence, the function of the personal plot should gradually disappear. We must keep an eye on how this matter develops, because here lies the biggest worm which eats away at the agricultural cooperative, it is like the nail of Nastradin, a constant excuse, in the village, which keeps the psychology of the private ownership alive among the cooperativists, and if we do not see the problems in this way, the personal plot will be another obstacle which emerges before us on the course of turning cooperatives into state farms. Now, after decades of the coopera-

tivist economy, we must not support the idea that the personal plot should assist the peasant economy as strongly as we did at the start of collectivization. No. This is not correct and cannot be presented in the same way for all the cooperatives, both for those which are weakest and for those which are the most advanced and of the higher type. If the cooperativist plot is considered, and is for a certain time, an auxiliary economy for the families in the weak cooperatives, is it so and to the same degree for the families of the advanced cooperatives?

These are not minor matters which have to do with the opening of one or two shops to supply the cooperativists, but are major problems of principle which must be understood and solved correctly, always accompanied with strong organizational measures, otherwise, we will have negative consequences.

The problem of the possibilities which are being created for turning three, four, five or six higher-type cooperatives into state farms must be looked at with this eye. And even if we manage to solve the problem from the psychological, political, economic and other stand-points, still perfect organization is required.

Now let us come to the problem of forming joint flocks of the peasants' household livestock, which the Ministry of Agriculture says is being solved. Let us hear how it is being solved. Is this problem being solved in such a way that the petty-bourgeois mentality of peasants is being combated properly? What I am getting at is that the peasants must be convinced and sure that from these animals, with which joint flocks are formed, they will have a material gain in return, i.e.. that they will be supplied with milk and meat and will be given wool for any need they might have, or will be sold cloth in place of the wool they would have taken from their household animals. However, if these needs are not fulfilled with the

joint flocks, then we are not achieving the aim of raising the well-being of the cooperativists.

I am convinced that the way we are proceeding with this question is correct, but it must be examined politically and ideologically to ensure that it is advantageous and that the administrative, organizational and financial arrangements are such that the peasant is not dissatisfied. The state must respond to his needs not simply with money, because it will pay him money, but with goods, regular supplies of which should be provided for the peasants without shortages.

In regard to the rest of cows and other livestock belonging to the cooperative, the state must certainly buy them at a price which ensures that the cooperativist is interested in selling them to the state and will not slaughter them. This is how we should handle the problem of the livestock.

Now let us come to the buildings of the cooperative. Who has made investments for them? Obviously, if the state, also, has made investments for them, we must tell the cooperativists how much the state has invested and how much the cooperative. If only the cooperative has made investments for the stalls, then the problem must be studied carefully.

Then, we come to other problems, for example, who has made investments for the blocks of fruit-trees? If we suppose that in this sector one part of the investments has been made by the state, while another part by the cooperative, then the cooperative has no obligations to the state and the state has no obligations to the cooperative. If the state has provided a credit and the cooperative has repaid it, again the products belong to the cooperative and the state must pay compensation to their value.

**THE DRAFTING OF A SCIENTIFIC AND MOBILIZING
PLAN REQUIRES PROFOUND, COMPLEX AND
SPECIFIC STUDIES**

*Opinions and views about the study on the rates of
agricultural development as a whole and the intensification
of production with priority in the lowland zones
of several districts (1)*

October 1, 1980

We have all studied the materials on agriculture which have been presented to us. However, I think that we should continue to reflect on them, and all of us have been doing this during the recent period. Thanks to the work already done, now we have a picture of how agriculture is supposed to advance during the 7th Five-year Plan, although

1 For the drafting of the 7th Five-year Plan for the period 1981-1985, on the instructions of the Central Committee of the Party, a series of studies on the situation and on the development of various branches and sectors of the economy, education and culture and on raising the well-being of the people were carried out in advance by the State Planning Commission and other state, economic and scientific bodies. As laid down, the studies were examined, first, by the working group set up at the Council of Ministers, and later, during the months of November-December 1980, were presented one by one for discussion and approval to the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party. Comrade Enver Hoxha gave important opinions, suggestions and views on each material presented.

we may still have remarks to make about this sector, and may have more later, but these ought to be well-studied and systematic. In order to accomplish the new five-year plan, greater efforts are required from all of us, not only from the physical stand-point, but also from the mental and scientific stand-point, because I believe more difficulties will emerge for us during this period.

We must thoroughly thrash out the views we have about agriculture in a preliminary discussion before the plan goes to the Political Bureau. Besides partial remarks, we must also draw some general conclusions about the plan for agriculture. For example, if we reflect a little more deeply, we can accept the variants about the total volume of agricultural production, but we must take better account of the progress already made...

I am of the opinion that we must examine very attentively the possibility of the intensification of agriculture on the plains, because this is essential and must be done. It seems to me that this study presented to us is a basis, but it is not complete. We have to realize that with this we are making a change, an advance in the field of the intensification of agriculture, but this also gives rise to many problems. The Ministry of Agriculture and we ourselves have to understand that since the time of the decision to hold the congress of the agricultural cooperatives and up to now many new ideas have emerged. Can you imagine now, comrades, how this congress would be held, what would have been said there? Well, during this period **the question of the cooperativist plots emerged, also the question of turning some higher-type agricultural cooperatives into state farms, that is, into the property of the whole people, that of turning a number of ordinary agricultural cooperatives into higher-type cooperatives, and finally, the question of the further intensification of agriculture on the plains and the question of form-**

ing joint herds of the peasants' household livestock.

These are all major and complex problems for agriculture. What I want to say is that we must not wait to solve the problems when they crop up, but try to anticipate them with studies so that we can decide whether measures must be taken step by step or some of them simultaneously.

Now we face the 7th Five-year Plan for which we must take measures so that agriculture makes further advance and the cooperativists are mobilized to accomplish this plan of the Party. The main thing that we must keep in mind is the drafting of the five-year plan, which we must strive to do in the most correct manner.

During this five-year plan special attention will be paid to the intensification of agriculture. In the study which has been presented to us this problem has been seen mainly from one angle, that of the intensification of part of the plains. At the same time, it has envisaged the question of the rotation of crops in these plains, the material aspect necessary to achieve the desired results, etc. Thus, the problem has been seen mainly from the aspect of the development of productive forces.

But what is not clear and has not been studied properly **is the problem of the improvement of relations of production, which must be seen in close connection with the development of the productive forces, which we want to achieve in these lowland zones.** Here I am referring concretely to the relations among the cooperativists, the relations of the cooperatives of this zone with one another and the relations of the cooperatives with the state. The intensification which we are going to carry out is not transition of higher-type cooperatives into state farms. The creation and development of higher-type cooperatives is a continual process. The intensification which we envisage will create greater possibilities for the eventual gradual transition of these cooperatives which are being intensified

to the property of the whole people over a large area of about 100 thousand hectares. Thus, the state sector of agriculture will continue to be extended to that arable area of the Homeland which is now state property.

My idea about intensification is that with this process we are beginning a new stage of development in these plains, and thus, going beyond the phase of creating higher-type cooperatives, which continues in the other regions. The question which ought to be added to this study is the improvement of relations of production in this zone. The strengthening of higher-type cooperatives will still be a problem for us, but only in the other lowland zones and the hilly and mountainous zones where higher-type cooperatives may also be created in the future; while in the plains, which we are intensifying with priority, we will bypass this situation through the forms of intensification. And in order to do this we must bear well in mind the experience already gained and base ourselves on it.

The further improvement and perfecting of the relations of production between people have special importance for us because of the existence of state ownership and higher-type cooperativist ownership, which are inter-linked in this phase of intensification. With the turning of three or four higher-type cooperatives into state farms, into the common property of the whole people, a number of problems emerge such as that of the compensation which we must pay for the livestock of the cooperatives or their members, etc. With the intensification, the problem of compensation will not be avoided, but through the creation of new relations of production, which we must study, it will be diminished and gradually solved during the process. The situation will be created that with the large investments of the state and the cooperative, the property of the cooperative will be gradually merged into

property of the whole people. According to my idea, the fundamental funds of the old cooperative as the property of the group will gradually diminish as a proportion of the whole, but nevertheless, the cooperative will continue to make investments along with the state investments. In the zone which will be intensified the cooperativists will continue to be paid by the workday.

The study ought to include all the plains of the country, although its application will be carried out in stages. Why in stages? Because the plan which will be presented to us covers only a period of five years, up till 1985. Naturally, certain steps will be taken year by year during the carrying out of this plan. Hence, the yields which have been envisaged over the five-year period will not be achieved all at once, but gradually. However, a plan covering a longer period of ten years should be drafted for the whole lowland zone. Within this period, the five-year stages, as well as the concrete steps for each year will be defined. In the course of the work the need for the re-examination and advance of targets will arise. Thus, we will have a separate perspective plan of a longer term for the Central Committee and the Political Bureau, and another which we must accomplish during the 5 years of the 7th Five-year Plan. **In this five-year period we shall integrate the respective part of the perspective plan and, at the same time, take measures to prepare for the coming stage. This is my general idea.**

From a careful examination of the study which has been presented, we see that some problems emerge. First of all, it seems to me that this study deals mainly with the technical and financial aspects, without linking them properly with the social aspects. For example, according to the study, a great increase of mechanization is envisaged in the plains, but no thought has been given to the question of what we are going to do with the surplus labour

forces released when the agricultural work is mechanized at such a large scale. Because it is clear that mechanization reduces the need for labour, while we need to increase mechanization to such a level which will help us to increase production and to activate the labour forces so that we do not leave people in the countryside unemployed, but at the same time, we must increase mechanization continuously.

We must bear in mind that the rural population will increase not only from natural births, but also with the surplus labour sent there from the city. Hence, this problem, too, must be taken into account. In the lowland zones which will be intensified with priority there are state farms which are short of labour, therefore, in our planning the sectors must supplement one another, while retaining the relations of production. Thus, when the state farms are short of labour we must fill these shortages with the surplus forces which some of the cooperatives included in the intensified lowland zone may have.

Hence, we must take care that the increase in mechanization, which reduces the need for labour, should not create unemployment and obstacles for us. We absolutely must avoid unemployment. The very important problem of the full employment of all the labour forces in the countryside to carry out the services which crops need has not been taken into account properly in this study.

It sounds «very nice» to say we should harvest the wheat with mechanized means over the whole Republic within 15 days, or we should harvest all the maize with combines, or we should ensure irrigation on a wide scale with artificial rain plants, or we should hoe all the spring crops with new machines, etc. But if we do achieve all these things, then we will certainly face the problem of surplus labour in the countryside. We cannot proceed on the course of those capitalist states which have only a very

low percentage of the population of the country in the rural areas and have the remainder unemployed in the streets of the cities. Today we have about 65 per cent of the population of the country living in the rural area. And this percentage will be retained more or less at this level, if we do not increase it. Therefore, the mechanization of agriculture, which must be increased, has to be harmonized with the labour employed in the cooperatives. The people there must be employed mainly in agriculture, but also in other activities which are carried on in the territory of the villages. Some of these forces could be sent to the hilly and mountainous zones. However, the problem is not solved so easily simply with decrees and administrative measures. We must be realistic about this. Here a series of measures are required which have to do with the development of agriculture and other sectors in these zones, with the mechanical movement of the population in organized forms and with clear perspectives. It seems to me that this question, too, has not been envisaged in this study.

Another question unenvisaged here is that in the united cooperatives of the plains, which will be included in the zone of priority intensification, there are also villages of hilly and mountainous zones. What problems emerge from this situation? We must think about this and act with care. I stress this because together with the zones which have been studied for inclusion in the intensification, there are also major parts of cooperatives which extend to the mountainous zones and which form and remain a whole. Therefore, I think that until this process is completed we ought to retain the existing organization of the cooperatives which are included in the intensification.

During this period the value of the workday will be increased for the cooperativists who must make efforts to accomplish the five-year plan, and that is the purpose of intensification, therefore, the fund of accumulation should

also be increased by the cooperatives. This will stimulate the participation of the cooperatives to increase the level of production. By this means and in this way the living standard of the cooperativists will be improved and the possibilities will be created for the state to increase its investments in other zones and districts. At the same time, we will lead all the cooperatives on this course towards turning into state farms. We must study these problems carefully, comrades, and find the practical possibilities to make the investments we intend to make in the lowland zone.

We must make the investments in stages and harmonized according to the directions which advance the development of agricultural production, for example, irrigation by artificial rain plants, the use of fertilizers, mechanization, the levelling and draining of the land, etc.

Now let me deal with mechanization. What emerges from the study presented to us? The forecast made seems to me high. In the 7th Five-year Plan the level of mechanization will be higher in the districts where we intend to intensify the plains with priority. But here we must bear well in mind what I said before about the factor of labour in agriculture, and we must in no way neglect the other part of agriculture where there must be progress in intensification, too. In specifying the machines which we will import we must take proper account of this latter factor and in the distribution of this machinery we must take well into account the mechanical base that we have created hitherto. Its distribution must be carefully calculated on the basis of the targets set for the increase of production. It is important for us that the five-year plan in agriculture should be accomplished mainly with the mechanical base which we possess, with a reasonable number of additional machines from imports and local production.

Above I have presented some ideas about improvement of the socialist relations of production in (the zone of priority intensification. Now I want to develop this problem a little more extensively. The improvement of relations of production is essential in order to open broader roads to the development of productive forces, as well as to prepare the conditions to go over gradually in the future to the transformation in a natural and voluntary way of the group property into property of the whole people.

The intensification and the improvement of socialist relations in this zone must achieve a number of objectives:

— The increase of agricultural and livestock production at more rapid rates, in order to fulfil the greatest needs of the country better.

— The increase of the effectiveness of investments and expenditure in production, making better use of the best soil and climatic conditions.

— The gradual raising of the level of well-being of the cooperativist peasantry up to that of workers of state farms.

— The increase in income for society.

I think the further improvement of the relations of production should be made in these directions: a) in the relations between the state and the cooperative; b) in the relations between the cooperative and its members; c) in the relations of organization and management of the work and production.

The improvement of relations in these three directions must be done in such a way that the sphere of relations of state ownership is gradually extended, and the sphere of relations of cooperativist ownership is gradually restricted. This process will be carried out both in the relations of ownership and in those of exchange, distribution and management.

A. ABOUT THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE STATE AND THE COOPERATIVE

The state should participate directly in all the agricultural cooperatives of the zone of intensification (both the higher-type and the ordinary cooperatives). This participation should be:

— **With fundamental investments for the development of production** (for the land, irrigation, for building stalls, for machinery, for fruit-trees, for production livestock, and for other objects).

On the basis of existing possibilities, the tendency of the state investments should be for their continual increase with the aim of achieving the intensification required and gradually increasing the share of the state in the main means of production.

For their part, the agricultural cooperatives, too, must continue to increase their sources of accumulation in order to meet a part of the investments and of the essential needs for means of circulation:

— **With means of circulation**, in order to meet the increase in the material expenditure for production which comes about as a result of a higher level of intensification. The state share in these means of circulation should always be supplementary, after the funds of the cooperatives themselves have first been used.

— **With the combination of relations of ownership between the state and the cooperative, the relations in the field of distribution must also be improved.** As a result of the greater intensification, the right emerges for the state to take without compensation a greater share than hitherto from the product for society, which is created by the living labour in the agricultural cooperative. This can be done through the present channels (by means of taking from the cooperative a larger amount than at present of

the centralized net income), or through some other form which is used at present in the state farms...

When the accounts are made and the net income is divided, things must be worked out clearly. In regard to the five-year plan which we are preparing we must bear in mind that the cooperative must accomplish it, adhering to the regulations which exist under the laws and orders in force. The cooperativist cannot receive more than his due. Likewise, in the cooperatives of this zone, in order to avoid a fall in pay in the case of a lean year, in the early years they should proceed at slower rates in their distribution of the fund of consumption, while transferring as much money as possible to the guaranteed pay fund.

The state organs and the agricultural cooperatives should set the level of the norm of accumulation jointly, aiming to maintain the priority of the increase in the fund of accumulation in comparison with the fund of consumption in regard to the internal resources of the cooperative, but without reducing the level of average pay received during the past two to three years.

In regard to the long-term bank credit for investments, in all the cooperatives of this zone it should be replaced with the state participation. For the expenditure for production (which is not covered with the funds of circulation of the cooperative and the state) short-term credit should be continued to be provided just as is done for the state farms.

By acting in this way, eventually, when the socio-economic conditions are created for turning the cooperative into a state farm, the value of the main means (buildings, machinery, fruit-trees, replacement livestock, etc.), in general, should not be distributed to the members. From the main means, the value of the livestock of production will be distributed. Likewise, those values which represent stocks of agricultural and animal products, the unused

part of the guaranteed pay fund and some other item could be distributed to them.

— In the field of relations of exchange improvements can be made in a number of main directions. The method of collection, storing and handling of bread grain should gradually change. The aim should be that eventually only seed grain and fodder grain should be held by the agricultural cooperatives, while the remaining grain should be handed to the state, which must undertake the supply of the cooperativists with bread, which is paid for, just as it does for the workers of the state farms, using the bakeries of the agricultural cooperatives for this purpose.

In connection with this, the idea could be studied of setting up a number of collection centres for groups of cooperatives, to which bulk products like wheat, maize, cotton, rice, sunflower, etc., or vegetables, potatoes and fruit are first transported to be processed and then manipulated by the wholesale purchase or trade enterprises. In this context, the need will arise for re-examination of some standards (moisture content, impurities, etc.), as well as the wholesale purchase prices, bearing in mind that the costs of processing should be met by the producing economies.

The planning of material-technical supplies and securing the necessary base for investments and for the expenditure of production in the zone of priority intensification should be done on a more scientific basis for the agricultural cooperatives, too. and should be guaranteed.

B. ABOUT THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE COOPERATIVE AND THE MEMBERS

Depending on the degree of intensification, the increase in production and the improvement of the relations between the state and the cooperative, the relations between

the cooperative and its members will also gradually change. The aim should be that, from the stand-point of remuneration for their labour, forms of payment, social security, supplies of food-stuffs and the fulfilment of their needs for vital services, the cooperativists should gradually reach the situation of agricultural workers.

The cooperativists' level of pay should gradually rise up to the level of the pay of agricultural workers, but should by no means exceed it. Here we must take into account properly both the possibilities of guaranteeing their pay and the priority in the creation of the fund of accumulation (as mentioned above). The level of the payments in advance made throughout the year should gradually increase. Everything will be accomplished with work and will be paid according to the amount of work done. We will create the material blessings ourselves. Likewise, the measures laid down for the forming of joint herds of the cooperativists' household cows and the reduction of the personal plot should be applied completely and, first, in the zone which is to be intensified. This will bring about that, along with the increase in the level of the cooperativists' pay, their income from the cooperativist plot will be proportionately reduced.

In the zone to be intensified we must proceed gradually and in an organized way towards the taking over by the state of the trade in certain food products, which the cooperatives trade today (bread, vegetables, milk, etc.), as well as communal and vital services, just as is done for the residential centres on the state farms.

C. ABOUT THE RELATIONS OF MANAGEMENT AND THE ORGANIZATION OF WORK AND PRODUCTION

The tasks for the more rapid development of productive forces and the interconnection of the economic

and social relations of the group property with those of the state property also require other measures in the field of organization and management, so that they support all this process of development and transformation in the best possible way.

First of all, the possibilities created by the intensification and the improvement of relations in this lowland zone must be utilized with the maximum effectiveness to bring about a concentration and cooperation on a broader scale and on sound scientific foundations. In some cases this may require going beyond the boundaries of this or that cooperative.

In those agricultural cooperatives planning should assume the form of an obligatory state directive and not the form of recommendation, which it is today. Likewise, the control by the state organs, in the course of carrying out the plan, of the accounts, the expenditure, the depositing and use of income should be strengthened continuously and gradually reach the level of state farms.

Bearing in mind the perspective, we must proceed step by step towards the application of forms of internal organization which the most advanced state farms have and apply (the optimal size of sectors, their tasks and competences, the size and specialization of brigades, etc.).

In this zone, too, investments will be made in buildings of considerable material value and with more advanced technology, which will require the strengthening of the existing organs in the service of agriculture and, possibly, even the creation of special building enterprises, or the finding of other more suitable forms.

The application of the Party directive to accelerate the intensification of production and improve the relations of production over an extensive territory requires that the organs and organizations of the Party and the state and the economic organs at the base and in the centre should

step up the care and the work of organization and leadership. In this direction, the need for following the measures that will be taken in this zone more closely and in concentrated ways could be examined.

I see this course as a transitional stage in the further strengthening of our socialist system of agriculture and the turning of the agricultural cooperatives of the lowland zone into state farms. This will be a great success.

This does not mean in any way that we are going to neglect the mountainous zones, on the contrary, with these measures that we are taking we shall create greater material possibilities to assist the mountainous zones, too (and this we must do without fail), because a large part of the population of the country lives there and those zones include a considerable proportion of the arable land.

In the intensification of production and, closely linked with this, in the improvement of relations of production in the zone included in the study we must take well into account the overall possibilities of the economy and the needs for further development of production in the remaining part of the lowland zone and the hilly and mountainous zone. If possible, the investments and supplementary resources which will be used in this zone should be secured in the framework of the whole economy, and not through the redistribution of the quotas of the five-year plan for agriculture, because this would reduce the rates of development of agriculture in the other zones, and this must not be permitted.

Within the zone to be intensified, the fulfilment of the needs and the accomplishment of targets in the existing state farms should have priority, with the aim that the state farms should be in the vanguard and always set the example to the cooperatives from all viewpoints.

I think that the study presented for the area of

about 100 thousand hectares needs to go more thoroughly into such problems as the increase of the effectiveness of investments, the period required for investments to pay for themselves, etc. The whole complex of the progress of extended reproduction in this zone (the increase of production, of expenditure, of the income which will be secured and how it will be distributed, of the investments, the means of circulation, the funds of pay and social security, the amount of accumulation which the state will take, etc.) must be examined in this context.

If all these questions and other problems which might arise during the study and its application are treated in a comprehensive manner, the result will be that the development of the productive forces and the improvement of relations of production in the whole zone envisaged will be accomplished correctly and serve as a basis for the next steps that will be taken for the development of the co-operativist order and the whole life of our socialist countryside. The development of this process must be followed continuously, and its individual elements must be elaborated time after time so that we proceed confidently on the right road to attain in practice the new objectives which we are deciding.

«About the 7th Five-year Plan»

THE KHRUSHCHEVITES

Memoirs

(Excerpts)

Two decades have gone by since the Meeting of 81 communist and workers' parties of the world, which has gone down in history as one of the most important events in the struggle which is being waged between Marxism-Leninism and opportunism. At this Meeting our Party opened fire on the revisionist group of Khrushchev which was ruling in the Soviet Union and struggling in every way to subjugate the entire international communist movement, all the communist and workers' parties of the world, and set them on its road of betrayal.

Our open and principled attack on Khrushchevite modern revisionism at the Meeting in November 1960 was not a surprise move. On the contrary, it was the logical continuation of the Marxist-Leninist stand which the Party of Labour of Albania had always maintained, was the transition to a new, higher stage of the struggle which our Party had long been waging for the defence and consistent application of Marxism-Leninism.

From the time the Khrushchevites took power to the moment when we came out in open confrontation with them, the relations of the Party of Labour of Albania with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union went through

a complicated process, with zigzags, with periods of exacerbation and periods of temporary normalization. This was the process of each getting to know the other through encounters in the course of the struggle and the continual clash of views. After the Khrushchevite revisionist putschists came to power, our Party, basing itself on the events that were taking place there, on certain stands and actions, which were ill-defined at first, but which, step by step, were becoming more concrete, began to sense the great danger of this clique of renegades, which hid behind a deafening pseudo-Marxist demagogy, and to understand that this clique was becoming a great threat both to the cause of the revolution and socialism, as a whole, and to our country.

We became more and more aware that the views and stands of Nikita Khrushchev on important questions of the international communist movement and the socialist camp differed from our views and stands. The 20th Congress of the CPSU, in particular, was the event which made us adopt a stand of opposition to Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites. As Marxist-Leninists and in a Marxist-Leninist way, time after time we had pointed out to the Soviet leaders our reservations and objections to their conciliatory stands towards the Yugoslav revisionists, about many aspects of their unprincipled foreign policy, about many of their wrong and completely un-Marxist stands and actions on major international problems, etc. Although they sometimes feigned a retreat, they continued on their course, while we refused to swallow what they served up to us, but on the contrary, defended our views and implemented our internal and external policy.

With the passage of time this brought about that we became better acquainted with each other's positions, and neither side trusted the other. For our part, we continued to preserve our friendship with the Soviet Union, with its

peoples, continued to build socialism according to the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, continued as before to defend the great Stalin and his work and to fight unwaveringly against Yugoslav revisionism. Our existing doubts about the Soviet revisionists increased and deepened from day to day, because day by day Khrushchev and company were acting in opposition to Marxism-Leninism.

Khrushchev was aware of our reservations about the 20th Congress, and about the policy which he followed with the Titoites, imperialism, etc., but his tactic was not to hasten to exacerbate the situation with us Albanians. He hoped to profit from the friendship which we displayed for the Soviet Union to take the Albanian fortress from within and to get us into the bag with smiles and threats, by giving us some reduced credits, as well as through pressure and blockades. Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites thought: «We know the Albanians. However stubborn they are, however hot-tempered they are, they have nowhere else to turn to, because we have them pinned up and, if they prove difficult, if they don't obey us, then we will show our teeth, we'll cut them off and boycott them, and overthrow all those who oppose us.»

The Khrushchev group prepared this course of action, promoted and deepened it, thinking that it would achieve its aim «quietly and gently» and «without any fuss». However, the reality was convincing them that this tactic was yielding no fruit, and thus their impatience and arrogance began to emerge. The situation became tense. Then it was «eased» only to grow tense again. We understood where this course would lead Khrushchev and company, therefore we strengthened our vigilance, and while replying to manifestations of their despotism, we tried to prolong the «peace» while safeguarding our principles.

But the moment came when the cup was full to overflowing. The «peace», which had seemed to exist before,

could continue no longer. Khrushchev went openly on to the attack to subjugate and force us to follow his utterly opportunist line. Then we told Khrushchev bluntly and loudly «No!», we said «Stop!» to his treacherous activity. This marked the beginning of a long and very difficult struggle in which our Party, to its glory and the glory of the people who gave birth to it and raised it, consistently safeguarded the interests of its socialist Homeland, persistently defended Marxism-Leninism and the genuine international communist movement.

At that time many people did not understand the attitude of the Party of Labour of Albania; there were even well-wishers of our Party and country who considered this action hasty, some had not yet completely understood the Khrushchevites' betrayal, some others thought that we broke away from the Soviet Union to link up with China, etc. Today, not only the friends, but also the enemies of socialist Albania have understood the principled character of the uninterrupted struggle which our Party has waged and is waging against opportunists of every hue.

Time has fully confirmed how right the Party of Labour of Albania was to fight the Khrushchevites and refuse to follow their line. To this fight, which demanded and still demands great sacrifices, our small Homeland owes the freedom and independence it prizes so highly and its successful development on the road of socialism. Only thanks to the Marxist-Leninist line of our Party did Albania not become and never will become a protectorate of the Russians or anyone else.

Since 1961 our Party of Labour has not had any link or contact with the Khrushchevites. In the future, too, it will never establish party relations with them, and we do not have and will never have even state relations with the Soviet social-imperialists. As up to now, our Party will consistently wage the ideological and political struggle for

the exposure of these enemies of Marxism-Leninism. We acted in this way both when Khrushchev was in power and when he was brought down and replaced by the Brezhnev team. Our Party had no illusions, but on the contrary, was quite certain that Brezhnev, Kosygin, Suslov, Mikoyan, and others who had been Khrushchev's closest collaborators and had jointly organized and put into practice the revisionist counter-revolution in the Soviet Union, would persist in their former line.*

They eliminated Khrushchev (1) with the aim of protecting Khrushchevism from the discredit which the master himself was bringing upon it with his endless buffoonery, eliminated the «father» with the aim of implementing the complete restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union with greater intensity and effectiveness.

In this direction Brezhnev and company have proved to be the «worthy pupils» of their ill-famed teacher. Within the Soviet Union they established and strengthened the dictatorial fascist regime, while they turned the foreign policy of their state into a policy of great-state chauvinism, expansion and hegemonism. Under the leadership of the Brezhnev Khrushchevites, the Soviet Union has been turned into an imperialist world power and, like the United States of America, aims to rule the world. Among the bitter evidence of the utterly reactionary policy of Soviet social-imperialism are the tragic events in Czechoslovakia, (2) the strengthening of the domination of the Kremlin over the countries of the Warsaw Treaty, the deepening of

* See article «With the Downfall of N. Khrushchev Khrushchevite Revisionism Has Not Been Eliminated», Enver Hoxha, Selected Works, vol 3, «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1980, pp. 657-665, Eng. ed.

1 Khrushchev was relieved of his functions on October 14, 1964.

2 In August 1968 the armies of the Soviet revisionists and their satellites occupied Czechoslovakia.

their all-round dependence on Moscow and the extension of the tentacles of Soviet social-imperialism to Asia, Africa and elsewhere.

The correct assessments and forecasts of our Party about the reactionary internal and foreign policy of Brezhnev have been and are being constantly confirmed. The most recent example is Afghanistan, where the Brezhnev Khrushchevites undertook an open fascist aggression⁽³⁾ and now are trying to quell the flames of the people's war there with fire and steel in order to prolong their social-imperialist occupation.

The fact that our small Homeland and people have not suffered the tragic fate of all those who are now languishing under imperialist or social-imperialist slavery is the best testimony to the correctness of the consistent, courageous and principled line which our Party of Labour has always followed.

The merit of this correct course belongs to the whole Party and, in particular, to its leadership, the Central Committee, which, imbued with and loyal to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, our guiding theory, has always led the Party and the people correctly. In the great tests which we have had to withstand, the unity of the Party with its leadership and the unity of the people around the Party have been brilliant and have become further tempered. This steel unity gave the Party support and strength in the difficult but glorious struggle against the Khrushchevite revisionists, too. This unity has been and is the foundation of the stability and confidence with which Albania has marched and is marching forward, withstanding the pressure and blackmail, the blandishments and demagoguery of enemies of all hues.

As a communist and leader of the Party, I, too, have

3 In the end of December 1979.

had to take part actively in and make my contribution to all this heroic struggle of our Party. Charged by the Party and its leadership, since the liberation of Albania, and especially during the years 1950-1960, I have headed delegations of the Party and the state many times in official meetings with the Soviet leaders and with the main leaders of other communist and workers' parties. Likewise, many times we have exchanged reciprocal visits, I have taken part in consultations and international meetings of communist parties at which I have expressed and defended the correct line, decisions and instructions of the Party. In all these meetings and visits I have become closely acquainted with glorious, unforgettable leaders, like Stalin, Dimitrov, Gottwald, Bierut, Pieck and others, and likewise, I have had to enter into contact with and know the Khrushchevite traitors, who, through a long and complicated process, gradually usurped power in the Soviet Union and in the former countries of people's democracy respectively.

The relations with them and the stands maintained by our Party during this period have been reflected in the documents of the Party, in my writings which are being published by decision of the Central Committee, as well as in other documents which are found in the Central Archives of the Party. Now I am handing over these notes for publication as my reminiscences and impressions from the many contacts and clashes with the Khrushchevites, which cover the period from 1953, after the death of Stalin, to the end of 1961, when the Khrushchev group broke off diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Albania. Taken together with other published materials and documents covering that period, these notes, too, I believe, will serve to acquaint the communists and working masses better, both with the counter-revolutionary activity of the Soviet revisionists inside and outside the Soviet Union, and with

the always correct and consistent struggle of our Party in defence of Marxism-Leninism, the people and our socialist Homeland.

One of the main directions of Khrushchev's strategy and tactics was to seize complete political and ideological power within the Soviet Union and to put the Soviet army and the state security organs in his service.

The Khrushchev group would work to achieve this objective step by step. At first, it would not attack Marxism-Leninism, the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union and Stalin frontally. On the contrary, this group would base itself on the successes achieved and, moreover, would exalt them to the maximum, in order to gain credit for itself and create a situation of euphoria, with the aim of destroying the socialist base and superstructure later.

First of all, this renegade group had to get control of the party, in order to eliminate the possible resistance of those cadres who had not lost the revolutionary class vigilance, to neutralize the waverers and win them over by means of persuasion or threats, as well as to promote to the key leading positions bad, anti-Marxist, careerist, opportunist elements of whom, of course, there were some in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the apparatus of the Soviet state.

After the Great Patriotic War some negative phenomena appeared in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The difficult economic situation, the devastation and destruction, the great human losses which occurred in the Soviet Union, required a total mobilization of the cadres and the masses for its consolidation and progress. However, instead of this, a falling-off in the character and morale of many cadres was noticed. On the other hand, through their conceit and boasting about the glory of the battles won, through their decorations and privileges, with

their many vices and distorted views, the power-seeking elements were overwhelming the vigilance of the party and causing it to decay from within. A caste was created in the army which extended its despotic and arrogant domination to the party, too, altering its proletarian character. The party should have been the sword of the revolution, but this caste corroded it.

I am of the opinion that even before the war, but especially after the war, signs of a deplorable apathy appeared in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This party had a great reputation and had achieved colossal successes in the course of its work, but at the same time it had started to lose the revolutionary spirit and was becoming infected by bureaucracy and routine. The Leninist norms, the teachings of Lenin and Stalin had been transformed by the *apparatchiki* into stale platitudes and hackneyed slogans devoid of operative worth. The Soviet Union was a vast country, the people worked, produced, created. It was said that industry was developing at the necessary rates and that the socialist agriculture was advancing. But this development was not at the level it should have been.

It was not the «wrong» line of Stalin which held up the progress. On the contrary, this line was correct and Marxist-Leninist, but it was frequently applied badly and even distorted and sabotaged by enemy elements. Stalin's correct line was distorted also by the disguised enemies in the ranks of the party and in the organs of the state, by the opportunists, liberals. Trotskyites and revisionists, as the Khrushchevs, Mikoyans, Suslovs, Kosygins, and others eventually turned out to be.

Before the death of Stalin, Khrushchev and his close collaborators in the putsch were among the main leaders who acted under cover, who made preparations and awaited the appropriate moment for open action on a broad scale. It is a fact that these traitors were hardened

conspirators, with the experience of various Russian counter-revolutionaries, the experience of anarchists, Trotskyites and Bukharinites. They were also acquainted with the experience of the revolution and the Bolshevik Party, although they learned nothing of benefit from the revolution, but learned everything they needed to undermine the revolution and socialism, while escaping the blows of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In short, they were counter-revolutionaries and double-dealers. On the one hand, they sang the praises of socialism, the revolution, the Bolshevik Communist Party, Lenin and Stalin, and on the other hand, they prepared the counter-revolution.

Hence, all this accumulated scum carried out sabotage with the subtlest methods, which they disguised by praising Stalin and the socialist regime. These elements disorganized the revolution while organizing the counter-revolution, displayed «severity» against internal enemies in order to spread fear and terror in the party, the state and the people. It was they who created a situation full of euphoria which they reported to Stalin, but in reality they destroyed the base of the party, the base of the state, caused spiritual degeneration and built up the cult of Stalin to the skies in order to overthrow him more easily in the future.

This was a diabolical hostile activity which had a stranglehold on the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Stalin, who, as the historical facts showed, was surrounded by enemies. Almost none of the members of the Presidium and the Central Committee raised their voices in defence of socialism and Stalin.

If a detailed analysis is made of the political, ideological and organizational directives of Stalin in the leadership and organization of the party, the war and the work, in general, mistakes of principle will not be found, but if we

bear in mind how they were distorted by the enemies and applied in practice, we will see the dangerous consequences of these distortions and it will become obvious why the party began to become bureaucratic, to be immersed in routine work and dangerous formalism which sapped its strength, strangled its revolutionary spirit and enthusiasm. The party became covered by a heavy layer of rust, by political apathy, thinking mistakenly that the head, the leadership, operates and solves everything on its own. From such a concept, the situation was created that in every instance and about everything they would say, «this is the leadership's business», «the Central Committee does not make mistakes», «Stalin has said this, and that's all there is to it», etc. Stalin might not have said many things, but they were covered with his name. The apparatus and the officials became «omnipotent», «infallible» and operated in bureaucratic ways under the slogans of democratic centralism and bolshevik criticism and self-criticism, which were no longer bolshevik in reality. There is no doubt that in this way the Bolshevik Party lost its former vitality. It lived on with correct slogans, but they were only slogans; it carried out orders, but did not act on its own initiative; with the methods and forms of work which were used in the leadership of the party, the opposite results were achieved.

In such conditions bureaucratic administrative measures began to predominate over revolutionary measures. Vigilance was no longer operative because it was no longer revolutionary, regardless of all the boasting about it. From a vigilance of the party and the masses, it was being turned into a vigilance of bureaucratic apparatus and transformed, in fact, if not completely from the formal viewpoint, into a vigilance of the state security organs and the courts.

It is understandable that in such conditions, non-proletarian, non-working class feelings and views began to take

root and to be cultivated in the ranks of the CP of the Soviet Union and in the consciousness of many of the communists. Careerism, servility, charlatanism, unhealthy cronyism, anti-proletarian morality, etc., began to spread. These evils eroded the party from within, smothered the feeling of class struggle and sacrifice and encouraged seeking the «good life» with comforts, with privileges, with personal gains and the least possible work and effort. In this way the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois mentality was created, and this was expressed in such words and thoughts as: «We worked and fought for this socialist state and we triumphed, now let us enjoy the benefits from it», «we can't be touched, the past excuses us for everything.» The greatest danger was that this outlook was becoming established even in the old cadres of the party with a splendid past and proletarian origin, even in the members of the Presidium of the Central Committee, who ought to have set an example of purity to the others. There were many such people in the leadership, in the apparatus, and they made adroit use of the revolutionary words and phrases and the theoretical formulas of Lenin and Stalin, reaped the laurels of the work of others and encouraged the bad example. Thus, a worker aristocracy made up of bureaucratic cadres was being created in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Regrettably, such a process of degeneration developed under the «joyful» and «hopeful» slogans that «everything is going well, normally, within the laws and norms of the party», which in fact were being violated, that «the class struggle is still being waged», that «democratic centralism is safeguarded», «criticism and self-criticism continues as before», that «there is steel unity in the party», «there are no more factional, anti-party elements», «the time of Trotskyite and Bukharinite groups is passed», etc., etc. Generally speaking, even the revolutionary elements considered such a distorted concept of the situation to be a

normal reality and, this is the essence of the drama and the fatal mistake, therefore it was considered that there was nothing to be alarmed about, that the enemies, the thieves, the violators of morality were being condemned by the courts, that the unworthy members were being expelled from the party, and new members admitted to it, as usual, that the plans were being realized although there were some that were not being realized, that people were being criticized, condemned, praised, etc. Hence, according to them, life was proceeding normally, and thus it was reported to Stalin: «Everything is going normally.» We are convinced that if Stalin, as the great revolutionary he was, had known the reality of the situation in the party, he would have struck a crushing blow at this unhealthy spirit and the entire party and the Soviet people would have risen to their feet to support him because, quite correctly, they had great trust in Stalin.

Not only did the apparatuses misinform Stalin, and bureaucratically deform his correct directives, but they had created such a situation among the people and in the party that even when Stalin went among the masses of the party and the people, to the extent that his age and health permitted, they did not inform him about the shortcomings and mistakes which were occurring, because the apparatus had implanted the opinion amongst the communists and the masses that «we must not worry Stalin».

The great hullabaloo the Khrushchevites made about the so-called cult of Stalin was really only a bluff. It was not Stalin, who was a modest person, who had built up this cult, but all the revisionist scum accumulated at the head of the party and the state which, apart from anything else, exploited the great love of the Soviet peoples for Stalin, especially after the victory over fascism. If one reads the speeches of Khrushchev, Mikoyan and all the other members of the Presidium, one will see what unrestrained

and hypocritical praises these enemies poured on Stalin as long as he was alive. It is sickening to read these things when you think that behind all this praise they were hiding their hostile work from the communists and the masses who were deceived, thinking that they had to do with leaders loyal to Marxism-Leninism and comrades loyal to Stalin.

Even for some time after Stalin's death, the «new» Soviet leaders, and Khrushchev above all, still did not speak badly about him, indeed they described him as a «great man», a «leader of indisputable authority», etc. Khrushchev had to speak in this way to gain credit inside and outside the Soviet Union, in order to create the idea that he was «loyal» to socialism and the revolution, a «continuer» of the work of Lenin and Stalin.

Khrushchev and Mikoyan were the bitterest enemies of Marxism-Leninism and Stalin. These two headed the plot and the putsch which they had prepared long before, together with anti-Marxist, careerist elements of the Central Committee, of the army, and leaders at the base. These putschists did not show their hand immediately after the death of Stalin, but, when it was necessary and to the extent it was necessary continued to administer the poison along with their praises for Stalin. It is true that Mikoyan, in particular, in the many meetings I have had with him, never boosted Stalin, irrespective of the fact that in speeches and discourses the putschists heaped praises and glory on Stalin on every occasion. They fostered the cult of Stalin in order to isolate him as much as possible from the masses, and, hiding behind this cult, they prepared the catastrophe.

Khrushchev and Mikoyan worked to a plan and after the death of Stalin found an open field for their activity, also because of the fact that Malenkov, Beria, Bulganin and Voroshilov proved to be not only blind, but also ambitious, and each of them struggled for power.

They and others, old revolutionaries and honest communists, had now turned into typical representatives of that bureaucratic routine, of that bureaucratic «legality», which developed, and when they made a feeble attempt to use this «legality» against the obvious plot of the Khrushchevites, it was already too late.

Khrushchev and Mikoyan, in complete unity, knew how to manoeuvre amongst them and to set one against the other. In a few words, they applied this tactic: split and divide in the Presidium, organize the forces of the putsch outside, continue to speak well about Stalin in order to have the millions strong masses on their side, and thus bring closer the day of the seizure of power, the liquidation of opponents, and of a whole glorious epoch of the construction of socialism, the victory of the Patriotic War, etc. All this feverish activity (and we sensed this) was aimed to create the popularity of Khrushchev inside the Soviet Union and outside it.

Under the umbrella of the victories which the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had scored under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, Khrushchev did his utmost to make the Soviet peoples and the Soviet communists think that nothing had changed, one great leader had died, but a «greater» leader was rising, and what a leader he was! «As principled and Leninist as the former, if not more so, but liberal, popular, smiling, all humour and jokes!»

Meanwhile the revisionist viper, which was becoming active, started to pour out its poison about the figure and work of Stalin. At first this was done without attacking Stalin by name, but attacking him indirectly.

In one of the meetings which I had with Khrushchev, in June 1954, in an allegedly principled and theoretical way he began to expound to me the great importance of «collective leadership», and the great damage which comes

about when this leadership is replaced by the cult of one person, and mentioned isolated excerpts from Marx and Lenin, so that I would think that what he was saying had a «Marxist-Leninist basis».

He said nothing against Stalin, but he fired off all his batteries at Beria, accusing him of real and non-existent crimes. The truth is that in this initial stage of Khrushchev's revisionist assault, Beria was the appropriate card to play to advance the secret plans. As I have written above, Beria was presented by Khrushchev as the cause of many evils: he had allegedly underrated the role of the first secretary, damaged the «collective leadership», and wanted to put the party under the control of the state security apparatus. On the pretext of the struggle against the damage caused by Beria, Khrushchev, on the one hand, established himself in the leadership of the party and state and took control of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and on the other hand, prepared public opinion for the open attack which he was to undertake later on Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, and on the real work of the Bolshevik Communist Party of Lenin and Stalin.

Many of these surprising actions and changes made an impression on us, but it was too early to be able to grasp the true proportions of the plot which was being carried out. Nevertheless, even at that time we could not fail to notice the contradictory nature of various actions and opinions of this «new leader», who was taking over the reins in the Soviet Union. This same Khrushchev, who was now parading before us as a «disciple of collective leadership», a few days earlier in a meeting which we had with him, when he spoke to us about the role of the first secretary of the party and the prime minister, presented himself as an ardent supporter of the «role of the individual» and the «firm hand».

After Stalin's death, it seemed an allegedly collec-

tive leadership was established by these «adherents to principle». The collective leadership was publicized to show that «Stalin had violated the principle of collective leadership», that he «had degraded this important norm for Leninist leadership», and that the «leadership of the party and the state had been transformed from collective leadership into individual leadership». This was a big lie, publicized by the Khrushchevites to prepare the ground for themselves. If the collective leadership principle had been violated, the blame for this must be laid, not on the correct ideas which Stalin expressed on different problems, but on the hypocritical flattery of those others and on the arbitrary decisions which they themselves took, distorting the line in the various sectors which they led. How could all the activity of these anti-party elements who worked around Stalin be checked upon, when they themselves spread the idea that «*Tse-Ka znayet vsyo*»*?! In this way they wanted to convince the party and the people that «Stalin knows everything that is going on», and «he approves everything». In other words, in the name of Stalin, and by means of their apparatchiki, they suppressed criticism and tried to turn the Bolshevik Party into a lifeless party, into an organization without will and energy, which would vegetate from day to day, approving everything that the bureaucracy decided, concocted and distorted.

In the campaign allegedly for the establishment of the collective leadership Khrushchev was trying to perform a slight-of-hand trick, under cover of a deafening clamour about the struggle against the cult of the individual. There were no more photographs of Khrushchev on the daily press, no more big headlines boosting him, but another stale tactic was used: all the newspapers were filled with

* «The Central Committee knows everything» (Russian in the original).

his public speeches, his discourses, reports about his meetings with foreign ambassadors, his nightly attendances at diplomatic receptions, his meetings with delegations of communist parties, his meetings with American journalists, businessmen and senators and Western millionaires, who were friends of Khrushchev. The aim of this whole tactic was to make a contrast with Stalin's method of «working behind closed doors», of «his sectarian work», which, according to the Khrushchevites, had allegedly been so harmful to the opening of the Soviet Union to the world.

The purpose of this Khrushchevite propaganda was to show the Soviet people that now they had found the «genuine Leninist leader who knows everything, who settles everything correctly, who has extraordinary vigour, who is giving the proper reply to everyone», whose irresistible activity «is putting everything right in the Soviet Union, cleaning up the crimes of the past, and assuring progress».

Taken from
«The Khrushchevites»,
Tirana 1982,
Alb. ed.

WE MUST HAVE A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE LIFE AND THE RICH WORLD OF THE YOUTH

*From a talk at the daily meeting of the secretaries
of the CC of the PLA*

November 7, 1980

Yesterday at the meeting of the Secretariat(1) we had a material on the work with the youth. In the contribution which I made on this problem, among other things, I pointed out that we should take a closer look at the method Of work of the Party with the youth. I want to stress some matters again today.

The work of the Party with the youth is very important. It is not sufficient simply to give the youth general orientations and directives of the Party. On the contrary, it is necessary to rack our brains how to make these directives and orientations understandable so that they are applied effectively. The problem is that we must achieve in practice a more qualified leadership, with broader horizons, by the Party. The leadership of the Party in the youth organization should not be gauged and evaluated by whether or not the secretary of the basic organization of

1 This meeting discussed the report presented by the Central Committee of the LYUA, «On the implementation of the tasks of the 4th Plenum of the CC of the PLA for the revolutionary education of the youth and the struggle against alien manifestations».

the Party or some other communist attended its meeting, by whether or not the leaders of the youth have been called on to report, but by the results which are achieved in practice, by the implementation of the directives of the Party arid by the daily work of the youth. This means you must keep the youth informed and clear about the directives of the Party, must detail these directives in the concrete conditions in which the youth work and learn, must have first-hand knowledge of their work and problems, must live with them all the time, must enter into their internal world and mobilize them for ever greater achievements.

The youth cannot tolerate formalism and they themselves work and struggle to overcome anything that smells of it. Those who think that «the youth ought to discuss the problems which worry them only at the meetings of their organization» overlook the fact that life is broad and deep, that it continually gives rise to many problems all of which cannot be raised and solved in an hour and a half at the meeting of the youth organization which is held once a month. The many different ideas and opinions of the youth cannot be brought together and channelled in such a short time. What's the use of asking the young man why he does not discuss all the problems which worry him in the organization? He comes to the meeting of the organization to learn something he doesn't know and to receive the orientation which he has to understand and apply correctly on the basis of the line of the Party, but he cannot be required to say everything at the meeting, because this is impossible and would make the meeting boring.

We must educate the youth all the time as the Party requires, employing the most varied forms and means. It cannot be educated solely through meetings, which frequently become boring and are reduced to meetings which simply criticize, criticize and criticize undesirable actions of young people. The youth organization has a major edu-

catational role based on the fundamental orientations of the Party. Anyone who breaches norms of our socialist society will be criticized, but the educational work must not be continually reduced simply to meetings, simply to criticisms.

The important thing is that we should know and understand the youth thoroughly. And to achieve this it is essential that we continually go back in retrospect in our own feelings and in our aims in order to imagine how we were ourselves in earlier times. Would it be right today if we were to consider it a crime when a boy or a girl express their feelings of sincere love for one another? This is normal and no one has any reason to think that «people's morality has been ruined». Boys and girls go as volunteers to railway construction sites and other actions, but no scandals have occurred and we have not heard of any problems being created between them. They work there together with great ardour, get to know each other, crack jokes together, become friendly and sometimes they fall in love and become engaged.

The same thing occurs when boys and girls go on excursions to Mt. Dajti, Mt. Tomor and elsewhere. They worked together with their comrades on railway construction sites and now they are going on excursions together, are at school together, learn and help one another and one of them may propose to get engaged to another, or they become friends and this friendship leads to love and marriage and there is nothing wrong with this.

All of us are of the opinion that our youth are very good. We do not say this as a slogan but we express something which is completely true. When we see what goes on in other countries we are more firmly convinced that the youth of our country are very good, but we need to thoroughly understand them. We must know the new mentality which has been created through the development of culture and the level of social life. Social life today

is not what it was in the past, but is more profound, and richer, a socialist life with wide demands of a high level.

Our youth are outstanding for their moral purity, for their political loyalty to the Party, for their ideological maturity, for their elevated educational and cultural level and their socialist attitude towards work and property. But when reports are presented to us that «such and such percentage of crimes have been committed by young people», that «the young workers are the ones who miss work in the factory,» etc., we must not think that the young people do all the bad things, while the older people are not to blame at all. Who will educate this youth? The leadership of the factory or the enterprise will educate them and it must look with a critical eye at its work of management, its work with the people, how it has acted towards this or that young person who has faults. If we look carefully and concretely at a young man or woman who, for example, is missing from work for half an hour, it turns out that he has still not been formed. Of course, that young fellow who does not go to work regularly has not properly understood that work is a matter of honour and a duty. Our task is not to abandon and deride this young man, but by keeping close to him, by talking to him in a friendly fashion, to convince him to become disciplined at work, and we must not allow him to degenerate. It seems to me that the life and the rich world of the youth should be thoroughly understood by everybody.

At the present time, when the material and cultural level in our country has risen and is rising ever higher, the interests and demands of the youth have changed. Today the youth are not satisfied with what was sufficient for us when we were young. Hence, another problem which has to do with the education of the youth is the utilization of spare time, the organization of various sports, cultural, artistic and scientific activities. When we

speaking about sports activities, for example, we do not mean that only national championships should be held. There can be many different types of sport and sporting activities. For example, why are there not more marches and games? The language which is sometimes used telling young people: «Don't do this and don't do that», and likewise, the distrust which is sometimes displayed towards them cannot educate the mass of the youth. Even when a window-pane is accidentally broken during a game, immediately it is said: «The youth are to blame». Generalizations which are out of place and unfounded are very dangerous.

Spare time activities of entertainment are not the task of the youth organization alone. After work or lessons young people need to relax, to play, to read, to take part in a discussion or social evening, to go to a film; they also want to drink a coffee, to eat a cake, etc. Each of them should have the possibility to do these in his spare time, because in this way he will go to work the next day with fresh strength.

The youth are the future of the country. They represent the arms of the Party which are rising ever higher. If we do not take into account the just demands, the honest desires of these «arms», which are rising continuously, then the all-round education of the young people, their ideo-political tempering and further revolutionization is damaged. We have the bitter experience of the other erstwhile socialist countries, like the Soviet Union, where the youth degenerated. This danger exists for our youth, too, if we do not work patiently for their Marxist-Leninist education. But our Party has worked and works continuously to educate the youth according to its line and with its ideals, with the qualities of communist morality. This is why we have such an honest and patriotic youth so closely linked to the Party.

The major economic questions which involve us must

never make us forget the proper ideological and political education of the young people. Our youth must be educated within the norms of communist morality, in the context of the development of our socialist society and economy. This education is not being carried out as it should by everybody. The education of the younger generation is not the task of the youth organization alone. The schools, the organizations of the masses, the cultural and scientific institutions, must all be engaged more thoroughly with this question. The education of the youth cannot be carried out by the teacher in one hour which has been allocated for work outside lessons. (2) Education is a continuous process and requires work inside and outside the auditorium and the classroom, in collectives and in small groups, right down to individual young persons. All teachers have possibilities to do this...

Negative attitudes in life must be criticized, but we must deal with and correct those criticized in such a way that we do not prejudice their love for the Party.

This is how we must act with the young people, too, because they are very sensitive. As we pointed out in the meeting of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, when certain negative manifestations are noticed in this or that young person, the causes must be found and combated, and not just the consequences. And this can be done when the problem is studied and when we act by the method of persuasion. This is how the communists, the organizations of the masses such as those of the youth, women, the trade-unions, etc., should work with certain individuals with bad habits so that they are convinced and advance on the right course of the Party. People may have made mistakes, but, if we act correctly with them, they are disposed to listen to the advice they are given.

Let us take another question. We say that people in our

2 Reference is to the educational class.

country have no religious beliefs and this is true. But does this mean that religion has been totally eradicated, that there are no longer religious remnants in people's minds? It is not good for a boy or girl to displease his father or mother, but when the latter try to stop a boy or girl of families which formerly had different religions from falling in love, they should not be annoyed that their children do not obey them. When the boy is good, honest and patriotic, then the girl who loves him will take him even if her father or mother are opposed. After all, it is the boy and girl who have life ahead of them.

Another question is that of fulfilling the needs of the youth. Parents must create a warm family and social circle around them, show their concern to fulfil any reasonable requirement, without neglecting their education as the main thing.

Our youth are educated, have schooling. We, workers of the Party, from the centre to the base, must understand this well. We have a political advantage which we must understand. The young cadres who have graduated from school are people of the masses and love the Party; if the Party works well with them, they will not turn into technocrats. Thus, if we appoint a young agronomist as head of a cooperative and surround him with the proper care, according to the norms of the Party, then he will not become a technocrat, as intellectuals in the Soviet Union did. Whereas if we leave the young cadre unassisted, one day he will become a technocrat. Hence, we must appreciate and utilize this advantage which we have to the benefit of our young cadres...

In these situations the Party must do better and more profound work with the youth. The youth today have culture, know foreign languages and read technical and scientific literature. We must work in order to form in the young men and women a sound opinion based on our

Marxist-Leninist world outlook and, by means of our radio-television and press, disperse the fog of alien things and illuminate the minds of our people with the Marxist-Leninist truth, with our line. Our meetings, conferences and talks also have their positive effects when they are conducted in the proper ways. If, falling prey to the foreign propaganda a few of our young people degenerate, these do not constitute the whole of our youth. Such things have occurred and will occur. That is part of life. We will also have those who deviate.

Our youth have their eyes on the Party. But the Party, too, has its eyes on the youth, on the future, on the work and continuous care to ensure that whenever and wherever they are they always live up to, think about and work for our reality, keep in step with the situation and contribute with all their might in order to make our socialist Homeland prosperous and ever stronger.

«About the Youth», vol. 2

THE ECONOMISTS SHOULD GIVE PRECISE AND CORRECT OPINIONS BASED ON MARXISM-LENINISM

*From a talk at the daily meeting of the secretaries
of the CC of the PLA*

December 10, 1980

In the context of measures for turning some higher-type agricultural cooperatives into state farms, another material has been presented to us by some economists. Their material centres on the relations with the members, and precisely on the question of whether or not the members should be compensated for part of the assets of the cooperative and, if so, for what part.

Some of them try to argue that since we have to do with the transition from a lower form to a higher form of socialist property, it is not reasonable to compensate the members for even a part of the assets of the cooperative. They say that compensation should be paid only for the cooperativists' household livestock. They try to back this up with some quotation from Marx or Engels, which they interpret in an erroneous, stereotype way. Therefore, they do not present the problem correctly. The quotation from Engels which they give, taken from his work *Anti-Dühring*, is as follows:

*«... social ownership extends to the land and
the other means of production, and private owner-*

ship to the products, that is, the articles of consumption. And in order to make this comprehensible even to children of six..., Marx assumes,» continues Engels, «*a community of free individuals carrying on their work with the means of production in common, in which the labour power of all the different individuals is consciously applied as the combined, labour power of the community,*» that is, a society organized on a socialist basis,» and Engels again quotes Marx: «*The total product of our community is a social product. One portion serves as a fresh means of production and remains social. But another portion is assumed by the members as means of subsistence. A distribution of this portion among them is constantly necessary.*»*

Proceeding from this quotation, these economists say that in the concrete instance of these three higher-type cooperatives which we propose to turn into state farms, since we have to do with a change within the same type of ownership, state ownership and cooperativist ownership, we should not pay compensation for part of the means of production. For them, the property of the whole people is identical with the joint cooperativist property! This is precisely where these economists go wrong, because, true, these are forms of socialist ownership, but not the same form, one is socialist property of the whole people and the other is socialist property of the group, and here, in the definition of these two forms of ownership, we do not deviate a fraction from the Marxist-Leninist theory. Why? Because social ownership extends to the land and the other means of production, the livestock,

* F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Tirana 1974, pp. 146-147, Alb. ed.

motor vehicles, etc., while personal ownership extends to the product, the articles of consumption, In the cooperatives, the property of the group exists, but the group property in the cooperative of Preza, for example, is not in common with the group property of the cooperative of Vaqarr; no, it is the group property of Preza. And this group does not have the right to be supplied, let us say, with milk from the other cooperative. Why? Because the milk is the property of that group. On the other hand, the products of the state farm of Sukth, which is state property, belong to the state and it takes them wherever it likes, distributes them to the people all over Albania.

Why have these two types of property been defined in this way? Because they are distinct from each other, from their socio-economic class content. Within the group property the land is the property of the whole people, because, in accordance with Marx's teachings, the land in our country has been nationalized, while some other means of production in the cooperative are property not of the state, but of the group. This group has created these means through socialized work in that form of property which is socialist. And since this group has created these means of production itself through its own work, another socialized group, that of Ndroq, for example, does not have the right to put its hands on the income of the cooperative of Preza; there is a boundary in regard to the land, in regard to other means of production and to the products which are turned out on the basis of them.

Of course, Marx and Engels do not say anything concretely about this problem which we are discussing; they give the basic principle which we have followed from start to finish. Besides this, Marx has also defined the stages of the revolution. However, these economists overlook this. At first we distributed the land, too, to the peasants and we were obliged to distribute it, bearing in mind the con-

crete historical conditions, the mentality and the age-old aspirations of our peasantry for the land. Therefore, after Liberation we carried out the Land Reform, distributing part of the land to the peasantry. However, if we judge matters as these economists do, apparently we made a mistake in distributing the land. Had we acted as they say, we would have made a very grave error of principle, because we would have skipped the stage and created extraordinary political problems which would have endangered the whole construction of socialism in our country. In connection with the Land Reform, too, we acted again on the basis of the teachings of Marx who, while stressing the absolute necessity of this reform, teaches that to carry out the land reform means that you must take the land from the big estate owners and give it to the peasants who till it, and then create the state sector (and we created this sector, too, with the state farms).

After distributing the land, we went on to the next stage, that of collectivization, and here again we acted according to the advice of Marx who explained this problem in theory, while later Lenin taught us how to go about it in theory and in practice. On this question Stalin, in one of the meetings (1) I had with him, advised us to proceed cautiously and without haste on the road of collectivization. Why did he say this? Because collectivization involves major political and economic issues, therefore, it should not be done hastily, its stages must not be skipped. Had we thought in the same way as these economists, then from the moment we began the collectivization we would have had to collectivize the whole lot immediately and not gradually. But if we had done so, we would certainly have failed and the existence of our socialist state, of the state

1 See Enver Hoxha, With Stalin (Memoirs), «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1984, pp. 97-99, 206-213, 3rd. Eng. ed.

of the dictatorship of the proletariat, would have been placed in jeopardy. Therefore, we began collectivization by phases and extended it gradually over the whole country.

Proceeding on this course, we passed from large-scale private property to another phase in which, through the Land Reform, we distributed the land to the peasants. We did not proclaim the nationalization of the land, because the peasantry, in whom the petty-bourgeois sentiment for private ownership of the land was very strong, would not have understood this correctly at that time. We brought out a number of laws on the basis of which the peasant did not have the right to alienate the land, that is, he did not have the right to sell it, to exchange it, or to leave it as an inheritance. Thus, we did not proclaim the nationalization *de jure*, but in fact, with the measures which we took gradually, we had nationalized the land. On this basis, we began the collectivization and created a new form of organization which Leninism gave us, the agricultural cooperative, socialism in the countryside, by means of which we socialized the work and the means of production. Hence, in the creation of cooperatives we have always adhered to the course of Marx and Lenin. With the completion of collectivization we came to that idea stated by Marx that social ownership extends to the land, that is, we socialized the land *de jure*, we nationalized it.

The property of higher-type agricultural cooperatives is not state property, but socialist property of the group. Here lies the essence of the question. And it is precisely on this that these economists are wrong when they say that in the concrete instance of the transformation into state farms we have to do with a transformation within the same type of ownership. This is the mistake that they make. According to them, the state property and the cooperativist property are allegedly one, and only the label, that is, the name, distinguishes a cooperative from a state farm.

But this is not so. Cooperativist ownership is a transitional form, which we have to go through in order to arrive at ownership of the whole people. We must never forget this. But these economists forget it and give a dogmatic explanation of those things they have read in books without taking practice, the reality, into account.

We created the higher-type agricultural cooperatives as another more advanced stage on the road of development of the cooperativist order and of the transformation of cooperatives into state farms. According to these economists, we could have gone over to state farms without having passed through the stage of higher-type cooperatives! (Those individual cases when we have made changes directly from ordinary cooperatives, are something else.) As a general rule, however, we could not act in that way. In such a case the Party would have made a mistake, but it did not do that, but after much thought it created about 40 higher-type cooperatives. Practice showed that most of them are going well and some are going more slowly, but we must set up other higher-type cooperatives. Therefore, we must proceed gradually, because political and economic problems, which are difficult to be solved, emerge on this course. That is why now we are thinking very deeply about transforming first only three or four of them into state farms.

Hence, at first, we will stay within these limits and continue to strengthen the other cooperatives of this type, just as we will continue to strengthen the cooperatives all over Albania in order to create the conditions for the complete construction of socialism. These conditions are economic, in the first place, and have to do with an appreciable increase in the intensification of production and reduction of the cost of agricultural and livestock products. In this way the cooperativists will understand that the line of the Party in connection with the social ownership of the land

and the other means of production, too, is correct and to their benefit, the benefit of the whole people.

That, comrades, is why we are thinking so hard and so deeply about turning these few higher-type cooperatives into state farms, whereas, according to these economists, it is apparently quite easy to turn all the cooperatives into state farms and to refuse to pay the members of the cooperative as joint owners for even a part of the main means! No doubt, when they judge matters in this way they have in mind one or two instances when someone leaves the cooperative and goes to work on a state farm and does not care about his cow or other means of production of the cooperative that he has left behind. But the principle is not so simple as these economists present it. If it were truly so that today the masses of the peasants have reached the level when they can say: «What do we want the cooperatives' cows for?», then the Party would not need to create higher-type cooperatives. We cannot base the line of the Party on one or two such instances, or even on the opinion of some hundreds of peasants. Here we have to do with the principles of Marxism, the whole political line of the Party.

In this transition which we are making so carefully and in which we see both the political aspect and the economic aspect, we maintain the joint ownership over the land and the other means of production. With this change we do not distribute the other means of production, but transfer them all to state ownership. If we consider the cows, the other livestock, the vineyards, the fruit-trees, the stalls, etc. as means of production, and they have to be considered as means of production, from this stand-point we do not distribute all these to the peasants, because that would break up the common property, but on the contrary, we raise the joint property of the group to a higher level, to property of the whole people.

These means remain social property. Now it remains to be seen for what we should and for what we should not pay compensation to the peasants. Marx does not and could not tell us this. This depends on the conditions of the country and on what it is decided the peasant should be paid for. Does the peasant say pay me for the stalls? We judge that he does not say this. Therefore, what shall we do? We should not pay, we say. Likewise, we are convinced that the peasant does not say pay me for the vineyard or the means of transport. Then, what are the things for which the peasant will demand to be paid? He will demand compensation for the cows and the sheep of the cooperative, otherwise, he will say, «they were taken from us». (While for the household animals, there is no doubt that they must be paid for, too.)

Another problem is the question of whether we decide to pay for these things all at once, or to say to the peasant: «We will pay you in instalments not within one or two years, but over a number of years according to our situation.» This stand does not violate the principles in any way. Marx does not say anywhere what should be nationalized and what should be expropriated, but he has given the explanation: social ownership extends to the land and the other means of production, and private ownership to the articles of consumption. Marx does not say and could not say whether at the time that this transition is made it will be done with or without compensation. Amongst us there are remnants of the time of bygone regimes and the former bourgeois system which will be retained for some time yet. We knock down houses, let us say, for town-planning reasons, to straighten up the streets and we pay compensation to the owners of these houses according to the valuation set by the executive committee. Political interests require this payment, especially when you have to do with the peasant, in whom the petty-bourgeois psy-

chology of private ownership is pronounced. Of course, we must combat this psychology, although not with administrative legal measures, but by convincing the peasant that in this way he will live better, his products and income will be increased, etc. Therefore, in the case of the transition to state farms, too, we tell the peasant that in order to buy consumer goods we will pay him as a worker, more than he gets at present, besides which we shall also give him so many leks extra per year for the cow and other things from the assets of the cooperative, for which we consider the member should be compensated.

Marx has not prohibited us from doing this, on the contrary, in this way we are on his course and do not violate any principle. The economists who are opposed to compensation, as stated above, do not interpret Marx well, because they equate state property with the cooperativist property, alleging that we have to do with a mechanical exchange within the one form of property. Thus, these economists want us to speed things up, to skip the stages, that is, to decline to pay the cooperativists anything. They do not realize that, if we decline to pay anything, indirectly we will tell the others we are going to take all your common assets from you without compensation, hence, distribute more income per workday to the detriment of the fund of accumulation. Therefore, when we call on the specialists they should give us precise and correct opinions based on dialectical interpretations of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, because in the concrete instance under discussion the property of the group is not identical with the property of the whole people and we are not dealing merely with a change in names, but with an historical process of development and material, social, psychological and other progress.

The Party has recommended the standard Constitution of Agricultural Cooperatives which the members have adopted. The Constitution of Agricultural Cooperatives is

law for the cooperatives. They proceed on the basis of this Constitution, while the state farms operate on the basis of the law on enterprises. Hence, this separation of agricultural cooperatives from state farms has not been done formally. From this stand-point, too, it seems to me that with the opinions these economists express, they are not sufficiently linked with life.

«On Science», vol. 2

POLAND CAN BE SAVED ONLY BY ITS WORKING CLASS

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

February 13, 1981

The situation in Poland continues to deteriorate and grow more complicated. As a result of uninterrupted strikes the economy has been devastated and is on the verge of disaster. Social life is degenerating from day to day. Confusion, anarchy and corruption reign everywhere. Under the pressure and threats of «Solidarity», the Polish party and government have been obliged to make concessions after concessions and cede many of their positions.

All the measures which have been taken and the compromises made have not led to the stabilization of the situation, but, on the contrary, have made matters even worse. It is «Solidarity» which is making the law in the country. The aim which it has set itself is becoming more and more evident: to gradually take over state power, to withdraw Poland from the Warsaw Treaty and to push it towards the West. All its actions are subordinated to this strategy. «Solidarity», which presents itself as a workers' union, is an out-and-out reactionary movement. Behind it stands the Polish Catholic Church and the Vatican, which run it and lead it, however, besides those who are represented by Lech Walessa and company, participating in

the leadership of this organization, there are also the «Club of the Catholic Intelligentsia» (KOR), which is a group of representatives of internal reaction and external world capitalist reaction, the nationalist party, the «Confederation of Independent Poland» and some other grouping of this type.

It is precisely these various reactionary political forces and currents which have the Polish working class in their clutches at present and are manipulating it for their own political ends.

For the moment, these currents have united in alliance against the Polish United Workers' Party, which is split into various factions and groups, pro-Soviet and anti-Soviet, nationalist and chauvinist, reformist and clerical. That party is completely anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary. The policy and ideology it pursues have discredited it in the eyes of the masses and have made it incapable of exercising its influence or imposing its will. It is the omnipotent Catholic Church, its spiritual and ideological power, which dominate the life of the Polish people today. In camouflaged ways and through the new squires who are in power, the Vatican is running not only spiritual matters by also temporal matters in Poland. Now the Catholic Church is struggling to take over the running of the state completely through «Solidarity».

The Polish Church, the Vatican and Western Europe are following the tactic of «roast the meat, but don't burn the spit.» They are advocating: take a step and consolidate the positions achieved, take another step and avoid Soviet intervention, use the «21 points» as an economic platform just to deceive the working class and transform them into political actions to erode the foundations of the revisionist system and of the pseudo-communist party. Next, pass from the city to the countryside, to the «peasant Solidarity», rally and organize politically the landed squires, who never per-

mitted collectivization and who remain the main basis of the Polish Church and of old chauvinist traditions.

Within «Solidarity», however, there are also the «ultraists», who want to overthrow the Franco-German «Ostpolitik», and especially, the «detente» of West-European powers with the Soviet Union. The «ultraists» are for the tactic of rapid advance and powerful blows even if they may cause Soviet intervention and armed clashes. They are operating according to the Amercian policy which aims to cause armed conflict within Poland, which would also lead to the defeat of the tactic of the Franco-German «Ostpolitik». That would be a way to weaken France and Germany and return them to the positions of obedient lackeys, by threatening them with the danger of Soviet imperialism.

This is the strategy and these are the tactics of internal Polish reaction and international reaction. These are the objectives of the counter-revolution in Poland, which is taking place in a counter-revolutionary situation within a counter-revolutionary state.

The present revisionist state is in a situation where it is being attacked from all sides and does not know which way to go to escape. Clerical reaction is manipulating the working class, not to mention the countryside where it has had strong bases. The party and the state, which have lost authority and influence, are obliged to make concessions to the church and to accept it as arbiter in the conflict. In practice they are at the mercy of Wyszynski.

However, the Polish revisionist government has to please both «the goat and the cabbage». It has to behave with great caution and listen attentively also to the rigorous demands of the Soviet ally. At the same time, it has to take into account the demands of the ruling squirearchy, the men of the administration, of the apparatuses of the party, the economy and the army, who also want to preserve their privileges.

This situation has caused chaos and disintegration in the ranks of the party and the state. They are no longer operating as centralized institutions. Their rank and file listen more to what «Solidarity» and the episcopacy say than to the directives that come from the Central Committee and the orders which the government issues. The revisionist leadership is talking about a «revival», but it has no program of action to pull the country out of the crisis and does not know with whom to unite and with whom to split. The prime ministers who were changed one after the other bring about no change whatsoever. The revival has remained a slogan devoid of content.

But it is not only the Polish leadership that is in great trouble. The Kremlin and its allies of the Warsaw Treaty are in a similar situation. To allow Poland to slip to the western camp would mean to endanger the alliance, the Soviet hegemony in the countries of the East, to endanger the vital routes of the Soviet army in Europe, to endanger the present Soviet strategy based on their military striking force. Technically it is not difficult for Soviet social-imperialism to undertake military intervention to establish «order» in Poland. But this would endanger the East-West trade relations, would jeopardize the billions of dollars which the Soviet Union and its satellites have received and are receiving from the United States of America and from Western Europe, would endanger «détente» and would destroy the Franco-German «Ostpolitik», which the Kremlin wants to exploit in its rivalry with American imperialism.

This explains that stern propaganda and the «firm» stands of the organs of the Soviet press against those forces which it describes as «anti-Soviet», «anti-socialist», etc. The Kremlin is openly and stubbornly defending its own Polish clan within Poland, exerting pressure and making threats and keeping its attack forces in readiness, while, in order

to show that it is «calm», for appearances' sake it even accepts some of the retreats which the Polish leadership is making. The aim and desire of the Soviet Union is to defeat subversion with subversion. But when it sees any hope of an internal solution fading, only two roads remain open to it: either to intervene with arms and «stabilize» the situation through violence, or to accept total defeat, that is, the destruction of the Warsaw Treaty and Comecon. But Soviet social-imperialism cannot accept this total defeat. Kania, Wyszynski and Lech Walesa know this, and those in Bonn and Paris know it, too.

At present there is no organized political force in Poland which could take over the leadership and the responsibility to pull the country from chaos and anarchy, from the dangers which threaten its freedom and independence and its future. If the Polish people, the working class, working peasantry, the progressive intelligentsia, the genuine patriots, do not understand the complicated situation into which the various capitalist, clerical and revisionist reactionary currents have led them, they will fall out of the frying-pan into the fire. The lack of a Marxist-Leninist communist party remains the greatest handicap for the Polish working class. Without a Marxist-Leninist communist party it cannot find its course towards the revolution. The working class will always remain split and, as such, the capitalist-revisionist bourgeois parties will manipulate it for their own interests. A politically divided working class, without a Marxist-Leninist communist party, will always be a toy in the hands of those parties and will play the game of reaction and the reformists. In the present era, the revolution and any positive and progressive change in favour of the people and oppressed classes cannot be carried out if they are not led by a revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist communist party.

The Party of Labour of Albania, through its organ

Zëri i popullit, has expressed in clear and politically understandable ways its opinions on the past and present events occurring in Poland. It has condemned the regimes of Gomulka, Gierek and Kania, who, through the revisionist and capitalist line they have pursued, are to blame for the situation which has been created in Poland and for the dangers it presents for others. Our Party has denounced and exposed the Soviet revisionists and their satellites and their counter-revolutionary policy and actions; has denounced and exposed American imperialism and the neo-colonialist states and their aims, and has powerfully supported the peoples' liberation movement and proletarian revolutions.

Our Party has always supported the economic and political claims of the working class of every Capitalist or revisionist country. But it always looks at any movement of the working class with a class eye, from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism, from the political angle. It is not deceived by slogans and shibboleths, but examines carefully whom the orientations serve, what course the claim, the strike or the insurrection takes. This is the spirit in which our Party analyses, judges and reaches conclusions about the strikes in Poland, too. The present strikes in Poland do not lead to raising the level of the revolutionary movement of the working class, do not serve the political and ideological emancipation, the revolutionary organization of the working people or the enhancement of their revolutionary consciousness. These strikes do not assist the revolution, but help to carry out the counter-revolution within the counter-revolution. Not the Polish revolutionaries, but the representatives of reaction, the friends and allies of the Vatican and world imperialism stand at the head of these strikes. They are throwing the workers into strikes in order to accomplish their own counter-revolutionary aims, on both the internal and external planes. They want to replace one oppressive and exploiting regime

with another, no less savage and hostile regime to the Polish workers and people.

Being in favour of political and economic strikes, of popular uprisings and the revolution, Marxist-Leninists do not support the reactionary alliances or counter-revolutionary tendencies, when they exist within them. On the contrary, they support the revolutionary spirit, progressive and revolutionary alliances. Not every strike movement is in the interest of the working class, in every situation and in all conditions. However, when the people and the working class take part in them, there is something positive which you must grasp in order to turn them completely into positive actions in the interest of the people, the working class and the revolution.

The attitudes and assessments of our Party about the situation in Poland, about the strikes and claims of the Polish working class have been consistently Marxist-Leninist in each phase and at each stage of their development. It has seen and pointed out the mistaken political orientations of the strikes, although efforts were made by Polish reaction to conceal their true political aims by covering them up with simple economic claims. Lech Walessa, the man of the Vatican and the Polish primate, shouted to anyone who wanted to listen to and believe him that allegedly he was not a political man, that he was not engaged in politics, that «Solidarity» was not a political party. Many were deceived and, first of all, the working class of Poland was misled.

But is there a way out for the Polish people and working class from the catastrophic situation they are in, and if any, what is it?

We Albanian communists say that it is the road of the revolution which Lenin teaches us, the road of applying his strategy of the revolution and genuine revolutionary tactics on the basis of concrete situations which are created in any country.

Once again the Polish working class displayed its great vitality. It overthrew Gomulka and brought down Gierk. It can and must also defeat Kania and his associates, Lech Walessa and the influence of the Vatican, the yoke of the Soviet revisionists and of world capitalism, headed by American capitalism.

The Poland of the revolution has not died and will not die, it has only lost its way. They have set it on a dangerous course. Poland has to find its true course, the course of proletarian revolution, guided by the Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The Polish working class, which has outstanding revolutionary traditions, must create from its own ranks a new, genuinely Marxist-Leninist communist party and, after creating it, test it and temper it in the class struggle for the revolution. The time for this has come, it cannot tolerate delay and procrastination.

Only its working class can save Poland from the profound crisis it is in and bring it into the light. Neither Kania nor Walessa, neither the Soviet revisionists nor the American imperialists can do this. The true friends and well-wishers of the Polish people, of their freedom and independence, must tell them the truth openly and sincerely. This is the greatest aid which can be given them and also complete support and solidarity with them. The more quickly the Polish working class can free itself from illusions and deceptions, the sooner it will fulfil its historic mission in the service of its own homeland and of the revolution.

«Zëri i popullit»

THE FORCE OF ALBANIAN PATRIOTISM

Article published in the newspaper «Bashkimi»

March 23, 1981

This month marks the 100th anniversary of the first publication in the press of the famous poem, «Oh Albania, Suffering Albania» by Pashko Vasa, (1) one of the most beautiful and powerful works of Albanian poetry.

Its patriotic pathos and fiery call to rebellion have inspired generations of Albanians in their endless wars for the freedom and the independence of the Homeland, for the defence of the national language and culture, and for the unity and progress of the country. Written in the form of an elegy, in an incisive and powerful romantic style, Pashko Vasa's poem was a clear political manifesto addressed to the people and the whole nation at one of the most difficult moments for the Albanian liberation movement, when the Congress of Berlin (2) had decided to partition the Albanian territory, and when its open and secret enemies had gone over to a general offensive to smash the League of Prizren.(3) At those hours, critical to the fate of

1 Pashko Vasa, 1825-1892, outstanding patriot and activist of the Albanian National League, poet and publicist.

2 It held its proceedings from June 13-July 13, 1878.

3 On the eve of the Congress of Berlin, which would revise the decisions of the Treaty of Santo Stefano, delegates from all Albanian regions gathered in the town of Prizren on

the country, Pashko Vasa understood that the only force and the only weapon which could cope with the situation and carry the Albanian cause forward was the unity of the people. He knew how to sum up the Albanian reality of that time correctly and precisely and to express in a perfect poetic form that, above all and first of all, «the Albanians' religion is Albania.» Precisely because this poem carried this spirit of the unity of the nation, because it summed up the supreme interests of the nation, the spirit of resistance to the end against enemies and confidence in the future of the people, it has been a banner of struggle against religious splits and territorial divisions, against surrender and submission to foreigners.

Today we honour Pashko Vasa, his political and literary work because, like the contribution of all the other outstanding leaders of the Albanian National Renaissance, it lies in the foundations of our free and independent Albania.

Socialist Albania is forging ahead and developing, its name is respected in the world. Day by day its sons and daughters are raising their Homeland to new heights and making it prosper. But it has arrived at the present day through bloody battles, great sacrifices and self-denying efforts for centuries on end. It has had to fight against many powerful and cunning enemies who have striven in every way to totally eliminate the Albanian nation, to wipe the name of Albania from the face of the earth. Their arsenal of weapons has included religion, regional divisions and various local peculiarities. By striving to identify religion with the nation, the enemies wanted not only to

June 10, 1878 and decided to set up a political and military union under the name of the «Albanian League of Prizren», to conduct the struggle for self-government, national unity and the defence of the territorial integrity of Albania, which was threatened by the chauvinistic aims of the neighbouring nations.

enslave our people spiritually, but also to assimilate them, to eliminate their language and traditions, and to perpetuate their own domination and oppression.

The men of our Renaissance opposed this age-old campaign of destruction and extermination by the enemies with all their ardent spirit of patriotism and fought heroically in exceptionally difficult and complicated conditions in order to show that there is no link between religion and the nation, that the Albanian is Albanian on account of his language and culture, his glorious history, on account of the lands where his ancestors were born and died, on account of his specific and unique spiritual qualities.

It was this correct understanding of the idea of the nation, this refusal to accept religion as a characteristic of the nation and the exposure of the misrepresentations of enemies on this question, which became one of the most active and dynamic factors in the fight for freedom and the triumph of independence.

That was so in the time of the men of our Renaissance and it is so to this day. Religion has not formed nations and could not do so. The Italian people, for example, are of the Catholic faith, but they form the Italian nation. Likewise, the people of Iran are of the Moslem faith, but they form the Iranian nation. Whether or not a people profess a particular religion has no connection with the nation.

Nations cannot be created by subjective factors or by decrees, or through the desire of governments. They are a result of protracted historical processes. The Albanian nation was created and defended stubbornly, with bloodshed and work by its finest sons who toiled and sacrificed everything for it. Therefore, any attempt which has been made to negate, ignore or replace the Albanian nationality with the respective religious belief, has always encountered the opposition of all Albanians. Even in those cases when

enemies have tried to break them up and drive them into emmigration, wherever they have gone they have preserved undimmed their national identity and pride, their love for their language and country.

Albanian patriotism, which has been a great spiritual force in the past, to which the outstanding men of this country have appealed in order to defend the undeniable rights of our nation with courage and bravery, always remains an insurmountable barrier to the evil aims of enemies and their anti-Albanian trickery and intrigues

«Bashkimi»

WHY WERE POLICE VIOLENCE AND TANKS USED AGAINST THE ALBANIANS OF KOSOVA?

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

April 8, 1981

The Yugoslav press, radio and TV have set up an extraordinary clamour of misinformation about the reasons which impelled the working people and students of Kosova to come out in demonstrations. What immediately catches one's attention in the speeches of the leading figures and the endless articles which fill the pages of the Yugoslav newspapers, especially those of Belgrade, is their marked chauvinist overtones and the total lack of any realistic analysis or objective attitude towards the tragic events in Kosova. Not only the shades of Ranković, but also the old ghosts of the Karageorgevićes have been invoked. Now they are operating with clubs and tanks, hitting hard at the Albanian population in Yugoslavia, to suppress and subjugate them and strangle their voice.

Regardless of what is said and written in Yugoslavia, the true causes of the demonstrations in Kosova, their content, the demands which are raised in them cannot be covered over with misleading phraseology, however noisy, as the headquarters in Belgrade are trying to do. Any objective person, any unbiased observer, can see and immediately understand that the basic causes of the recent

events in Kosova are the great backwardness of this region, the poverty and suffering of its people, and the lack of democratic freedoms and political rights. The demonstrations have erupted as the result of an intolerable situation which has been going on for tens of years and the increasingly gloomy prospects of ever emerging from this situation.

According to figures published in the Yugoslav press, the per capita income in Kosova is about 6 times less than in Slovenia, about 5 times less than in Croatia, and 3.5 times less than in Serbia. In recent years, the growth rate of industrial production in Kosova has been about four or five times less that of Serbia. The level of unemployment is 20 times greater than in Slovenia, and two and a half times greater than in Serbia. More than 110 thousand workers have emigrated outside Kosova and Yugoslavia in search of work, besides the 70 thousand others, most of them qualified workers, who are unemployed in Kosova.

The leaders of Yugoslavia and Kosova know and admit these facts. In a speech delivered in Prishtina, V. Djuranović, Chairman of the Executive Council of Yugoslavia, said: «The development of Kosova is at a standstill... It is clear that the policy of the accelerated development of the region is not being realized to the degree envisaged in the plans. On the contrary, the gap between Kosova and other parts of the country is growing wider... Economic investments in Kosova are 43 per cent below the average of Yugoslavia.»

In a speech delivered at the 15th meeting of the CC of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (December 1980), M. Bakalli, Chairman of the leading body of the League of Communists of Kosova, said: «The aims of reducing the differences in the level of development of Kosova, compared with the average of the country, have not been achieved. On the contrary, the differences have become even more pronounced... As a result, instead of the rate

of development of the region being 60 per cent above that of the whole country, as planned, the rate of development of Kosova has been 46.9 per cent below the average of the country. This tendency for these differences to increase,» he said, «has been going on since 1947. This process of the widening of the gap,» said M. Bakalli, «has reached its critical limits.»

From this situation it is clear why the people of Kosova are dissatisfied and why they came out in demonstrations and expressed this dissatisfaction in what they considered the best way and the form which they found most appropriate.

Belgrade is now fuming and thundering against the students of Kosova, but what did these students do and what did they demand? The Yugoslav leaders personally and the press communiqués have admitted publicly and officially that in the demonstrations of March 11 in Prishtina the students expressed their dissatisfaction over the economic situation, over the bad living conditions, over the discrimination which they suffer in comparison with the other students at Yugoslav universities. As the Yugoslav press has frequently reported, they have expressed this dissatisfaction on several occasions to both the local and central authorities. Likewise, the working people of Kosova have frequently complained about the backwardness of the region and pointed out the need for urgent measures for the development of the country. But no one has listened to these just and essential demands. No notice has been taken and the people have been left to their fate. If any interest had been taken, Kosova, with its endless mineral resources, its fertile plains, and its brave and industrious people, would not have been in the state it is. Of course, these assets are exploited, millions of tons of coal are mined, the thermal-power stations generate billions of kilowatts, the molten lead flows in rivers in Trepçe, the chrome,

nickel, and magnesite ores are stacked in mountains, trainloads of wheat are transported from Kosova and the fine flavoured meat of Kosova is sold on all the markets of Europe. Why then is Kosova not progressing? These are the questions which the students and people of Kosova posed to the Yugoslav leaders and they received bullets in reply.

The Yugoslav leaders say that in Yugoslavia the nations and nationalities, the workers and various collectives are self-governing, that they decide for themselves about the economic development of enterprises, villages, cities, republics, etc. Here we do not wish to enter into ideological polemics over their theories and practices, but we would like to ask a simple question: In that so-called socialist self-governing country, the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, on the basis of those rights provided in the Yugoslav Constitution, do the people and youth of Kosova have the right, do they have the freedom, to ask the question why the other regions of Yugoslavia are developing, while this is not occurring in Kosova? It seems that someone is hindering the development of Kosova, and the leadership of the Federation must know who this is, since it admits that Kosova is potentially rich, but effectively poor.

In the speeches of several Kosova leaders, as well as in many articles in the press, it has been stated that the students in the demonstrations in Prishtina, apart from protesting about their difficult economic situation, also demanded more freedoms and democratic rights and the establishment of the status of a Federated Republic for Kosova. In this direction, too, a question arises: On the basis of the so-called self-governing democracy, do the peoples of Yugoslavia have the right to demand such things?

On April 3, Dušan Dragosavać, Secretary of the Presidency of the CC of the League of Communists of Yugosla-

via, said in his speech about the events of Kosova: «Experience has shown that we have always suffered damage when we have allowed moments of historic importance to us to slip by.» This «valuable» advice which he gives is not only appropriate for the leadership of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, but is also a reminder to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. It is a recommendation not only for the Serbian people, but also for the Albanian people who live on their own territories in Yugoslavia.

However, we want to point out on this occasion that the Yugoslav leadership has not forgotten anything and is not wanting to look at history as it ought to be looked at in order to avoid repetition of the bitter past.

In this same speech, Dušan Dragosavać says: «We have solved the problem of nationalities, of national republics and, in the framework of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, the problem of autonomous regions in the best possible way.» Dobrivoje Vidić, Chairman of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, also stresses the same thing when, after venting his spleen and pouring out his great resentment on Kosova, he says: «The autonomous socialist regions have complete independence and equality in the framework of the Socialist Republic of Serbia.» That is to say, «complete independence and equality,» but under the wing of Serbia!

These assertions by Yugoslav leaders show that even after the National Liberation War of the peoples of Yugoslavia the past history was not forgotten: Kosova remained an «autonomous region» of the Republic of Serbia and the Albanian population, compact in both nationality and territory, was split up between three republics of the Yugoslav Federation. Why did this occur? It is up to Dragosavać, Vidić and company to explain this ideologically, politically, geographically and economically. If such an analysis is made, then it will emerge how worthless are such assertions

as those of Dragosavać, when he says: «We have solved the problem of nationalities and national republics... in the best possible way.»

After claiming that the problems of nationalities have been solved justly in Yugoslavia, the Secretary of the Presidency of the CC of the LCY says in one part of his speech: «Nevertheless, it would be an illusion to think that we have found a lasting and perfect solution to this and that there will be no problems between nationalities.» Clearly, he is admitting that «a lasting and perfect solution» to this very complicated problem of nationalities has not been found. Hence the conclusion must be reached that the peoples who comprise Yugoslavia must make efforts to improve the solution of these problems. So it is up to the peoples of Yugoslavia to find better solutions to these problems democratically within the framework of the SFR of Yugoslavia.

Now the Albanian inhabitants of Kosova, who make up the overwhelming majority of the population there, are demanding within the constitutional norms and also in the streets, that the region of Kosova should be liberated from the tutelage of Serbia, and that it be given the status of a republic within the SFR of Yugoslavia.

What crime have the people of Kosova committed with this demand, which was thus described by the leadership of the Yugoslav Federation and several main leaders of the region of Kosova? They have not committed any crime. On the contrary, these legitimate demands have been underrated, have been considered hostile, and that is why the point was reached that demonstrations took place.

At no time have the Albanian people of Kosova and other parts of Yugoslavia been allowed to express their opinions freely and democratically about the status which the region in which they live should have. Other persons have decided this for them. And when, after many peaceful

requests, they demanded in loud voices, so that the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia could hear, that Kosova be given the status of a republic within the framework of the SFR of Yugoslavia, those who turned a deaf ear to these requests did not hesitate to open fire on the Albanians and order the tanks on them. And that is not all — they accused the brave Kosova students of allegedly acting like the gangsters of Chicago and putting little children in front of the demonstrations. Others may have such despicable ways, but never the Albanians who have always fought sword in hand. In fact, what the Yugoslav press claims in this direction proves that the demonstrations were popular and peaceful ones. This claim implies that if there had not been a great crowd of school pupils the Serbian police would have mowed the people down with machine-gun fire. These things are not easily forgotten. They do not indicate strength but weakness, do not indicate prudence but stupidity.

Why does the leadership of the Federation not study the demands for a republic within the framework of the Federation in a fair way, why does it not interpret them as demands which stem from the Constitution of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia itself, but rush to describe them as «hostile, counter-revolutionary demands which ruin the stability of and destroy Yugoslavia»? Do not the Albanians of Kosova have all the features and characteristics that constitute a nation, do they not live in a compact territory, do they not have their common language, culture and spiritual make-up, are they not capable of governing themselves, but need the tutelage of someone else, are they so few in numbers that they are not worthy of being raised to the rank of a republic, are there not other federal republics in Yugoslavia so that the republic which the Albanians of Kosova demand would make an exception?

The problems must be judged objectively and fairly and the position should not be reached that all the leaders of every rank are set in motion to arouse feelings of resentment and hostility towards the Albanians among the peoples of Yugoslavia, that all the forces are mobilized to attack, to abuse, to beat, to kill, to injure and imprison the flower of the valiant Albanian youth of Kosova and other Albanian regions.

It is jeopardizing the honour and interests of Yugoslavia to pour into Kosova half the Serbian police and the militia of Belgrade, armed to the teeth, to surround the cities of Kosova with tanks, to cloud the skies with aircraft and pack the aerodromes with paratroops.

No, this should not have occurred. We sternly denounce this unprecedented violence in Kosova. Those who are really to blame for the situation must be found, but they are not in Kosova, nor in the PSR of Albania, as is being hinted and implied in some quarters. To find them one must probe deeper into the subjective and objective reasons and the policy pursued by the Yugoslav leadership.

The demonstrations and just demands of the Albanian students and people of Kosova have been seen and interpreted from a wrong standpoint, they have been treated in a hostile way and with extraordinary brutality. We think that these matters ought to be treated wisely and with cool heads, bearing in mind especially that injustices have always been done to the Albanian population in Yugoslavia, and that the chauvinist forces have striven to take savage vengeance in both the more distant and the more recent past.

No good purpose will be achieved by trying to intimidate a people with monstrous epithets and tanks, as is being done with the Albanians in Yugoslavia. With the Albanians of Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro, and with those who have emigrated on account of poverty

and unemployment, matters should be talked over calmly and reasonably and not with ill-intentioned prejudgments. These people ought to enjoy full rights and full equality with the other peoples within the Federation of Yugoslavia.

Every proposal and just demand of the Albanians who live in Yugoslavia, which does not please and upsets the federal or the regional leadership, is unhesitatingly decried as «hostile, Albanian-chauvinist, irredentist, etc.» Likewise, any protest against injustices which have been and are being done to them, and these are neither few nor minor ones, is described in these insulting terms.

What does the epithet «nationalist» on the lips of the Yugoslavs mean, when it is applied to the Albanians? The word «nationalist» comes from the word *natio*, which means nation, nationality. Any dictionary, large or small, explains this. But on the lips of the Yugoslavs the epithet «nationalist» is a demand for submission towards the big nation, is a demand that people give up their love for their country, their Homeland and their nation.

When you try to deny a nation its nationality, sovereignty and all the attributes which flow from it, then the words nation and nationality, which the Yugoslavs are talking and writing about every day, are sheer demagogy. Such efforts cause friction which leads to undesirable and dangerous confrontations. If you try to suppress and wipe out the traditions and national aspirations of a people, then you will certainly encounter a reaction of self-defence.

Only Marxism-Leninism, scientific socialism, the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, provides a correct solution to national problems.

In the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia things have gone so far that in the Republic of Bosnja-Hercegovina, in Kosova and other places where Albanians live, a «Moslem nationality» has been invented. It is said

that the «Moslem nationality» is something specific to Yugoslavia. Surprisingly, however, there is no «Christian Orthodox nationality» or «Roman Catholic nationality» in Yugoslavia. If you want to find the explanation for this you must read the memorandum of V. Čubrilović, former political adviser to the monarchic regime, former minister of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, and now an academician of Yugoslavia, addressed to the royal government of Stojadinović in 1937.

If one reads this memorandum, one can understand better why any action of the Albanians of Kosova, within the federal Constitution and laws, is immediately described as «Albanian chauvinism», why it is very easy to describe them as «irredentist». In order to put them into prisons and concentration camps. To have the right to accuse as irredentist a whole people and nation of more than 2 million inhabitants, like the part of the Albanian nation which lives on its own lands in Yugoslavia, you yourself must not be a chauvinist and must have wiped out all the causes and sources of national injustices which have been spawned by imperialists and the old Balkan feudal bourgeoisie. If the principle of self-determination of peoples has been applied after the National Liberation War, as is claimed, why then should there be irredentism?

Before there is talk of so-called irredentism, the past history, the economic and cultural backwardness, the mass unemployment and forced emigration of Albanians, which constitutes one of the most massive emigrations from Yugoslavia to foreign countries, must be explained. The situation of Kosova cannot be explained through the «world crisis», as certain Yugoslav leaders, allegedly theoreticians of the Federation and Kosova, are trying to do.

In regard to the so-called Albanian chauvinism, it must be said that the character of the Albanian and his history through the centuries indicate the opposite of that

of which the Albanians of Yugoslavia are accused. The Albanians have never oppressed or exploited other peoples. Never have they attacked and partitioned the territories of other peoples. These things have been done to the Albanians. Therefore chauvinism must be sought and found elsewhere, and not among the Albanians of Kosova or those of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, who constitute one people and one nation. Chauvinism must be sought precisely among those Yugoslav leaders who ordered the attack with Serbian tanks and police, who killed, injured, tortured and imprisoned the Albanian students, workers and peasants, the grandsons and grand-daughters of the heroes of our people, Isa Boletini, Bajram Curri, Abdyl and Naim Frashëri, Sulejman Vokshi, Ymer Prizreni, Azem and Shote Galica, Çerçiz Topulli and Selam Salaria, the brothers and cofighters of Hajdar Dushi, Hysni Kapo, Miladin Popović, Emin Duraku, and thousands of heroic Albanian, Montenegrin, and Macedonian partisans who fought and shed their blood together, as brothers in Yugoslavia, for the freedom, independence and self-determination of the peoples of Yugoslavia.

Does Belgrade demand that the Albanians cease to be patriots? This will never occur! The Albanian has always defended himself heroically and has triumphed over the enemies because he has always been in the right. Wherever he lives, works and fights, he always displays maturity and patience. Therefore don't anger the Albanian people, they are patient, but when the Albanians become angry, even the stones are set ablaze.

The history of the Albanians through the centuries and that of the National Liberation War have shown that the sons and daughters of our people have shed their blood to help the fraternal neighbouring peoples. The lofty spirit of sacrifice and profound internationalist feelings characterize our people. We have always wanted good neighbourly

relations with Yugoslavia. Our stand is unalterable. If anyone, imperialism or social-imperialism, attacks Yugoslavia, our people, socialist Albania will fight shoulder to shoulder with the peoples of Yugoslavia. This is what we have said and this is what we shall do.

Our opinion and international opinion cannot accept and reconcile itself to the barbarous actions being taken against the Albanians in Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav leadership ought to be prudent and study and solve its internal problems justly, and not be always trying to lecture others about «moderation, the peaceful solution of conflicts, and human rights and the rights of peoples,» etc.

We think that tempers must be cooled and, first of all, those of the Yugoslav leaders. The problems of the Albanians who live in Yugoslavia should be studied calmly, wisely and fairly. If this is not done, the wound will not be healed, but will become much deeper. We do not want this to occur, and we are ready to give sincere assistance with all the forces of our noble hearts and minds to preserve the friendship with the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia, to safeguard the good neighbourly relations which have been established, to assist our Albanian brothers in every direction as before, to develop commercial relations and cultural exchanges with them, as we do with the other peoples of Yugoslavia, on the basis of agreements concluded jointly between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia.

This is required in the interests of our two states, of our friendship, of our good neighbourly relations, without at any time interfering in each other's internal affairs.

Albania has not interfered and is not interfering in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. This is a basic principle of our policy. In expressing our views about the recent events in Kosova, we are not interfering in the internal

affairs of Yugoslavia. But we are raising our voice, and we have the right to raise it when injustices are done to our brothers, when violence and repression are used against them, when such slogans as Albanian chauvinism, irredentism, etc. are used to discredit the Albanian youth and people of Kosova. We have this right, just as Yugoslavia and any other state has the right to defend and demand justice for its own national minorities. The Treaty of London, the Treaty of Versailles, or any other imperialist treaty can no longer be imposed to the detriment of the Albanian people. Everybody, friends and enemies, states big and small, imperialist and revisionist, anti-communist or pseudo-socialist, as well as our communist comrades and brothers and progressive people should understand this clearly.

«Zëri i popullit»

THE COMMITTEE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNIQUE SHOULD EXERT INFLUENCE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE AND ON THE PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF ITS ACHIEVEMENTS

*From the contribution at the meeting of the Secretariat
of the CC of the PLA (1)*

May 6, 1981

At the start of the meeting, Comrade Enver Hoxha asked the comrades of the Committee of Science and Technique a number of questions in connection with the accomplishment of the targets of the 8th Plenum of the CC of the Party, inquired about the organization, functions and competences of the Committee of Science and Technique, about its relations and cooperation with the Academy of Sciences, with the University and with the other scientific institutions of the country, etc. After listening to the answers and the contributions of the comrades in connection with the question on the agenda Comrade Enver Hoxha said among other things:

The development of science in our country is pleasing, but I am of the opinion that we should not employ super-

1 This meeting examined the report «On the work done for the post-graduate qualification of cadres and the problems which emerge in this field to accomplish the targets set by the 8th Plenum of the CC of the Party», presented by the Committee of Science and Technique.

latives to describe it. In our country the foundations have been laid and successes have been achieved in the development of a number of sciences and vistas have been opened to even the most advanced sciences and their branches. In these conditions it is our duty to know how to manage and employ our material, physical and mental forces, not groping in the dark and not on occasional problems of the moment, but methodically and with first priority in those branches of science and technique which lead to a greater positive transformation and which, naturally, also require a higher level of technology, more profound knowledge and more advanced methods in theoretical studies and application.

Besides organs of the state administration which in fact run the work, there are also study institutes as well as other organisms at the centre and at the base which employ many forms and methods in scientific-research work and applied sciences. Among these forms and methods some are advanced (but are still backward compared with the most advanced ones which we have to achieve), some are artisan forms and methods and, finally, there are outdated forms and methods. We must recognize and acknowledge this unevenness of the situation. Each government department, scientific institution and enterprise must not only acknowledge this unevenness, but must also take effective measures and strive to improve the situation through persistent effort and in planned ways.

Hence the need for recognition of the situation by the Committee of Science and Technique which we set up. It must set itself tasks and provide orientations for the development of science and for the strict application of scientific achievements in practice.

Science and technique have their source in the activity

of man, in social practice. Technique leads to further development in science and science carries technique forward. They are closely linked together. This is a dialectical process which we must understand and apply.

In the questions which I asked I wanted to find out how world experience is studied, because science has become a question of all countries and peoples. Here I am not referring to the secrets of special technology, but to the sciences, in general, which have become necessary for all and from which all can benefit, provided the knowledge and practical application of them is organized properly. In this direction we face major tasks.

I think a number of concepts and tendencies exist in our country which existed among other countries in the past.

The technical-scientific revolution is, in fact, a process which brings about profound changes in the life of society, in the development of the economy and culture. It seems to me that this is its meaning and purpose. And this meaning and purpose must be materialized through sound planning and precise methods. On this issue there is often a naive or primitive understanding which is unable to distinguish between pure science and a minor technological improvement. We need the two, both pure science and technical improvement, even if it is only a minor improvement. But pure science is not something ordinary, it is a high-level synthesis of protracted experimentation, which opens up broad fields of knowledge and application for the present and the future.

Therefore, our people, wherever they work and struggle, must have a correct appreciation both of the pure scientific work and of the work for the application of achievements of science in practice. The application of science begins with experimentation within or outside the laboratory, and is then extended to large-scale production.

The experiments in the mines, in agriculture and in the laboratories are the origin of scientific syntheses which carry science ahead.

It is important that we understand (and this is the line of the Party) that it should not be the apparatuses and those people who are stuck to their desks who decide the future of the development. The apparatuses which the Party has set up have been created according to our Marxist-Leninist ideology. Without them there could be no state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, without them there would be anarchy, anarcho-syndicalism and revisionist self-administrative decentralization. But our state apparatuses and the cadres who work in them must be revolutionary apparatuses, staffed by skilful, devoted, just men, they must be enemies of «sleep», of bureaucracy and routine and must be supporters of the new, the innovative and science. Our ideology itself is science and it is precisely this science which leads all the others and guides them in the interests of the development and the complete construction of socialism.

Our Marxist-Leninist science is neither a dogma in theory, nor is it a dogma in practice. The correct conception and application of all sciences and their methods in all fields of our life will depend on the proper understanding, the proper assimilation of Marxism-Leninism. The Committee of Science and Technique, in particular, must bear in mind these questions which constitute capital problems for our country, for science and technique.

Science is a social phenomenon, as are art, literature, law, etc. Science does not sprout from civilization as an isolated epiphenomenon, but, on the contrary, is deeply rooted in the social, political, economic and ideological terrain. It has emerged in a given historical epoch and its development and use are conditioned by the character of the social order.

We observe, for example, that the birth of rational thinking of the ancient Greek philosophers burst the confines of mythology and ushered in the era of cosmogony. This is linked with the lay and the liberal spirit of Ionians, in the time of Anaximander, Anaximenes, Xenophon from Colophon, and especially, Thales from Miletus, and later, of outstanding philosophers such as Democritus, Aristotle, Epicurus and others. A similar explanation can be given of the Cartesian method which triumphed in the 17th century, which was the product of this historical stage which freed philosophical thinking from church authority. The theory and method of Descartes was an advance in astronomy, biology and physics for that epoch. His method was a rational method which was adapted to the progressive thinking of the time. In the same way, the work of physicists like Amper, and chemists like Gay-Lussac, and others, is linked with the genius of Romantic writers and with the bourgeois revolution.

Hence, the development of science is linked with different stages of civilization, which constitute a chain. Each stage of science is part of the stage of civilization and develops together with it, while preserving the bases of achievements in past stages. It is the efforts of the society which develop the science.

The development of science in our country is linked with the stage of the construction of socialism, with the dialectical materialist concepts, and not with the deterministic concepts of 18th century Europe.

As the history of science shows, mechanics was born and developed on the basis of former achievements and, through its rapid progress, arrived at the principles of kinetics and thermodynamics. In that period science was pervaded and dominated by mechanics. Later other great qualitative changes were made in science, which left behind the stage of mechanicism and forged ahead, dif-

ferentiating and confirming at every step the dialectical materialist development of the world. Rigorous discipline characterizes present-day world science in its advance. We must never forget this.

I have pointed out at other times, too, that mathematics as a separate science is extremely rigorous, a very exact science. There can be no man of learning who does not assert that any science, especially the natural sciences, must be expressed in mathematical form in order to reach perfection. We have read that this applies even in biology, since the struggle for survival is expressed in equations. The economy, also, proceeds on this course and uses the mathematical apparatus in order to solve its problems.

Electricity is the motor of the modern world and the main characteristic of present-day civilization is the production and use of electrical energy. The greater part of our daily existence takes place under the standard of the power of Volta, Oersted, Amper and Faradey. The technique and technology of modern production are inconceivable without the direct or indirect use of electric power. The level of the material development of the society depends directly on the amount of electrical energy which is consumed in all fields. Without electricity there can be no progress. I have spoken more extensively about the importance of energy in general other times, and in all its Creative work and auxiliary activities the Committee of Science and Technique must give first-rate importance to knowledge and use of mathematical methods and the problems of energy.

Science develops thinking, liberates it from the shackles of idealism, superstitions, and religious mysticism. It discovers and elaborates the best and most rational methods of thinking and acting. By developing science, by transforming nature and society, man also changes and develops himself. The more rapidly and the further science advances,

the more the fog and darkness of religion and mysticism will be left behind and be dispelled.

The natural and social sciences comprise that system of knowledge created historically by different people and civilizations, the accuracy of which is confirmed by social practice.

Marxism teaches us that the sciences reflect the objective laws of nature and society in the human mind. The theoretical knowledge which science provides us with is distinct from the practical or empirical knowledge which people gain every day in life. Science gives a conscious character to the practical activity of people. It not only explains, but also foresees.

Science and technique are closely linked with each other, although they are two different fields. There are theories and discussions about the question of which came first and which second, that is, did science give birth to technique or was technique the source of science? I am not going to deal with this question. Our great classics made it clear long ago. Marx gives tools, technique and technology their proper value, but he acknowledges that the main force which creates them, which sets them in motion and makes them more perfect every day is man.

Bourgeois theoreticians elevate technique to a fetish, and thus, develop technicism. They separate technique, make it independent of social life, make it the product of a few inventors of genius, or an elite of scientists, therefore, we should be careful in this matter. In fact, however, despite the great role which outstanding individuals play, both science and technique are born and developed on the basis of social practice, of the experience of the broad masses of working people.

I stress these things, comrades, because our people who are building and producing, must be equipped with science and should develop modern technique, should

know and understand these things theoretically from the angle of our Marxist-Leninist theory, because only in this way will they avoid falling into capitalist-revisionist interpretations and deviations.

Now let me come concretely to the question under discussion. From the report presented to us on the problem of post-graduate qualification, it emerges that «the work done has not responded to the needs of various sectors,» etc., etc.

I pointed out above why this occurs and that this work must be done better and in more organized ways. But I want to stress that it would be a mistake to think that the Committee of Science and Technique alone will carry out this work, while the others will fold their arms and, without making timely studies of the problems on the basis of sectors, on the basis of development, will simply ask for the number of people required in the given speciality and name them, which would be quite inadequate. This has occurred and is still occurring. The Committee of Science and Technique must not be an adjunct of the State Planning Commission, but must be a committee attached to the government.

Despite the shortcomings that we have, the number of people with schooling in our country is good. The interest in learning also is good and it cannot be said that there is no rise in the level of knowledge in our country, but the conclusion stated in the report is meaningful, therefore, from now on the negative causes which exist must be examined more deeply and what is more important is that measures must be taken to put this situation in order and to advance.

The report speaks about «mass participation in the qualification of higher cadres,» etc. In my opinion this mass form can be effective only when the control, management

and requirements for qualification are extremely rigorous.

The awareness, the complete conviction must be created in everyone that wherever he works, fights and produces, it is necessary to learn, to gain qualification and not just to raise his grading, but to become able to produce the maximum and of the best quality.

I think we should struggle hard for quality, first of all, in the qualification courses.

The report speaks about the preparation of a five-year plan about specialization, etc. This is right and should be done. But I want to give some advice: **the plan made for this purpose should be realistic, and not exaggerated by desires beyond our possibilities.** We should not weaken the higher schools and production by withdrawing cadres from them allegedly to give them post-graduate specialization. Well-considered and reasonable specialization can be successful and be done soundly only when the base is not weakened. Both are important, but the base, production, has prime importance.

This plan must be worked out very rigorously. If the base does not work seriously on this problem, the work from above by the Committee of Science and Technique, the State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Education and Culture will be crippled.

It has been decided that this plan shall be approved in June this year. However, I ask: is this time-limit well based? Have the University and the departments compiled the plans and programs, have the cadres been allocated, taking into account the work load, the profile, their quantity and quality?

It seems to me that for our conditions, I am referring to our present conditions, taking into account the level of science in our country and its needs, as well as our teaching, theoretical and experimental force, the three-year period set for specialization is too long.

These are the things I had to say. Now I would like you, leading cadres of the Committee of Science and Technique, the comrades of the government, on which this Committee is dependent, and the respective sectors of the Central Committee, to bear in mind the observations and comments which were made here in the development of the activity of the Committee.

«Reports and Speeches 1980-1981»

THE STATUS OF A REPUBLIC FOR KOSOVA IS A JUST DEMAND

Article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit»

May 17, 1981

One after the other, the political staffs of Yugoslavia, from the lowest to the highest instances, from the regions and republics up to the Federation, from the basic organizations to the Central Committee of the LCY, met and discussed the events in Kosova. Everywhere there were curses against the people and youth of Kosova, threats, abuse, insults! A wave of Great-Serb and anti-Albanian chauvinism is sweeping Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav leaders are competing with one another in oratory to cover up the real causes of the demonstrations and revolts of the Albanian population in Kosova, to conceal the monstrous massacres and barbarities of the Serb armies, to denigrate the Albanians of Kosova. They are all rushing to be the first to propose the most draconian measures, to present the most oppressive and inhuman plans against the Albanians.

In this article today, however, we do not intend to return to the explanation of the tragic events of Kosova, to show where they have their source and who caused them.

We have expressed our view and stand on these ques-

tions in the articles published on April 8 **(1)** and 23. **(2)** We have nothing to delete from them or add to them. What we had to say we said openly, straight out, with sincerity and a high sense of responsibility.

We thought that after the first shock and confusion, reason, level-headedness, realistic and objective judgement of the causes which led to the new tragedy in Kosova would prevail among the Yugoslav leadership, that the lofty interests of the peoples of Yugoslavia, the friendship and unity of the nations and nationalities which constitute it would stand above nationalist prejudices, old and new.

This did not occur. On the contrary, all the government organs and the organizations and those of the League of Communists were swept by a furious wave of chauvinism, not only against the Albanians of Kosova, but also against the Party of Labour and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania against their correct line and policy towards Yugoslavia. They are accusing Albania in so many words of «having interfered in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia.»

We are said to have interfered because we publicly condemned the massacres that were perpetrated in Kosova, because we told the truth about thousands of people being killed, wounded and arrested there! Did the Yugoslav leaders expect us to send them our congratulations on these crimes and atrocities? We are said to have interfered because we said in our articles that the people of Kosova have the right to demand the status of a Federal Republic! But this is a legitimate demand, a demand of the people of Kosova, which we have not invented.

1 The article «Why Were Police Violence and Tanks Used Against the Albanians of Kosova» (see p. 146 of this volume).

2 The article «Who Incites Hostility Amongst the Peoples of Yugoslavia?», published in the newspaper *Zëri i popullit*, dated April 23, 1981. (See *About the Events in Kosova*, «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1981, p. 20, Eng. ed.)

In recent days, the Yugoslav leaders have had a great deal to say about this question, but nobody has explained why Kosova cannot be a republic. One after the other, they merely repeat that the demand of Kosova to become a Federal Republic is allegedly reactionary, counter-revolutionary, chauvinistic, etc. This stand is not only utterly baseless but also in complete and open contradiction with the wartime programmatic stands of the CPY on the national question and with many statements of the top personalities of the Yugoslav party and state. But let us refer to documents.

**A Few Facts of History about the Treatment
of the National Problem of the Albanians
of Yugoslavia**

At the London Conference of Ambassadors of the Great Powers, in 1913. Albania was partitioned. Despite the many protests through diplomatic channels and the armed opposition of the Albanian people, a large part of its north-eastern territory, Kosova and other Albanian-inhabited regions, was annexed to the Kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro.

The Peace Conference of Versailles, in 1919, ignoring the just demands of the Albanian people, reconfirmed the partitioning of the Albanian territories, as was decided by the imperialist powers in London, and left them to the Serbian-Croatian-Slovenian Kingdom, which it created.

For a long time the Communist Party of Yugoslavia had condemned the national oppression of the Albanians who «were enslaved and earmarked for extermination» by the «nationalist policy of the Great-Serb hegemonists,» as Tito wrote in the newspaper *Proleter*. For some time it had also upheld the thesis that the peoples which made

up the Kingdom of Yugoslavia must be granted the right of self-determination up to secession.

In the article «Against the Danger of War, Against the Onslaught of Fascist Reaction! Let Us Unite All the Democratic Forces in the Militant Popular Front in Yugoslavia, too!» published in *Proleter*, organ of the CC of the CPY, on February 2, 1937, Tito wrote: «The aim of this struggle in which the masses of the people will strive with all their might and means, has to be the urgent solution of the national question in conformity with the principle of the democratic right of self-determination...»

In another article, also published in *Proleter* at the end of December 1942, under the title «The National Question in Yugoslavia in the Light of the National Liberation War,» which is considered as a programmatic document of the CPY on the national question, Tito pointed out that, «The Communist Party of Yugoslavia has not renounced and never will renounce its principle, which was established by our great leaders and teachers Lenin-Stalin, the principle that every people have the right of self-determination up to the right of secession... The question of Macedonia, the question of Kosova and Metohia, the question of Montenegro, the question of Serbia, the question of Croatia, the question of Slovenia, the question of Bosnia and Hercegovina will be easily solved to everybody's satisfaction. Only in this way will the people themselves solve it, and each people win this right rifle in hand, in the present National Liberation War.»

In «The Theses on the National Question in Kosova and Metohia,» presented by Moša Pijade, one of the main leaders of the CPY, at the 5th National Conference held in Zagreb in October 1940, we read, «The solution of the national question here (in Kosova — ed.) can be achieved with the formation of the free workers and peasants' republic of Kosova through the revolutionary overthrow of the im-

perialist fascist regime of the 'Great-Serb' bourgeoisie. For the Albanians, Turks and the Slav Moslems, this solution will mean that they achieve complete freedom of ownership of their land, are liberated from national oppression and secure the conditions for their completely free national, political and cultural development.» (3)

Thus the Communist Party of Yugoslavia recognized the right of the people of Kosova, like the other peoples of Yugoslavia, to self-determination up to secession, the right to have their own republic. The people of Kosova would win these rights by taking part in the Anti-fascist Liberation War. And the Albanians of Kosova took part in the war, making their valuable contribution to the liberation of Kosova and the peoples of Yugoslavia.

By the end of 1944, as Fadil Hoxha has recorded, there were more than 50,000 fighters in the partisan brigades and other detachments in Kosova. During this war, thousands of Albanian partisans laid down their lives for freedom and national rights.

In accordance with the decision taken at the 5th Conference of the CPY of the year 1940, during the whole period of the National Liberation War, the Regional Committee of the CP for Kosova and Metohia maintained direct links with the Central Committee of the CPY. It was of the same rank and had all the attributes and competences which the highest party organs in Serbia, Macedonia, Montenegro and Bosnia-Hercegovina had. The Military High Command which was set up in Kosova during the war was linked directly with the Supreme Headquarters of Yugoslavia. Thus, during the war, the Party, the National Liberation Army, the Councils, the Front, etc., in Kosova were

3 Arhiv F.N.R.J. Fond: «Centralni Komitet K.P.J., Broj 12-14, 1940. Teze o nacionalnom pitanju na Kosmetu sa V Zemaljske Konferencije K.P.J.»

not dependent on Serbia and did not function within its framework, but, like those of the other nationalities, were linked directly with the central forums of Yugoslavia.

On the basis of the decisions and orientations of the CPY on the self-determination of nations, in November 1943 the Regional Committee of the CPY for Kosova and Metohia decided to convene the Founding Conference of the National Liberation Council for Kosova and Metohia. This conference was held in the village of Bujan in the Gjakova Highlands from December 31, 1943 to January 1-2, 1944. Forty-nine delegates, of whom 43 were Albanians while 6 were Serbs and Montenegrins, took part in this conference. They were representatives of the national liberation councils of the main centres and villages, of the partisan units and communists from all parts of Kosova. The conference was held precisely at the time when the other nations of Yugoslavia founded the supreme organs of the state power that emerged from the National Liberation War, when every nation, according to its own desire and will, was realizing its right to self-determination.

The principal document of the Founding Conference of the National Liberation Council for Kosova and Metohia is the Resolution which expresses the stand of the whole people in regard to the future of Kosova.

This Resolution says, «Kosova and the Dukagjin Plateau is a region inhabited, for the most part, by the Albanian people who today, as always, want to be united with Albania. Therefore, we deem it our duty to indicate the correct road which the Albanian people must follow to realize their aspirations. The only way for the Albanian people of Kosova and the Dukagjin Plateau to be united with Albania is through their joint struggle with the other peoples of Yugoslavia against the blood-thirsty nazi occupiers and their hirelings, because this is the only way

to win the freedom, in which all the peoples, hence, the Albanian people, too, will be able to decide their fate through the right of self-determination up to secession. The guarantee for this is the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia and the National Liberation Army of Albania with which it is closely linked. Besides these, our great allies, the Soviet Union, Britain, America, also guarantee this (the Atlantic Charter, the Moscow and Tehran Conferences)».(4)

The Resolution of the National Liberation Council of the Kosova-Metohia region bears the signatures of the people's heroes Xhevdet Doda and Hajdar Dushi, of the martyrs Tefik Çanga, Xheladin Hana, and others, of Fadil Hoxha, Xhavit Nimani, Ymer Pula, Milan Mičković, Ljubomir Canić, Veliša Mičković and the other delegates who took part in the meeting.

Although this decision was in accord with the documents of the CPY and the declarations of Tito on the self-determination of nations, it was opposed by the leadership of the CPY, in which the nationalist-chauvinist spirit was already predominant and the anti-Marxist stands on how matters would be arranged in post-war Yugoslavia had been outlined.

The letter of the CC of the CPY of March 28, 1944 to the Regional Committee for Kosova-Metohia, in connection with the decisions of the Bujan Conference, said, «You should not have set up the Regional Committee, because your region is not a separate compact district... The character of your Regional National Liberation Council is not clear from the Resolution. This Council can be only an initiator, an organ of the political unity of the masses, but we cannot give it a state character, although it must lead the low-

4 The People's Council of the Autonomous Region of Kosova-Metohia 1943-1953, Prishtina 1955, p. 10.

ranking councils where they exist. This is because you do not have liberated territories...

«... Here are our instructions of how the national question should be treated. First of all, you should understand and popularize more widely the decisions of the 2nd meeting of the AVNOJ (5) and the essence and purpose of these decisions. These decisions guarantee equal rights for all the peoples, make possible the right to self-determination.

«Today there must be no talk of 'unification' with Albania, because at this moment there is no question of defining the borders between Yugoslavia and Albania, both of them occupied by Germany, but these two countries should be liberated from the nazi occupier through armed struggle.» (6)

Nevertheless, the Albanians of Kosova and all Yugoslavia continued to fight the nazi occupiers with determination, always hoping that through their fight they would win their national rights.

In the autumn of 1944 Miladin Popović returned to Kosova from Albania, and resumed the function of political secretary of the Regional Committee of the CPY for Kosova. In 1943 he had sent a letter to the CC of the CPY in which he sought a concrete definition of the content of the principle of self-determination and how this principle would be applied to the Albanians of Kosova. In this letter M. Popović wrote, «We have always stressed the slogan of self-determination for the future. The Albanian people could not be mobilized against the 'liberator' occupier in this way.» He goes on to demand that «the CC of the CPY take a concrete stand and define the form of the self-determination

5 The Anti-fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia.

6 Zbornik dokumenta i podataka o Narodno-oslobodilačkom Ratu jugoslovenskih naroda. Tom I, Knjiga, 19. Borbe na Kosovu 1941-1944, Dok. 104, str. 462-464. Beograd 1969.

of the Albanians in Yugoslavia.» (7) But the Yugoslav leadership turned a deaf ear to this internationalist communist, this son of Montenegro, and proceeded on its course.

When Yugoslavia was liberated, the Albanians of Kosova and the other regions expected that, in return for the contribution they made in the war against the occupiers, for the blood of thousands of fighters who fell on the battlefields, and for the countless sacrifices of the whole people, they would be given political freedoms and national rights on an equal footing with the other peoples of Yugoslavia.

But instead of this, in February 1945 a military administration was established in Kosova. At this time, while most of the Kosova brigades were fighting in Croatia and Slovenia for the liberation of the whole of Yugoslavia, the Serb-Montenegrin 52nd and 46th Divisions, the Macedonian 50th Division and others poured into Kosova. Thousands of Albanians accused of various crimes were killed and massacred. Thousands of others were sent to the front under the pretext of military mobilization.

While the military administration ruled and made the law in Kosova, the whole of Kosova had been put on the auction block of Belgrade. The first variant which the Yugoslav leadership discussed was the division of Kosova among three Republics — Montenegro, Serbia and Macedonia. Thus a further partitioning of the Albanian regions, similar to that decided by the Yugoslav Kingdom, was being designed. At a meeting of the CC of the CPY held at the beginning of 1945, Miladin Popović strongly opposed this proposal. He declared that this proposal was openly contrary to the aspirations and rights of the Albanians of Kosova, rights which they had won with the blood they had shed and the contribution they had made during the National Liberation War.

7 Central Archives of the PLA, file M. Popović.

Next it was discussed that Kosova should remain an autonomous unit, neither separate nor dependent on the Federation, but annexed to one of three Republics: Serbia, Macedonia or Montenegro. Finally it was decided that Kosova should be annexed by the Republic of Serbia. (8)

The solution which the Yugoslav leadership gave the question of Kosova was not a just solution of the national question. This was an arbitrary stand, an open negation of the sovereign rights of the population of Kosova, and a violation of the principle of the self-determination of the peoples.

Only one variant was not discussed in Belgrade at that time — that Kosova also could be united with Albania. Had the people of Kosova not expressed this wish at the Bujan Conference? Were not Albania and Yugoslavia two allied states that had fought and shed blood together?

The status of Kosova was decided under the dictate of the Great-Serb chauvinist ideology, which was inherited from the Yugoslav Kingdom and preserved in post-war Yugoslavia. This emerged also from what Tito told us in 1946, that «Kosova and the other regions inhabited by Albanians belong to Albania and we shall return them to you, but not now, because the Great-Serb reaction would not accept such a thing.» (9)

Tito admitted that Kosova belonged to Albania, but he was not sincere in saying so, because the Yugoslav leadership had already decided that Kosova would remain under Serbia. In fact, a year earlier he had declared to the Albanian delegation of Kosova that «the peoples of Kosova and Metohia will create such a profound fraternity and unity that it will be all the same to the Albanian people

8 Kosova 2. 1973, pp. 76-78.

9 Central Archives of the PLA, file: Visit of the Albanian delegation to Yugoslavia, 1946.

whether they live within the borders of Albania or Yugoslavia.»(10)

What Tito concealed, the Great-Serb chauvinist Ranković declared openly, with no kid gloves. Speaking about the question of the annexation of Kosova by Serbia at the extraordinary meeting of the Anti-fascist Convention of Serbia in April 1945, he stated that this annexation «is the best answer to those who trumpet about the danger of the partitioning of the 'Serbian' territory, who make the accusation that the National Liberation War will weaken the Serbs in the interests of the Croats and the others.» (11)

And the present Yugoslav leaders, in their attempts to reject the demand that Kosova should enjoy the status of a Federal Republic, are trying to prove that allegedly the Albanian people of Kosova themselves decided «of their own free will» that Kosova should be incorporated into the Republic of Serbia.

The people of Kosova neither requested nor decided that Kosova should be annexed to the Republic of Serbia. This decision was taken by the top forums of Serbia in an arbitrary manner. This emerges clearly from the documents of that time.

Dušan Mugoša, who had replaced Miladin Popović, assassinated a month earlier by the agents of OZNA (12), also spoke at the above-said April 1945 meeting of the Anti-fascist Convention of Serbia. Dušan Mugoša said, «I express the desire of the National Liberation Council of Kosova and Metohia that we, the peoples of Kosova and Metohia, too, should be annexed to fraternal Federal Serbia.» (13) This declaration of Dušan Mugoša is considered as the «expression of the free will and self-determination of the people of

10 Rilindja, April 15, 1945.

11 Borba, April 8, 1945.

12 The Yugoslav Secret Service.

13 Borba, April 8, 1945.

Kosova.» On April 9, 1945, the newspaper *Borba* with big headlines informed the public that the meeting of the Anti-fascist Convention of the liberated people of Serbia «accepted the desire» of the peoples of Kosova and Metohia to be united with Federal Serbia.

But on June 30, 1945, forgetting what it has censured on April 8, the newspaper *Borba* in one of its materials published the last part of the speech of Dušan Mugoša, in which he revealed that Kosova had made no demand and taken no decision to be annexed to Serbia. Dušan Mugoša had said: «We have not taken this decision in our Convention yet, because military rule is still in force in Kosova and Metohia. At the first opportunity, as soon as the military rule in Kosova and Metohia is lifted, we will take the decision in our Convention on annexation to Federal Serbia.» Thus, what had been decided previously in Belgrade would be endorsed in Kosova.

What, then did Kosova gain from all that struggle it waged and all the blood it shed? In the new Yugoslavia it was not even granted the rights of an autonomous region, as was done with Vojvodina, but was reduced to the status of an *oblast** of Federal Serbia. Kosova remained in this status up till 1968.

The people of Kosova did not reconcile themselves to this situation and persisted in demanding their rights. In 1968, on the occasion of the discussion of amendments to the Constitution, the Albanians of Kosova once again raised the question of their national rights and put forward their demand of the status of a republic for Kosova. This demand was presented openly and publicly at the meetings of political activists held in the communes of Prishtina, Gjilan, etc. The Kosova press of October 1968 said that in a number of meetings in «several communes demands for a republic,

* Province (Serbian in the original).

the right of self-determination, etc., have been expressed.» (14)

A delegation of the Communist League of Kosova-Metohia also presented this demand to Tito at the beginning of November 1968. Tito opposed this lawful demand of the Albanians of Kosova and refused it, saying that «the republic is not the only factor which solves all the problems.» (15) It was clear that the Yugoslav leadership did not intend to give the Albanians of Kosova the status of a republic.

That is why massive demonstrations, in which Albanian youth and citizens took part, broke out in November 1968 in various cities of Kosova. They demanded that they be given the national rights for which they had fought and shed their blood, such as the right to keep their national flag, the right of two languages (Albanian and Serbian), the establishment of an Albanian university, the right of self-determination and the status of a republic. The demonstrations were violently suppressed by the police forces.

After the demonstrations the Yugoslav leadership agreed to the Albanians' demand for bilinguality and the national flag, and established the University of Prishtina. However, the demand for the republic was rejected. Although the autonomous region was given certain wider competences after the sanctioning of the amendments to the Constitution, Kosova remained, as always, under the tutelage of Serbia.

From what has been said, it emerges that the demand of the Albanians of Kosova for the status of a Federal Republic, for the recognition of their national rights, is not a new problem that emerged for the first time in the demonstrations of Prishtina and other cities, and is not a problem stirred up by socialist Albania. The people of Kosova have always fought for these rights. But they

14 Rilindja, September 8, 1968 and October 6, 1968.

15 Rilindja, November 4, 1968.

have been systematically denied them, starting from the 2nd meeting of the AVNOJ of November 29, 1943, which treated the Albanians of Kosova and other regions of Yugoslavia as national minorities, destined to live under the umbrella of other republics, while the right to sovereignty and the formation of a republic was recognized to others, such as Montenegro and Macedonia. As it turns out from the above-cited documents, the Serb bourgeoisie and Serb chauvinism have always been obstacles to the full recognition of the national rights of the people of Kosova. Precisely because the just demands of the people of Kosova, such as the demand for the republic, are not to the liking of this bourgeoisie, they are called irredentist, counter-revolutionary, chauvinist etc.

The demonstrations in Prishtina, which began peacefully but which Belgrade turned into a blood bath, can be explained and understood only if one bears in mind this sinister development, this anti-Marxist handling of the national problem of Kosova and these chauvinist solutions, which have been imposed on it when it has demanded its constitutional rights.

Why do the gentlemen of Belgrade keep this development of the problem of Kosova secret? Why are they not making this analysis at their current meetings? They have a reason. And the reason is that any analysis of the constitutional problem of Kosova will lead to the conclusion that the Albanians have not been given the rights for which they fought and shed their blood together with the other peoples of Yugoslavia, that national oppression is still applied against them unrelentingly, that in Yugoslavia a chauvinist policy is pursued towards Kosova. The problem of Kosova is not solved either by saying that these demonstrations have been organized by irredentists, or by using terror and violence, or by accusing Albania of interfering in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia.

**The Policy of the Albanian State Does Not
Endanger but Defends the SFR of Yugoslavia**

The ideological contradictions between socialist Albania and self-administrative Yugoslavia are well known. The ideological polemic between us is not a development of recent times. We Albanian communists have felt, feel and will feel it our permanent duty to defend Marxism-Leninism. We have fought against revisionist-opportunist-reformist theories and views of whatever hue and will continue to do so. This is our right, just as it is the right of all the anti-Marxists and the different parties of the bourgeoisie to fight us, and in this direction they do not hang back.

We have the full right to defend our system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Others have the right to defend their systems. The ideological struggle resulting from this is natural and inevitable.

The Yugoslav leaders claim that they do not wage this sort of struggle against us. This is not true and never has been. We wage the ideological struggle and we say so, whereas they wage it, but don't say so.

They claim that such an ideological struggle weakens the state, commercial and cultural relations between Albania and Yugoslavia. We assert and observe that they have not been weakened. On the contrary, they have been strengthened, and this is due not only to their will, but also to ours. Neither the Yugoslavs nor we have made ideological concessions to each other, but we have agreed on matters of common interest and have disagreed over those questions on which we can never be reconciled.

Our state relations have developed on the basis of the recognized principles of good neighbourliness. We want them to proceed in this way in the future. If the Yugoslav leadership does not want such a thing, no one will hinder

it from acting otherwise. We shall try to find a *modus vivendi* with it, without violating principles.

You who have launched the new anti-Albanian campaign in Yugoslavia pretend that you have «slackened your vigilance» against the so-called hostile actions of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia. This is not true, because you have waged the ideological struggle openly.

You claim that you have been «big-hearted» for the sake of continuing the good relations between our two countries. This is not true, either. You do not suffer from «enlargement of the heart» and you have waged the ideological struggle against our basic doctrine, Marxism-Leninism, and our regime of the dictatorship of the proletariat relentlessly. Why do you conceal this?

Despite this, however, another reality exists, that of the continuation of the good neighbourliness in our state relations. We hope that this reality endures and advances. In recent times you give the impression that you want to restrict these relations. The responsibility for this falls on you.

It seems that you are going to step up the baseless and mistaken anti-Albanian campaign which you have launched in recent times and which is neither new nor weak, and raise it to a more strident pitch. Go ahead, we are not afraid. You go your way, we shall go ours.

You claim hypocritically that you have not informed Yugoslav opinion and your youth about «the misery which prevails in Albania, about the Albanian people's lack of freedoms and rights, about the smashing of churches and mosques, about the closing of our doors to the hordes of tourists, about the closing of our ports to the Soviet navy, about the many camps and prisoners, etc.» For our part, we shall speak even more than we have done about the «Yugoslav paradise». We have spoken about this «econ-

omic, spiritual and ideological paradise and prosperity» in Yugoslavia, however we shall refresh the memory of our people and youth about all the evils that the Albanian people have seen and experienced at your hands, both before and after the National Liberation War. This is in the logic of things and the fight you want to incite.

Contrary to the facts of history, you have claimed that Yugoslavia allegedly defended Albania. In the last Plenum of the CC of the League of Communist of Yugoslavia which met solely to attack Kosova and assail the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, amongst others, many authorized voices were heard to say that «Federative Yugoslavia is the defender of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.» This is a «paternalistic» expression and a one-sided statement. Not without purpose and from positions of the great-state megalomania, it was overlooked that socialist Albania also is a strong defender of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia.

We oppose the present foreign and internal policy of Yugoslavia, because we think it is fraught with many dangers for Yugoslavia itself and for Albania, for the Balkans and Europe, regardless of the pretentious claims about «self-administration» and talk about an «independent,» «non-aligned» policy, etc.

Every government and every individual who understands politics and follows the situations that develop in the world, can see the dangers of this course of the Yugoslav policy. This policy has exposed Yugoslavia to the greedy ambitions and possible aggressions of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. This threat is the outcome of this short-sighted policy which also causes the instability within Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav leaders not only advocate their self-administrative system, but also recommend it to others as «the most perfect form of socialist system.» They present

their foreign policy as if it will disarm and destroy the aggressive imperialist powers, as if it will bring peace and prosperity to the world. This megalomaniac pretention is not only naive but also a fraud which is being exposed every day by world events.

Yugoslavia regards the fact that it is up to its neck in debt as a great merit. It calls this «économie indépendance.» It calls the policy of «non-alignment» protection and defence of its independence, when, by law, the imperialist and Soviet multi-national companies are guaranteed 50 per cent of the profit from the joint economic ventures in Yugoslavia. It describes as «wise, open, and sincere» the influx of foreign tourists and the emigration of Yugoslav workers to all the capitalist countries of the world. It describes as «a gesture of good conduct» the permission it gives the Soviet warships to enter, make repairs and obtain supplies in the Yugoslav ports. It calls the great economic crisis which has afflicted Yugoslavia, the great increase in inflation, and the rising cost of living for the working masses, inevitable and almost «normal.» According to the Yugoslav leadership, all these things have nothing to do with either «self-administration» or the «independent policy» or the «policy of non-alignment.» These, say the Yugoslav «theoreticians», are two issues which do not interfere with one another, the former (the crisis) is not a consequence of the latter (the policy).

The Albanians living in Yugoslavia and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania which «incites» them with «its éatist. bureaucratic, Stalinist, nationalist, irredentist policy,» are to blame for these things.

No, Messrs Yugoslav leaders, do not fear the truth, be just a little realistic, for it is not as you claim.

Do you really want us, too, to follow your course? This will never happen. We may even live poor, but we want to live free and build our own well-being which is

rising day by day. And this we are doing with our own forces. We are not in debt to anyone and do not sell our country to foreign capital of the United States of America, the Soviet Union and others. We are not locked away in self-isolation, but engage in honest trade with mutual benefit, just as we develop cultural-educational exchanges. It is a fact that we have such relations with you, too, and trade between us is developing every year.

It is not hard for anyone to guess what would happen if socialist Albania were to open its doors to Soviet, American and other capitalist countries' capital, to the hordes of hippy tourists, what would happen if Albania were to open the ports of Saranda, Vlora, Durrës and Shëngjin to the Soviet warships, as Yugoslavia does with its ports. If this were done, not only the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, but also the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, the Republic of Greece, and the whole of the Balkans and Europe would be endangered.

This we have not done and never will. Neither the Soviets nor anybody else will see our ports, even through binoculars. In order to enter the Albanian ports, any enemy will have to do so over our dead bodies.

Because it pursues a principled, correct and unwavering policy, because it sticks to its course consistently and with determination, Albania is an important factor of peace, stability, security and defence in the Balkans and Europe, as has been its tradition throughout its long history.

The capitalist and imperialist world has perpetrated many evils against the Albanian people at all times. Now, too, it is trying to distort the truth about Albania. It has robbed it of its assets and does not want to return them. It refuses or hesitates to pay the war reparations to Albania at a time when it has paid them to all the others. And all this is because the Albanian people, a small people

want to live free, independent and sovereign in their own country. The Albanian people have done no one any harm, only good. But no force will deprive them of their legitimate rights.

Messrs Yugoslav leaders, forget your morbid passions for a moment and think with cool heads: Does this policy of the Albanian state endanger or defend the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia?

We have declared and we declare again officially and publicly that if the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia is attacked, we Albanians of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania will fight shoulder to shoulder with the peoples of Yugoslavia. Does this undermine or defend the Yugoslav Federation?

Do you think that, at the supreme moment when the Albanian people of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, united with the peoples of Yugoslavia, are fighting shoulder to shoulder as they did during the Second World War, against an enemy or enemies invading our two countries, the Albanian people living on their own territories in Yugoslavia will turn the gun against us and oppose us, taking the side of the Soviet-Bulgarians or some other aggressor?

Why, Messrs Yugoslav leaders, do you distort our declarations and try to put in our mouth things we have not said? We have declared and we declare again that we have not raised and are not raising territorial claims. Why do you accuse us of being chauvinists, inciters of irredentism, and nationalists? Of course, by levelling such unfounded and preposterous accusations against us, you want to conceal something grave and unjust on your part.

We do not have the slightest interest in weakening the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia. On the contrary, we want it strengthened, but not at the expense of the Albanians of Kosova. The weakening of the Federation

is to the liking of the revisionist aggressor Soviet Union and the Bulgarian revisionist leadership. This truth we state openly, while you are afraid to do so. Moreover, you are blowing your trumpets clamouring that the People's Socialist Republic of Albania wants to undermine the Yugoslav Federation, that the heroic Albanian people and youth of Kosova, who are demanding the status of a Republic, are counter-revolutionaries and seeking to destroy the Federation.

Three times you have inflicted heavy bloodshed on the martyred Albanian people living in Yugoslavia, 50 thousand of whom fought shoulder to shoulder with the Yugoslav brothers and with the fraternal Albanian people who sent their own liberation shock brigades to Yugoslavia to fight against the nazi-fascist occupiers, the Ballists, the Cetnici and Ustaše. Despite this war, you shed their blood in 1945, in 1968 and again covered them in blood in 1981.

Can things go on in this way, Messrs Yugoslav leaders? Can this be called «a just solution of the national question,» a slogan you are trumpeting every day? Would you tolerate such a terror against your people, would you have been so cool-headed and patient, as the Kosova people have shown themselves to be in the face of these atrocities? Does the Albanian population living in Yugoslavia not have the right to live in peace and freedom? Has it not the right to stop the UDB-men from breaking into its homes and dishonouring the wives and daughters, from imprisoning and torturing innocent people? Does it not have the right to defend itself against these inhuman actions?

The Albanians of Yugoslavia ought to have all these rights and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania will defend them when these rights are denied them, especially when they are drowned in blood, as occurred recently all over Kosova.

You call these truths we assert and these rights we

defend publicly «interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia,» «subversive organization of Tirana», etc. No, gentlemen, it is not so and no one believes what you are saying. The Albanian people who live in Yugoslavia have their own brains and know what they are doing. They do not need us, the Albanians of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, to teach and incite them. They are brave and loyal, they know how to demand what belongs to them, just as they know how to defend themselves. Messrs. Yugoslav leaders, make a correct assessment of the lofty virtues of this part of the Albanian nation which lives in Yugoslavia, don't make them enemies by violating the rights that belong to them, because this is not good, either for you or for them.

The Albanian Nation Is One, It Has the One History, Culture and Language

In our opinion, the educational, cultural and scientific relations which the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has developed with Kosova, in the first place, but also with the Socialist Republics of Macedonia and Montenegro to a lesser extent (and this not for lack of goodwill on our part), have been quite normal, fruitful, useful and correct for both sides. These relations have developed through joint agreements and with the approval of our two Governments.

We believe the Government of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia has given its approval to both the Autonomous Region of Kosova and the two Federative Republics where Albanians live. However, this is a matter which is not up to us. The fact that these relations were developed in the proper way is due to both sides. These relations had no political character, they stirred up neither

nationalism, chauvinism nor irredentism. There has been no complaint about lack of correctness, violation of the laws of either Republic by the people who have travelled to and from our countries, and not even the slightest incident has occurred.

We are fully convinced that these relations, as you frequently like to repeat, served as a bridge for strengthening the relations of the Albanian people with the peoples of Yugoslavia.

The leadership of the Yugoslav Federation described these economic, commercial, educational and cultural relations between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Autonomous Region of Kosova, after the troubles that occurred there, through no fault of ours and without the slightest incitement or interference on our part, as «interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, incitement of great-Albanian chauvinism, territorial claims and irredentism.» It described these relations, which had long been developing in broad daylight and not in dark corners, as the basic inspiration of Albanian nationalism, imported from Tirana by our scientists, professors, academicians, singers and dancers. This slanderous and hostile opinion has never been expressed before, either as criticism or as reproach by the Yugoslav side.

On the contrary, we want to emphasize that top personalities of the Albanian leadership of the Federation and the Region, who displayed the greatest ferocity against the demonstrators in Prishtina and elsewhere, have always taken our people of art and culture who went to Kosova as examples and have publicly praised and thanked them for their behaviour.

The Yugoslav leadership forgets that the Albanian nation is one, irrespective of the fact that one part lives in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the other in three parts of the Federative Yugoslavia. It has the one

history, culture and language, has its common heroes, poets, painters, musicians and artists. This is its great heritage, which it preserves, cultivates and develops. These are the main features of a nation.

Do the Yugoslavs think that these features of the Albanian nationality should die out, should be described as signs and phenomena of «an outdated romantic nationalism and a reprehensible chauvinism?»

Can the exchange of opinions between people from socialist Albania and the Albanians living in Yugoslavia on the enrichment of the Albanian language, the genesis of the Albanian people, the history of their ancestors, the social and natural sciences be considered an incitement of Albanian chauvinism and irredentism? Can our folk songs and dances performed in Yugoslavia be considered incitement of chauvinism and irredentism? This is our heritage, the heritage of all Albanians, and of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in particular. We have beforehand submitted the plans of cultural and educational collaboration and the programs of performances of artistic groups to you and you have approved them. The public has liked them very much and applauded them. Everybody likes what is beautiful and healthy.

Our artistic ensembles have gone everywhere. They have been well received and applauded with great admiration and enthusiasm by the Greek people and their leaders, by the art-lovers and the press of that country. Likewise, the Turkish people and their leaders of every rank have liked our folk songs and dances very much. The same thing has occurred in France, in Italy, in Algeria, in Tunisia, in the Nordic countries and everywhere. Nobody has accused us either of nationalism or of chauvinism. They have respected our feelings and we have respected theirs.

We ask: Why this stand of the Yugoslav leaders? What is it in their heads and feelings that is worrying them?

Why don't they have a clear conscience? Or do they think that more people or groups of people have gone from Albania to Yugoslavia than have come here from Yugoslavia? The statistics show the opposite and we rejoice over it.

Or do they want to find a groundless excuse to restrict these relations, to cut down on scientific, cultural and artistic exchanges and the number of people coming and going? Mr Dušan Ristić, Chairman of the Convention of Kosova, let the cat out of the bag when he said that «all the protocols on the collaboration of the cultural-educational and other institutions and organizations of Kosova with Albania should no longer be implemented.»

If they want to, the Federation and the other competent organs can do what Ristić asks. This is their right. We do not force the doors of the others open. For our part, we will keep our doors open to all sincere friends, whoever they may be, and especially to our Albanian brothers who live in Yugoslavia. This will help them to become acquainted with the «Albanian hell», as the main leaders of the Autonomous Region of Kosova and the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia call our country, and to compare it with the «Yugoslav paradise», as we call it.

We are stating our opinion in advance: If the Yugoslavs do take these nationalist, chauvinist measures, this will be a great mistake on their part. The Albanians of Yugoslavia and the entire Albanian people will condemn them and will rightly say that the Yugoslavs are afraid of the development of Albanian culture, but not of decadent culture!

We tell the Yugoslavs in a friendly way that such measures will not calm the Albanian public opinion in Kosova and the other regions of Yugoslavia. We are convinced that the healthy Yugoslav public opinion and world opinion will also condemn this act.

Once again it is our duty to tell the Yugoslav leaders

to keep cool in their judgement and actions. The Yugoslav leadership should look into the needs of the Albanians of Yugoslavia with most rigorous fairness, should not treat them badly and discriminate against them, should seriously and objectively consider the legitimate demands of the people of Kosova and should not harm and ill-treat the heroic Albanian youth, especially the student youth, the teachers, professors and all the intelligentsia of Kosova and the other Albanian regions of Yugoslavia, should not consider the University of Prishtina and the Albanian elementary and secondary schools as hotbeds of enemies, counter-revolutionaries, chauvinists, etc., should not dismember the University of Prishtina on the pretext that there is overproduction of graduates and scatter the Albanian students throughout all the universities of Yugoslavia. No one is deceived and everybody understands why this is done. The Albanian does not forget «his native place where he is honoured.» Do not attempt to cut off the head of the youth, the beautiful Albanian flower of Kosova, because the Albanians have never spared their blood for knowledge and freedom.

There can never be overproduction of people with schooling if production in Kosova, which is potentially rich and effectively poor, is increased. Serious measures must be taken for this development of Kosova, as for the rest you may shout as loud as you please that in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania «the people have nothing to eat, no freedom, there are no churches and mosques.»

The Albanian worker of Kosova, who works deep in the mines, does not accept that the underground wealth should be exploited while the wealth on the surface be abandoned, that his brothers should be impoverished and killed by bullets.

We say these things to certain Yugoslav leaders, who are reasonable, so that they will bear these truths in mind,

because certain other irascible, despotic and anti-Albanian leaders have bolted off in a desperate gallop which may cause still more dangerous catastrophes, for which it will be difficult to find reasonable solutions later.

We do not want to tell you how to run your country, or to interfere in your internal affairs, but we are telling you this for the common good of our two countries, because you have made matters very tense with the Kosova people, with the Albanians of other regions and the Albanian economic emigrants outside Yugoslavia. You are creating a division among the latter. It is not the «diplomatic agencies of the PSRA» abroad that create this division, but you, Mister Minić.

We are fully convinced that Kosova cannot be for undermining the Federation. But the Federation must study and find a just solution to the great problem of the rights of the Albanians of Kosova, which they themselves have placed before you and which Tito, Moša Pijade and Miladin Popović have dealt with from the theoretical and practical aspects.

Calm must be restored in Kosova, but the removal of a certain Mahmut Bakalli* and the promotion of a Mahmut Çakalli** will not calm it. Kosova will return to calm if the state of siege is lifted, the Serbian army and punitive police are withdrawn, if the situation is normalized, the innocent prisoners with whom the jails are full are released, and if the bodies of those killed in demonstrations are returned to their families, because this is a sacred and humanitarian matter. You must study the demand of the people of Kosova for a Republic carefully and fairly, must solve its economic problems correctly. This is the only way to restore calm in Kosova, only in this way will it be a friend of other

* grocer.

** jackal.

republics, within the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia.

Kosova seeks the status of a Republic within the Yugoslav Federation. This status represents the aspiration of a great people, who rightly demand the «status of sovereignty» and not that of a «national minority,» which it was unjustly allocated at Jajce. The enemy of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, the Great-Serb Milovan Gilas, in his writings has revealed the reasons for this injustice, which regrettably the present Yugoslav leadership has never disavowed.

The demand of Kosova to be granted the status of a Federal Republic is a just one. It has deserved it because of the struggle it has waged together with the other peoples of Yugoslavia against fascism. The Great-Serb chauvinism has cost Kosova heavy bloodshed and created such a situation that expedients can hardly cure it.

Messrs. Yugoslav leaders, do you want this wound to turn to gangrene? You must think it over yourselves. We do not wish such a thing on you. This disease must be cured at once, justly and courageously.

The wound cannot be healed with manoeuvres, with combinations, with juggling, with threats to force people say what is dictated to them. Fraternity is achieved with open hearts, with sincerity, with people whom the Albanians of Kosova love and trust. They can and must close the great gulf which was opened through no fault of the Albanian people of Kosova.

We feel it our duty to tell you these truths in a friendly spirit. Reject them if you wish, attach any epithet you care to use to us. Let the progressive world judge both us and you.

The peoples of Yugoslavia and the Albanian people want friendship with one another, but the friendship must be established on sound foundations.

**«Pure Ethnic Entity,» «Small Albania»
and «Greater Albania»**

The raising of swords and shields against us on the part of the Yugoslav leadership has certainly been done in order to cover up something horrible and reprehensible which occurred in the streets of the cities and country roads of Kosova, where the blood of the people flowed in torrents.

How many were killed and how were they killed? This is kept secret, but the Albanian people of Kosova know their sons and daughters who have been killed, tortured and imprisoned, or have disappeared. The more the truth is hidden, the more dangerous it becomes. Blood is thicker than water! This should not be forgotten. The complete truth about the tragedy of Kosova will come out, it will be terrible and will have consequences.

Mr Stane Dolanc, in the interview he gave foreign journalists about the events in Kosova, said among other things, «The People's Socialist Republic of Albania does not have a finger in these events.» Mr Dolanc is one of the main leaders, if not the main one, of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. What he said was based on facts.

But who cooked up the lie? Who distorted the truth? In whose interest was it to accuse the People's Socialist Republic of Albania of having a finger in the disturbances in Kosova? Let the Yugoslav leadership discover this, Mr Minić and Mr. Vidić, but what was concocted was a monstrosity, an outburst of hatred which opened such a gulf that every politically immature Yugoslav could equate the name «Albanian» with the «enemy of the peoples of Yugoslavia.» Those who opened this gulf are answerable to their own peoples, including the Albanians who live in Yugoslavia. They are answerable to history.

The entire Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia unanimously and unjustly condemned the events in Kosova, condemned the people of Kosova, condemned the Albanians of Yugoslavia, condemned the People's Socialist Republic of Albania as aiders and abettors in these disturbances.

However, we know how to make distinctions between those who spoke in the top forum of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. We observed that the main leaders of the neighbouring Republics of Montenegro and Macedonia, and also of Croatia and Slovenia, although they condemned the events, showed themselves more cool-headed, more restrained, more far-sighted about the situations that would develop later between the Albanians and the Yugoslavs, between the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

We cannot make the same assessment of the main leaders of Serbia, such as Messrs Minić, Vidić, Stambolić. Their speeches are characterized by unrestrained ferocity, by Great-Serb chauvinism against the Albanian people who live in Yugoslavia and against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, in a vein never heard before.

As for those «Albanian leaders» who took the floor in this top forum of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, or outside it, it must be said that their speeches were characterized by hysteria as great as it was servile, and designed to serve their bosses — Vidić, Minić, Stambolić and others. Obviously, these people cannot bring calm to Kosova. The people of Kosova hate these knavish «leaders».

In all the meetings of the high state and party forums of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia voices were raised saying: «The relations with Albania must be re-examined,» etc., etc. Twice within thirty years you have aggravated matters to breaking point with socialist Albania.

Do you think you can frighten us? Do you imagine that the People's Socialist Republic of Albania owes its existence to you? You are wrong! Your eyes are blinded with Great-Yugoslav megalomania.

We have cool heads and fiery hearts. We shall get by even with restrictions you intend to impose on the relations between our two countries. The smoke will go straight up from our chimney as usual even if you break off these relations altogether.

For our part, we do not want any such thing, because it is not we who created the difficult situations in Kosova and the whole of Yugoslavia. You yourselves have created them. We have nothing at all to do with them. Therefore, the accusations you make against us are only a pretext which you raise artificially in order to cover up the ugly events.

We tell you once again, beware! Keep cool! Do not turn your faults into a conflict with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, because this is in the interest of our enemies.

Mr Minić committed a dangerous provocation in the Central Committee of the LCY when he said that «the Albanian leadership, through its spokesmen, its diplomacy, including its embassy in Belgrade, and its agencies, incited the Albanian irredentist groups whose aim was to destabilize and disintegrate Yugoslavia.» We think that this personality is not speaking in the name of the Government of the SFRY, because, if matters stood as Mr Minić claims, that one or two persons, or a whole embassy staff carry out subversive activity, then the Yugoslav Government has the right, just as the Albanian Government and any other government has the right in such cases, to declare them *personae non gratae*, and even break off diplomatic relations.

Neither the Yugoslav Government nor the Albanian

Government have done this, because such an activity does not exist.

Mr Minić knows this practice. But the things he says are invented in order to defend a lost cause.

Nevertheless, after Mr Minić's speech we drew the conclusion that he had apparently put all our embassies in different countries, let alone the Albanian embassy in Belgrade, under surveillance. This was confirmed by the minister of internal affairs of Yugoslavia, Franjo Herlević, who while accusing the Albanian diplomatic representations in various countries and in Belgrade of having incited the events in Kosova, revealed that our embassies everywhere had been placed under control of the Yugoslav secret police. This shows that the Yugoslav secret service is active in other countries in shadowing the Albanian embassies, thus violating the sovereignty of those countries and the international laws. This activity is impermissible and reprehensible.

Herlević's claims are concoctions of the people in his service, ill-intentioned slanders which suit those reactionary circles, at home and abroad, which are interested in causing the deterioration and the breaking off of relations between the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

The Serb Peter Stambolić spoke like an incorrigible Great-Serb. He was defending the Serbian interests to the detriment of the Albanians, when he said, among other things, that «The attempt to achieve ethnic purity objectively leads to nationalism.» He described this attempt as fascist.

We ask Mr Stambolić: Is the Serbian people not an ethnic entity? Does he not consider the Albanian people also an ethnic entity? Without doubt, these two peoples are two ethnic entities.

If Mr Stambolić does not consider the Serbian people a «pure ethnic entity», because Albanians, Montenegrins,

Bosnians and Turks live together with them, likewise the Albanian people is not a «pure ethnic entity,» either, because in Kosova, where the overwhelming majority is of Albanian nationality, there is also a Serbian, Montenegrin and Turkish minority living together with them.

In these identical circumstances, Mr Stambolić employs a sleight of hand: the Albanian ethnic entity is nationalist and fascist, but not the Serbian. However, he can't get away with this sleight of hand: either both ethnic entities lead to «nationalism and fascism», or neither of them do so, but in no way can it be that one does and the other does not.

Why does Mr Stambolić not say more openly that the greater ethnic entity must dominate the smaller one, that the former must be sovereign in the Constitution and the latter must not, because this is to the liking of the bourgeoisie of the greater ethnic entity which wants to exploit the smaller?

In practical terms this Great-Serb theoretician, who follows the same ultra-reactionary line as the notorious academician Cubrilović, by advocating the thesis that the «pure ethnic entity» leads to fascism, nationalism, means that «the Albanian ethnic entity must be destroyed, must lose its national characteristics and degenerate, because it has become a thorn in our flesh.»

For Mr Stambolić only the Serbian ethnic entity can live in friendship with the other peoples, which he considers as third-rate or fourth-rate peoples, whereas were the Albanian ethnic entity to become sovereign in Kosova, it could not live in friendship with the Serbian, Montenegrin and Turkish minorities of this region.

«The relations between Albanians, Serbs and Turks have been seriously upset», states Mr Stambolić. This is true, but these relations have been upset only between the Serbs and the Albanians, and not between the Albanians, Montenegrins and Turks.

Why have relations between the Serbs and the Albanians been upset? Read La Fontaine's fable, «The Wolf and the Lamb», and you will find the reasons, Mr Stambolić.

From the meeting of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the attacks against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania were repeated at various public meetings in the Republic of Serbia, this time with unrivalled virulence. Some speaker, in a rabid, Great-Serb and fascist spirit, went so far as to say, «We should destroy the Stalinist regime in Albania.»

«Delenda Carthago,» shouts this new Cato in the «Serbian forums». But the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is not Carthage and a Great-Serb Scipio who would destroy Albania has not been born yet.

«We have won everything with our blood,» shouted this new Cato. But with what has Albania won her freedom? Without bloodshed? On the contrary, she has won it with blood, her own blood. She has shed her blood also for the freedom of the peoples of Yugoslavia. We have never regretted this, nor will we ever regret it in the future. If need be, we will shed it again. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is healthy and full of dynamism. Somebody else is the sick man of the Balkans.

The new Catos of Serbia accuse us Albanians of hating the Serbian people. This is a monstrous slander. We have loved the Serbian people and still do. We hate only Serbian chauvinism, Albanian chauvinism, and any other chauvinism, because we are Marxist-Leninists, because we are internationalists.

In order to disguise their chauvinism, the Great-Serb chauvinists label us Great-Albanian chauvinists. The slogan of «greater Albania» was coined by the fascist Italy of Mussolini, and everybody knows the expansionist-aggres-

sive aims which he and the Ballists had, just as the Serbian Cetnici. Our two peoples fought heroically, shoulder to shoulder, against these common enemies and vanquished them.

In the period after the war the relations between the Albanian and Yugoslav friends and allies should have been put in order. We performed our internationalist duty. We fought together with the Yugoslav partisans for the liberation of Yugoslavia. It was up to you to solve the problem of Kosova in the correct road, but you did not fulfil this duty. As we said above, you talked about the rights of the Albanians in Yugoslavia in principle, but in practice you did the opposite and you continue your exercise in demagogy.

The Albanians owe their origin neither to the Rome of the Caesars nor to the Slavs of Stefan Dušan, neither to the Sultans of the Ottomans nor to Mussolini's fascist Italy. The Albanian people have their own history going back to many centuries, a history full of struggles for freedom, for existence. The enemies tried to exterminate them, but failed. The Albanian people fought and lived through the centuries. They remained a compact ethnic entity, although divided and fragmented. He who denies this reality not only makes himself ridiculous but also reveals his own savagely chauvinist feelings.

The Albanians of the «small Albania» of nearly three million inhabitants, or of «greater Albania» (a term used by the Italian occupier and now used also by you in order to accuse us of being chauvinists) of more than five million inhabitants, are all Albanians. There is nothing you can do about it, Messrs Serbian chauvinists. There are two Germanies, one of the East and one of the West, just as there are two Koreas, one of the North and one of the South. However, nobody doubts that there is a single German people and nation, just as there is a single Korean people and nation.

The Albanians are one ethnic entity, one people, whether you call them «small Albania» or «greater Albania». These Albanians of this Albania, «small» or «greater», who represent a compact people with all the features of a true nation, have not occupied the territories of others, nor have they violated anybody's rights. They have merely demanded their own rights, have defended them and will defend them. This you find unnatural, call it «Great-Albanian chauvinism,» «nationalism,» even «fascism.» When Kosova seeks the status of a republic within the framework of the Federation for which 50,000 partisans have fought, you dare call this a counter-revolutionary demand, Albanian nationalism, and apply many such epithets to it.

You come out in open opposition to the declared principles and what your main leaders, to whom you sing hymns day and night, have said. You come out in opposition to the principles of international law, to the principles of good neighbourly relations, therefore you cannot have progressive and reasonable world opinion on your side.

The way the Yugoslav leadership is seeking to solve the problem of Kosova and overcome the difficulties in which the country finds itself shows that it is acting with great haste and in utter confusion. The stands it maintains and the actions it is undertaking respond neither to the interests of Yugoslavia nor to those of Albania, neither to Balkan nor to European security, about which the Yugoslav leaders, posing as protagonists of the Helsinki spirit, make much ado. With such actions the Yugoslav leadership does not strengthen the position of the SFRY but weakens it.

«Zëri i popullit»

WHEN THE PARTY WAS BORN

Reminiscences

(Excerpts)

The grave situation which was imposed on the Homeland by fascist occupation charged us communists with great responsibilities. Whereas in the decisive days before April 7 the communist groups, divided and struggling against one another, were unable to create a single leadership and to mobilize the people for armed actions against the aggressors, now the situation following the occupation made organized, uninterrupted communist work even more essential. We had to act to organize ourselves for resistance and to show people what Italian fascism was and what aims it had; we had to denounce its demagogy, the character of the measures it took and the cunning methods it employed, claiming that it came to rescue the country from Zog, that Albania would have its own government, etc. We had to organize the resistance and the propaganda against the quisling government of Vërlaci, which carried out the masquerade of «the union of Albania» with «the Italian Empire», headed by Victor Emmanuel III, who a little earlier had assumed the title of «Emperor of Ethiopia» and now also assumed the title of «King of Albania».

To accomplish these tasks was undoubtedly difficult, but not impossible. The big demonstrations which burst out all over the country in the first days of April against

the Italian threat, the demands for weapons which the broad masses of the people made to the treacherous feudal government of Zog, the general expression of readiness to fight, the attacks on the Italian troops disembarking at Durrës, Vlora, Saranda and Shëngjin, were the signal for us communists that only by organizing and arming ourselves and by fighting would we be able to drive out the enemy who now threatened the very existence of our country and people; they were the best confirmation of the fact that our people would not tolerate the occupation and that with a reliable leadership they would rise to their feet and hurl the aggressors into the sea.

Nevertheless, although we members of various communist groups were aware of the need for struggle against the occupier and engaged in various practical forms of it, we were not managing to find a common language, to iron out our ideological differences and unite our forces and efforts. This was very damaging to the joint struggle against the common enemy. Even as groups, the occupation found us not properly organized. The work of the groups had not been extended to the broad masses of the people all over the country, despite the correct instructions of the Comintern, which Comrade Ali Kelmendi had brought in 1932, and, subsequently, the new directives of the 7th Congress of the Comintern, which reached Albania in 1937, and recommended that we should go among the masses, work with them and there build and strengthen the new cells.

These instructions, in the spirit and the light of the directives of the 7th Congress of the Comintern, were defined in Moscow at a meeting organized by the Balkan Section of the Comintern, at which the state of the communist movement in Albania and the tasks which faced it were analysed. The broad perspectives which these directives opened up for the development of the communist

movement in Albania were sabotaged by the Trotskyite elements.

The Communist Group of Korça accepted and adopted the instructions of the Comintern. This group achieved considerable success in its activity with workers, with the youth, and the craftsmen and small shopkeepers. Nevertheless, the characteristic of the comrades of the Korça group was sectarianism, which was expressed in closed work within the city of Korça, while outside Korça and in other cities the group carried out very ineffective work, if any at all. Certain anti-Marxist elements of this group took advantage of the sectarianism and other weaknesses which hindered the development and the extension of the communist movement, with the result that some members of our group in Tirana split away from us. Some of them had formed a Trotskyite group, headed by Aristidh Qendro, as early as in 1936, while others, led by Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte, were showing signs of a new faction, which later, after the occupation of the country, emerged as a separate group known as the «Youth» Group.

I remember that soon after the occupation of the country the Korça group sent two representatives to Tirana to make contact with Anastas Lula and some of his comrades in order to make clear to them the new tasks in the situation of occupation and to persuade them to maintain their links with the group. However, the envoys of the Korça group were quite unable to persuade Anastas Lula and company, while in the ideas and life of this group they saw vile anti-communist Trotskyite acts of utter immorality. Horrified, they parted from Anastas Lula's group and when they reported to us, the Korça group quite rightly decided to begin the ideological struggle against those Trotskyites.

That group had embraced all the theories and practices of anarchist Trotskyite gangsters: robbery, lies, corruption, wife swapping. They brought out new «theories» which

were causing great harm to our struggle. According to Anastas Lula, Andrea Zisi and other Trotskyites, «the occupation of the country had its bad aspect, but also its good aspect: it was favourable, because the bourgeoisie would become established, industry would be built, the working class would be created, and then, it would be possible to talk about the formation of a genuine communist party, then it would be possible to talk about struggle against the occupiers.» «We must wait for the creation of the proletariat,» «work with the peasantry does not bring results,» was the propaganda they spread. Of course the «theories» of those chiefs were not only anti-communist, but they served the occupiers and sabotaged the organization of the people's resistance and struggle against them. The Korça group waged a merciless struggle against these traitors and their «theories» and actions, which were not only Trotskyite, but were also identical with those of the Albanian fascist party, created by the occupiers.

The Korça group had a correct line on these capital problems, but it has to be said that Koço Tashko's bad influence interfered with the broad development of this line. Outside Korça, and especially in Tirana where the work of the group had been left in the hands of Koço Tashko, the process had virtually marked time. Claiming that it was he who had brought the instructions of the Comintern from Moscow, Koço Tashko posed as a big shot, as the representative of the International in Albania, but the truth was that he did not know how to work with people and was as sectarian as he was opportunist.

Zogite reaction had attacked the Korça group, but, nevertheless, it remained the biggest, most important group, not only because of its numbers, but especially because the ideas of this group were more correct than those of other groups. Our Korça group took a correct view of the great danger of the fascist occupation and fought in its own

ways, but had it acted energetically and with the necessary maturity, through sounder and more intelligent organizational work to liquidate all that mountain of personal «resentments», contradictions, squabbles and ambitions or slanders, which were not lacking among communist groups, it would have exerted a greater influence to bring the communists together and would have speeded up the formation of the Party. Facing the great danger of fascism which had occupied the country, the road of Marxist-Leninist unity was greatly neglected. Consequently, even after the occupation the groups not only remained in their old positions, but their squabbles and contradictions were increased and exacerbated. Koço Tashko and Anastas Lula were a great hindrance to improving the situation in this direction.

Nevertheless, the fact is that in Korça, where Comrade Miha Lako led the group, in general, the work went well. Especially on the eve of the occupation and immediately after, the activity of the group became more vigorous than ever. We met regularly, discussed and determined the stands which we had to take to the great and difficult problems that faced us.

In the first place, we had to safeguard and further strengthen the sound unity within our communist group, must not permit any splits in its ranks or any sign of fear or panic in the face of the terror and reprisals of the fascist regime. I remember that in the early days of April, when the occupying forces had still not entered the city, someone proposed that some of our comrades known to the authorities and the fascist agents for their anti-fascist activity should leave Korça in order to escape internment or prison. Stern objections burst out:

«All the people of Korça, all the people of Albania are anti-fascists,» we pointed out in the meeting. «Thousands of people are demonstrating in the streets shouting 'Down

with fascism!' Then, how can the communists withdraw from the people? The opposite is what must be done. We must be the first in actions and demonstrations, we must show the people the true road of the struggle and liberation, we must convince them through our own example!»

And in fact this is what occurred. The communists of the Korça group, of which the workers of the city made up the main core, were not frightened or stopped by any danger. The workers had a great influence on the pupils, who at that time we called students. The Lycée of Korça was an important support for the resistance against fascism. The pupils of this Lycée, with their revolutionary teachers, intensified the spirit of the anti-fascist demonstrations of April 1939 day by day, and later, especially after the founding of our Communist Party, they turned the Lycée into a real revolutionary hotbed, a source of cadres of the Party and partisans of the National Liberation Army.

The idea of my going to Tirana «to become a shop-keeper» was not accidental and did not arise simply from my dismissal from my job. No, this was something carefully considered and calculated by our communist group. As I have already mentioned, especially after the fascist occupation of Albania, the Communist Group of Korça became more than ever aware of its old weakness of being closed within the city of Korça. This isolation had not only hindered the further extension of the ranks of the group and all the work that had to be done to explain the situation to the masses and mobilize them, but it had also limited the possibilities to establish links of collaboration with the other communist groups.

Koço Tashko, who stayed mainly in Tirana, was not doing any good organized work or even propaganda by word of mouth. Koço's work consisted of a few «academic» conversations with the intellectuals, but even these with

hesitation and fear that he might be detected by the police. In general, I can say he was both a megalomaniac and a coward. Of course we did not arrive at this conclusion about Koço immediately and at that period, but only later and gradually, because his work showed what he was, while at first we did not know him properly. With some comrades of our group who were in Tirana at that time, such as with Xhevdet Doda, and with Demir Godelli in Peqin and others, all he did was hold skin-deep conversations, try to get to know them individually, curse and struggle against other communist groups, especially the Shkodra group and Anastas Lula's faction, which was steadily assuming the form of a separate group. But Koço abused these groups indiscriminately, without making any distinction amongst their members, some of whom were resolute communists, and without taking any initiative to make approaches to or talk with them. Therefore, the need had arisen for more organized and intensive work outside Korça, especially in Tirana, which was not only the centre of fascist reaction at that period, but also the place where the main representatives of the other communist groups were located and operating. Precisely at these moments I was dismissed from my job and the centre of our communist group took this opportunity to send first me and subsequently some other comrades to Tirana. There, on the instructions of the centre, we had to set up the Tirana branch of the Communist Group of Korça, to extend the activity of the group on sound foundations and organize the anti-fascist movement in the capital and the other districts of the country.

After we discussed and reached agreement with Miha, Pilo and other comrades about the main directions of our work in Tirana and other zones, the way had to be found to establish ourselves there so that we could act «legally» under the eyes of the people and the authorities. In the

course of these discussions the idea arose of embarking on a «commercial venture», that is, of opening a shop in Tirana, which we called «Flora» and which was very quickly to become one of the most important bases of the communist and anti-fascist movement...

We were preoccupied by two main, basic objectives for the great ideal which was burning in our minds and hearts: to increase the number of members of the group with resolute workers, with craftsmen, with revolutionary students and intellectuals as much as possible and in all the cities, and to make a start in the countryside where our work was, you might say, almost zero; and the second objective, to eliminate on a principled basis the quarrels and disagreements with the other communist groups which were operating in Tirana, Shkodra and elsewhere and to achieve a true unity with them, because the question vital to our country, the formation of the Communist Party, depended on this.

The main decisive thing was extension of links with the workers, because they would comprise the steel base of the Party which we were going to form. We understood that if we would achieve this, there was no force which could defeat us.

On this question we had taken good initial steps. We had created contacts and had held meetings with revolutionary workers, but this activity had to be intensified. The new worker comrades were advised to create links and to associate with the young people of other groups, to get into friendly conversation with them, to speak against the fascist enemy, against the quislings and so on, but cautiously and without exacerbating the situation, while preserving the individuality of our «Party». «Listen comrades,» I stressed to them, «this has great importance for the future.»

An this is what was done. They all worked tirelessly and considerably extended their circles with courageous

young workers. These active young workers were impatient, they wanted struggle and actions against the enemy. They came all the time to the «Flora» shop where they found me or Pilo, and after they had reported to us, asked the usual question: «What should we do today, what should we do tomorrow?»

In this same period I went to Gjirokastra, too. Elements of different communist groups had been active there for years. I met some of these comrades and we talked about the problems facing the Albanian people, and first of all, facing the Albanian communists. Among other things I pointed out that, although we were members of different groups, we ought to work closely together, because we had the same ideals and were fighting for a common cause. I told the comrades that «our fight against the occupiers cannot really get going or be crowned with success without rejecting the unhealthy views and spirit of groups, therefore we ought to make every effort to find a common language and to create the conditions which will lead us towards the founding of a single party, the Communist Party of Albania. That is the task which faces all the sound revolutionary forces of the country, which faces every comrade regardless of whether he is in the leadership of the group or a rank-and-file member, regardless of whether he works and struggles in Tirana, in Korça, in Shkodra, in Gjirokastra or anywhere else.»

Meanwhile our work in the countryside was still weak, therefore it emerged as an important task to create links with the peasantry. At that time we fought especially against Anastas Lula's Trotskyite views about the problem of the countryside, views which aroused confusion and, if they were spread, would cause very great damage, not only to the work of the party which we were going to form, but also to the outcome of the war against the occupiers.

According to Anastas Lula and his followers, the AI-

banian peasantry was «backward», «conservative» and «reactionary» and the communists could not work or create organized links and bases with it! I shall have some more to say about the reactionary views of Anastas Lula and his associates, but here I want to point out that the Korça group not only had correct views on this problem, but also struggled to defend its views. Especially after we came to Tirana, our interest and attention to the peasantry was further increased. This theme had interested and attracted me personally for some time, not only because as a communist I was aware of and understood the need for linking the cause of the working class with that of the peasantry, but also for another reason: I had been acquainted with and admired the great revolutionary and patriotic traditions of the Albanian peasantry since my childhood and youth, its ceaseless struggles for freedom and national independence...

Without the peasantry our Party would be unable to fulfil its mission. Comparing the views of Anastas Lula and company on the character of our peasantry with the distorted and denegrating views of the Esadists, the Zogites and the money-lending bourgeoisie on this problem, I saw clearly that in essence they were almost identical. Therefore, we had to fight hard against the Trotskyite and reactionary views on the peasantry, because only in this way would we create a genuine Marxist-Leninist party. At first, however, this struggle was waged more from the theoretical angle, because concretely the countryside was untouched territory for us. In this direction we stressed the view of «toilers», as we expressed it, when we explained to the comrades of the group from the theoretical aspect the problem of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, which was vital to the liberation of the Homeland. The worker comrades understood this need, although it must be acknowledged that the people of Korça

were somewhat sectarian about it. Through patient persuasion we were struggling to gradually overcome this obstacle. For my part, I had begun the work through the contacts I had established with Myslim Peza. (1)

After my meeting with the *çeta* of Peza, we immediately began to send our comrades there. Likewise, on the basis of the agreement which we achieved with the Shkodra group on common actions, subsequently the Shkodra group sent comrades to that *çeta*. Thus, the comrades of this group, too, were fighting alongside our comrades and this was a fine thing which was to strengthen the belief that this group, too, was for struggle, and thus, one of the baseless accusations which some raised about the group was overcome.

We also established contact with the peasants of Dajti and Kruja, because we had good comrades there. Meanwhile, I continued to extend my contacts with my former colleagues, anti-Zogite and anti-fascist teachers. Our circles were being extended also with other intellectuals some of whom I knew and some Koço Tashko knew. Koço Tashko, as an older man and a former vice-consul in New York, (2) worked especially with the elderly nationalists who had gone into exile in the time of Zog and had returned with the «wagons» of the Italians. Koço enjoyed talking and there was no danger of him compromising himself with them.

Besides our efforts to extend the work of our group

1 Myslim Peza (1897-1984). Democratic patriot and anti-Zogite fighter. After the occupation of the country he became one of the most distinguished figures of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War. He was vice-president of the Democratic Front of Albania, vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly (1946-1982), People's Hero and Hero of Socialist Labour.

2 From 1922-1925 Koço Tashko was vice-consul of the Albanian government to New York.

and the anti-fascist propaganda among the people we had also worked and achieved some successes on the other main question, that of contacts with the other communist groups.

First, however, I want to say something, in general, about the situation and main views of the Shkodra group and the «Youth» Group, as I have done about the Korça group. The truth is that we created a complete idea about the situation of these two groups when we began open discussions and made self-criticism on behalf of the groups during those historic days and nights when we laid the foundations of the Communist Party of Albania. Before that time no group had a correct and accurate opinion about the other group. The opinions of the Korça group about the other groups and their opinions about our group were in flagrant contradiction with one another. In our personal ideas there were some nuances which showed that something was changing, that some road of communication and rapprochement between us was opening up, but, in general, we had to obey the same rigorous stand of the group and this kind of discipline kept us still divided, cold and resentful towards one another. It was precisely the meetings in the first days of November 1941 that shed full light on the good points, the weaknesses and the shortcomings in the work of groups, and on what things linked us together and how we should unite, and on what things divided us and how we should get rid of them once and for all. But this took place later. Now let us dwell on the concrete situation of the groups.

In general, the Shkodra group was made up of good comrades. They included workers, students and a few intellectuals, but few peasants, if any at all. Of course, like every group, it had sympathizers from various strata. The Shkodra group, too, had a closed character; most of its members were in Shkodra, but a number of members of

the group, workers and especially students, were in Tirana.

In the Shkodra group that internal organization and discipline which the Korça group had created was lacking. The links of its members were loose; their actions were not dictated by a more or less affirmed leadership, and individual instructions and directives were issued according to the occasion. The Shkodra group could not be controlled, not because its members did not meet and did not receive instructions, but because the meetings which they held were extremely secret and nothing was said outside them about actions.

The Shkodra group had not accepted the directives of the Comintern to dissolve the sectarian «cells», to send the communists among the masses of workers, peasants and intellectuals, to work with them and to create new, clean, powerful cells ready for the struggle with the best of them.

These views of the leadership of the Shkodra group against the directives of the Comintern were in conflict with the love which many fine members of the Shkodra group nurtured for communism, the Soviet Union, Stalin and the Comintern, and this was tragic. These members included Vasil Shanto, Qemal Stafa, Kristo Themelko, Tuk Jakova (who subsequently betrayed the Party and conspired with the Yugoslav Titoites against the Party and the socialist Homeland), Nexhmije Xhuglini, Ali Demi, Nazmi Rushiti, Qamil Gavoçi and many other comrades.

The comrades of the Shkodra group were resolute anti-Zogites and anti-fascists and, especially after the occupation, they, too, threw themselves into revolutionary actions, demonstrations, distributing leaflets, etc. But this group had at its head a cunning Trotskyite, Zef Mala, who when he was imprisoned told Zog's police all he knew about his own group and other comrades. He posed as an intellectualized proletarian, but was nothing but a petty

demagogue and intriguer who carried on undermining work. He published two numbers of an allegedly theoretical bulletin of the group (which was called the «Green Bulletin» from the colour of the cover) with which to nurture its members. But the ideas and opinions which he spread were extracts from Trotskyite manuals which were published in fascist Italy. (The Korça group, too, published a bulletin which looked at through today's eye had no great weight, although mistakes of the line in its articles were rare.)

From the first moments when it was formed as a separate group the Shkodra group tried to link up with the Korça group, but, unfortunately, this was replaced by a connection with harmful consequences: about the end of 1937, Zef Mala came into contact with Niko Xoxi, a vile, Trotskyite element, who betrayed the Korça group and Ali Kelmendi.

When he saw he was unable to dominate the Korça group, Niko Xoxi, stuffed with all the archeo-Marxist diversionist rubbish of Andrea Zisi, went to Shkodra and Tirana and there very quickly he found a common language with Zef Mala, as you might say, the pot found the lid to fit it. After engaging in a series of intrigues, slanders and causing confusion, these two renegades managed to take over the reins of leadership of the Shkodra group.

After this anti-Marxist link-up we saw all sorts of theories alien to the revolutionary movement in Albania spring up in this group, which hindered it from finding and embracing a correct revolutionary line. In the second half of 1940 the leaders of the Shkodra group had made deals with the «Youth» Group, which was led by Anastas Lula.

Especially after the link-up with this group, the penetration of erroneous ideas became even more pronounced. Unlike the Communist Group of Korça, which was based on the workers and was comprised mainly of workers, the Shkodra and the «Youth» groups concentrated their atten-

tion mostly on the school, on the intelligentsia. The theoretical and organizational ideas imparted to these young people, especially by the leaders of the «Youth» Group, as well as by Zef Mala and Niko Xoxi, had no sound Marxist bases, nevertheless, especially after the fascist occupation, these groups intensified their efforts to win over as many of the secondary school students as possible, especially in Tirana, Shkodra and Vlora and, to a lesser extent, in the other cities of the country. For all its shortcomings, the communist propaganda carried out with the school youth was to play a positive role.

The grave moments which the Homeland was experiencing under the fascist occupation, the hatred which the youth nurtured for the occupiers, the drive and enthusiasm seething in their youthful hearts, you might say, naturally wrote off the aims and «dreams» of anti-Marxist leaders about the «quiet» preparation of «pleiads» for the revolutionaries of the future! No, the revolutionary youth who came under the influence of one or the other group, did not do this for «the tomorrow» that never comes, but did it for today, for the moment, for the struggle which was boiling up and up to erupt. They entered the communist movement and considered themselves communists with the sacred idea that they must throw themselves immediately into demonstrations and actions, that is, take up the cause of the war and the revolution which were problems on the order of the day. This is the main reason why, despite the leaders' work of sabotage, the rank-and-file of these groups were for the war and for the Party, and exerted their great influence in settling the disagreements which existed between groups.

Both in the Shkodra group and in the Korça group no small role was played by harmful localist solidarity, which had no sound basis. But the mistakes were more pronounced in the Shkodra group, because of the Trotskyite

influence of Zef Mala, Niko Xoxi and Andrea Zisi and others, while resolute communists with clear ideas like Ali Kelmendi, Miha Lako, Pilo Peristeri and other proletarians led the Korça group.

Another difference between these two groups was the stand adopted towards Marxist-Leninist literature and theory. The members of the Shkodra group were more assiduous readers than those of the Korça group. The Korça group was characterized more by practical action. However, it must be said that, while the members of the Shkodra group and the «Youth» Group did more reading, the literature which they used which came from Greece or Italy, was uncontrolled and the interpretation of what was read was erroneous; in the «Youth» Group especially the interpretation was Trotskyite. Equally distorted and basically un-Marxist was the aim from which the leaders of these groups proceeded in the «profound» study which they allegedly made of the literature which came into their hands. Under the influence of Zef Mala and Niko Xoxi, before the fascist occupation, the Shkodra group embraced the anti-Marxist theory of the «training» and the «preservation of cadres», a theory brought to Albania by the archeo-Marxist adventurer and trickster Andrea Zisi. According to this «theory», the conditions for a true revolutionary struggle of the masses did not exist in Albania, indeed, neither the working class and the bourgeoisie, nor the class struggle existed! Consequently, those who followed this view had arrived at the conclusion that until the conditions for the revolution(!) had been created, the communists should not do anything, but «prepare themselves theoretically», to acquaint themselves thoroughly with the «literature», and to «protect themselves», that is, to hide from the real struggle with the aim that, when the «dreamed of» moment came, these «learned» men could proclaim their knowledge in the streets and take power!

Regardless of the aim and orientation of the leaders on this problem, however, it must be said that the work done on studying that part of the literature which was truly Marxist was to play and did play a positive role in the revolutionary arming of the sound rank-and-file of the groups.

Most of the members of the Shkodra group were brave, courageous people. Despite their Trotskyite leaders, Zef Mala and Niko Xoxi, they worked to organize the fight against fascism. We must not forget that they were under the surveillance not only of the Zogite police, but also of the «police» of the Catholic clergy. This was a great danger in Shkodra which infected people like a disease.

Zef Mala, the leader of the group, ended up as an agent of the Zogite police, who betrayed all the comrades and the work the group did. Zog's police arrested the main comrades of the Shkodra group, tried them and condemned them to various terms of imprisonment. When Albania was invaded, Qemal, Vasil and others broke out of the prison and Qemal was wounded in the arm when the gendarmes pursued him.

What stand did the Shkodra group take towards the occupiers and the Trotskyite chiefs? It must be said that all its members, like those of the Korça group as well as the rank-and-file of the «Youth» Group, were as a whole opposed to the occupiers and the quislings. They hated the fascist occupier and wanted to fight, therefore, they came out en bloc in demonstrations and in actions. On the other hand, however, as I mentioned above, there was confusion in their ranks caused by the pseudo-Marxist «theories» which the Trotskyites spread. This confusion was eliminated in stages in the rapid flow of events which followed.

These were the good and bad characteristics of the Shkodra group. It is understandable that in these conditions

there were quarrels and a struggle between it and the Korça group for «hegemony» over such questions as «which is the party», «which has links with the Comintern», «which has the correct line», «what role the workers will play and what role the peasantry», «what views should be taken of the family, marriage, private property,» and many other things and, undoubtedly, the opposing views we had on these questions divided us from one another and neither side made concessions. But apart from questions of principle which divided us, our links were damaged also by the petty-bourgeois arrogance of Koço Tashko, who nurtured the idea that «it is useless to try to talk to them or make approaches to them». And it was even more regrettable that he was referring even to those comrades of the Shkodra group, like Vasil Shanto and Qemal Stafa, who had proved their courage and communist determination before Zog's courts.

What was the «Youth» Group? Here I am not going to write its history because the Party has done that in its analyses, but I want to point out some truths. This group had its centre in Tirana. It had branches in other cities, especially in Vlora. At the head of this group were two «hot-headed» anarchist Trotskyites, Anastas Lula (Qorri)* and Sadik Premte (Xhepi).** In the time of Zog these two elements posed as anti-Zogite, while in the time of occupation as anti-Italian. They posed as communists, but the «theories» which they spread had nothing to do with communism. These two elements sowed confusion among the youth.

After attacking the treacherous factional work of Aristidh Qendro in Tirana in 1937, the Korça group regarded

* The Blind.

** Xhepi, short form for Rexhep, meaning pocket.

these two elements as its members and put them in contact with the comrades of the group who went to attend school or to work in Tirana. However, Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte, by taking over from Aristidh Qendro all his anti-Marxist baggage and taking advantage of the localism of the Korça group which did not carry out its work properly in all those places where there were young people, formed their own faction in the Korça group.

As time passed, this faction, while retaining some formal links with the Korça group, intensified its disruptive work and at the beginning of 1940 emerged as a separate group. This was the time when we were working and struggling to settle disagreements with the Shkodra group and, indeed, had succeeded in creating a sort of joint «Central Committee» between the Korça group and the Shkodra group.

I am not going to dwell on the essence of this agreement, which at the meeting to found the Party we rightly described as an agreement from above, a social-democratic grafting, but I only want to point out that precisely when the so-called joint Central Committee was formed, it was discovered that there was still another group which had been camouflaged up till that time. That was the «Youth» Group. Its open emergence, the attack which it launched against the Korça group and all its anti-Marxist arsenal made the work started for the settling of disagreements even more difficult.

In Tirana Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte maintained contact with many young people whom they had turned into enthusiasts filled with immoral. Trotskyite, gangster theories. They directed the courage and anti-Zogite and later anti-fascist and anti-Italian determination of these young people into anarchist and gangster actions. These were characteristic of only some of the young people of this group and only in Tirana, those who had become and

remained later the lieutenants of Qorri and Xhepi in their ideas and actions. But all the members of the «Youth» Group in Tirana, in Korça and especially in Vlora, were not like this. With their Trotskyite slogans, Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte were able only to wage a factional struggle against the Korça group by making the accusation that it was not a communist group, but they were quite unable to extinguish or even to weaken its struggle against Zog and the occupiers. This was their «Achilles' heel». In general, the rank-and-file of the «Youth» Group were pure, extremely patriotic, courageous, anti-Zogite and anti-Italian and they loved communism. In Vlora, in particular, despite the fact that Xhepi was from those parts, he could not and dared not restrain the anti-fascist activity against the Italian occupiers, because he was faced with Hysni Kapo, (3) a resolute communist, anti-Zogite and anti-fascist, a comrade with great decisive influence in Vlora, who stood at the head of many young comrades of the city, the Commercial School and the villages.

Immediately after the founding of the Party, Hysni Kapo became the pillar of the new organization of the Communist Party which was being built in Vlora and, under the leadership of the Party, fought together with his comrades to totally wipe out the hostile influence of Xhepi and Qorri in Vlora, where they attempted to create their hostile faction. Hysni Kapo's struggle against them in defence of the new Party was the signal for the final liquidation of the Trotskyite views and practices of the heads of the former «Youth» Group and some of their

3 Hysni Kapo (1915-1979). One of the most distinguished leaders of our Party and the Albanian state. He was member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA since 1946, secretary of the CC of the PLA (1956-1979), People's Hero and Hero of Socialist Labour.

followers, who did not come to their senses even after the forming of the Party.

I am not going to speak about the «Zjarri»* Group or any other, because there was nothing Marxist about them and their leaders were open provocateurs. The founding of the Party smashed them completely.

This then, in general, was the situation of the main communist groups in Albania at the time when we, while working legally in «Flora», were increasing our efforts to reach agreement with our «opponents» with whom, in fact, we ought to have been comrades fighting for the one ideal.

At the moments when we had intensified our efforts more than ever and were moving towards finding a common language for the final rapprochement between groups, an important event was to exert its revolutionizing influence on the entire political situation in the world, as well as on the communist and anti-fascist movement in Albania: on June 22, 1941, the Hitlerite hordes launched their perfidious attack on the Soviet Union.

The Hitlerite attack on the Soviet Union was a great shock for all the Albanian communist groups and individual communists. Before this attack took place we had had to wage a stern struggle against the propaganda of the fascist and pseudo-democrats who, misrepresenting the non-aggression pact between the Soviet Union and Germany, slandered that the Soviet Union had «formed an alliance with Hitlerite Germany,» that the «Albanian communists should not fight the fascist occupiers, because Italy was the ally of Hitlerite Germany with which the Soviet Union was linked in the non-aggression pact.»

The duty devolved on us communists to combat the

* Fire.

fascist propaganda and, at the same time, to make clear to everybody and not only to our relations, because there were even comrades of the groups who did not understand the situation, why the Soviet Union had signed the non-aggression pact with Hitlerite Germany.

The barbarous Hitlerite attack on the Soviet Union not only shocked us, but showed clearly that we and not the enemies were right, that Stalin had never betrayed communism and the Soviet Union. With the Soviet Union's entry into the war our great hope and confidence in our victory was strengthened. Now the Albanian people's fight against fascism would have another great support: the war of the Soviet peoples led by Stalin against German nazism. Now the Albanian communists and our people, who had not sat with folded arms, would step up their efforts and fight all over the country. All of us had to fight the occupiers and the quislings. The communists and the groups had to put aside their squables and resentments once and for all...

Besides disagreements, at that time there was also strict secrecy between communist groups. Each group fanatically and jealously protected its own members and did not readily allow a member of one group to make contact with the members of another group. The fear existed especially among the leaders that one group might «take» the members of the other! This «fear» was not without foundation. Trotskyite and factionalist elements such as Aristidh Qendro, Niko Xoxi, Zef Mala, Anastas Lula, Sadik Premte and others had made it a line of their activity to carry out disruptive work in other groups with the aim of splitting the others from anti-Marxist positions and taking members from them.

The sound communist elements of the Korça group and such comrades of the Shkodra group, as Qemal, Vasil and others, thought and acted quite differently on this

problem. In wanting to establish links with one another we had never proceeded from the separatist aim of «winning over» this or that member of the other group. No, we proceeded from the correct principle that we were all communists, comrades of common ideals, that we were fighting for a common cause, hence we ought to talk and unite for the sake of these lofty ideals and not for the selfish, sectarian aims of groups or factions.

It was precisely from these motives that I proceeded when I insisted to Koço Tashko that I should meet Vasil Shanto and Qemal Stafa and they proceeded from the same motives when they took the initiative and met me. Fortunately, especially after the fascist occupation of the country, the rank-and-file communists of different groups began to link up and talk together on the job, at school, etc., like real communists and to take part in joint actions, in demonstrations, strikes and protests, regardless of what the factionalist and Trotskyite leaders said and the orders they issued. As time passed this linking up of the communists from below grew steadily stronger and more widespread, a thing which was certainly an important factor in the creation of the Party itself.

Then I met Vasil Shanto and Qemal Stafa time after time. At these meetings the main disagreements between our groups were being ironed out more and more, while gradually we reached agreement in principle that in the near future our groups should be dissolved and we should decide to found the Communist Party of Albania. As I have already pointed out, the first steps towards this historic unification were taken through the joint actions and activities which were steadily increasing, especially from August to November 8, 1941. Among these, the agreement to send members from the two groups to the *çeta* of Peza had special importance. Nevertheless, much still remained to be done, both to win the agreement of the other groups

to our aim and to further iron out the former disagreements or new ones which emerged. Therefore, in this period our meetings with Vasil became more frequent...

For our part we, as a group, held a number of working meetings and prepared ourselves well for the big meeting which was to be held between representatives of the three communist groups in which comrades Miladin [Popović] and Dušan [Mugoša] would take part, too.

We decided that we should put forward, in the first place and above all, the question that the first day of the meeting should be considered the historic day of the dissolution of groups and the founding of the Communist Party of Albania, while the discussion, proceeding from this basis, could and should continue as long as necessary to clear up all the problems and disagreements which existed. I insisted firmly on this matter, because I was convinced that we should not go to a joint meeting without being determined for the great aim of the dissolution of groups and the formation of the Communist Party.

We must not allow ourselves or the others to go to this meeting simply to make accusations and to quarrel, I told the comrades, but we must go there in order to achieve our objective.

I proposed that we should ask Miladin to get the approval of the others on the question that right from the outset the meeting should take the decision in principle to found the Communist Party of Albania, so that we could then continue the discussion and debate as members of a formed party. This decision was necessary because from the other groups there would be elements, especially such people as Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte, and perhaps others, too, who did not want the formation of the Party. As Trotskyites they were against this organization, therefore, it was to their advantage to continue to deepen the split. All the comrades agreed to my proposal.

The second question which we decided in our group was the way in which the problems should be presented. We discussed that we should defend the correct ideological-political and organizational line of the Korça group, not in a factional spirit, but in a true communist spirit, should acknowledge the weaknesses in our work and accept the just criticism which the others would make of us and accept them without heat or rancour. We would consult with one another and adopt a stand about each criticism which would be made of us. We had to criticize strongly and unhesitatingly all the anti-Marxist, Trotskyite and liquidationist views of all the groups and leaders, which had played an inimical role in the Albanian communist movement...

All of us were preparing for this day which would mark the greatest historic event for our people. Many of us had gone underground, because rabid reaction was operating everywhere, but we continued the work we had started with a new optimism, with great hope, which gave us much greater strength. Even though the terror was becoming ever more savage, our people's war was extending. Demonstrations, strikes, distribution of leaflets and armed attacks on the occupiers and quislings had become more widespread.

October 28, the date of the «March on Rome» and, at the same time, the first anniversary of the attack which the Italian fascists launched on the Greek people in 1940, an attack which we had denounced a year before by putting up leaflets in the streets, was approaching.

We decided that on October 28 of the year 1941 we should organize a big demonstration against the occupiers and the Vërlaci quisling government. Our group proposed that we should carry out a large-scale joint action with the other groups, in which the people and the youth would participate widely, with members of all the communist groups at the head of them. The comrades of our group

authorized me to meet Vasil Shanto and Anastas Lula and to call together the «commission of action» (which we had established in principle, but which had never met). When I spoke about the demonstration which we intended to organize, Vasil gave his approval without hesitation, while Qorri, stammering, said we should call the commission together and discuss it there.

The commission met. Vasil Shanto, Anastas Lula, Mustafa Gjinishi, Mustafa Kaçaçi, Hasan Reçi and I were present. I made the proposal and the discussion began. Vasil and Mustafa Kaçaçi immediately approved the proposal for carrying out the action. Mustafa Gjinishi was in favour, but he added that «we must take care because they might open fire on us,» etc. Fat and lazy, Hasan Reçi was unable to make up his mind, while Anastas hesitated. He was certainly against it, but could not say so. We decided that the demonstration should be held and should begin from the Rex cinema, (4) where the fascists were going to hold a commemorative ceremony. We were to pack the cinema with our people who, as soon as the meeting opened, would begin to shout the slogans: «Down with fascism!», etc., smash the seats and pour out in the streets shouting anti-fascist slogans and singing patriotic songs. Outside other comrades and patriots would be waiting for them. It was decided that each group should do its own work in order to go to the demonstration in a body, and we parted. As we heard later, as soon as we came out from the commission, Anastas Lula had met Xhepi who was waiting for him, and told him:

«Tell the comrades that it was decided that the demonstration shall not be held.»

But they were unable to stop the demonstration or to stop members of their group from participating.

This was a continuation of the disruptive work of

4 Today the «17 Nëntori» cinema.

sabotage of these camouflaged enemy elements who, both at this period and before and after the founding of the Party, raised countless serious obstacles and difficulties for us.

The fact is that at this period they seemed to support the idea of cooperation between groups and agreed to take part in the Founding Meeting and in the joint actions that were carried out on the eve of this event. The reasons for this are numerous and well known, but I want to stress one thing: Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte «united» with us not because they had any trace of communism in their mind, not because they were grieved for the Homeland which was languishing in slavery, or because they were concerned about the cause of our people's war, on the contrary, they avoided these cardinal problems. However, the circumstances, the situation compelled them to act as they did. First of all, it was the base of their group, the sound communists and all the revolutionary young people linked with them, who consciously, under the influence of events and of communists and sympathizers of other groups, united with the idea of joint actions and with the idea of forming the Party as quickly as possible. At that period Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte were aware that they would be rejected by the rank and file of their group if they did not swim with the current. So, they joined up. But, regrettably they joined up as saboteurs. This was to be proved very quickly.

On the other hand, the comrades of the Shkodra group played a major role in winning them to the idea of joint actions and the creation of the Party. As is known these two groups, that of Shkodra and the «Youth» Group, had reached an agreement, but whereas at first collaboration between them was on a distorted anti-Marxist basis, later, and especially from the second half of 1941, the Shkodra group, besides improving its own internal situation, also exerted

an influence on the base of the «Youth» Group so that it saw the perspective more clearly. In the autumn of 1941 and in October, especially, even Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte saw they could not remain aloof from this work. The work of our comrade, Miladin Popović, who frequently met comrades of the «Youth» Group, including Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte at that period, played its role in this.

Thus, these two elements came round to the common idea of forming the Party, but they came to it reluctantly, because they had no alternative, and with dark aims of sabotage.

Their attempt to sabotage the big demonstration of 28 October 1941 was part of these aims, but their efforts were unsuccessful in this case, too.

It was a big, powerful and furious demonstration just as we had foreseen. We fought with the carabinieri and fascist militia and blood flowed. The demonstration had an extremely great echo. It became the touchstone for the unity of Albanian communists and showed the inexhaustible strength of our people, their hatred for and determination to fight against fascism and the quislings.

All this resistance which was building up under the leadership of the communists, the exposure which was being made of the occupying power and its tools had shown up the quisling government of Vërlaci in its true colours. Now fascist Italy needed an iron hand, a tried and hardened criminal to suppress the people, «in order to exterminate the communists» and the patriots en masse, to carry out demagoguery no longer from the «feudal and anti-peasant» positions through the figure of Vërlaci, but from the «nationalist and democratic» positions. And fascist Italy found this criminal hand in the person of Mustafa Merlika (Kruja), who one month later was appointed prime minister in place of the deposed Vërlaci.

This barbarous quisling, as a fascist senator, had

distinguished himself for his rabid hatred and stand against communists and the people, as well as for his speculation with the patriotic feelings of the Albanians of Kosova in order to plunder the wealth of the people of Kosova in favour of the Albanian fascist merchant bourgeoisie which was being created, and to strengthen the exploitation by plundering Italian companies which speculated to the detriment of the whole Albanian people. In undeclared talks and in meetings in the cinemas Mustafa Kruja threatened the communists with bullets and called for collaboration with «democratic nationalists» of the type of Ali Këlcyra and company, who had long been feeding from the Italian trough. As prime minister Mustafa Kruja was to fill the prisons with our comrades and with patriots, was to hang and kill, to increase the Albanian fascist militia and make it a tool of the Italian fascist militia. But our resistance and struggle were ablaze. The powerful demonstration of October 28, 1941, which the Albanian communists organized and led, proved this.

On the following day I was obliged to go underground. This, too, has its own history.

On the morning of October 29 the carabinieri appeared suddenly at «Flora». Two of them, with their chests criss-crossed with shiny leather belts and their revolver holsters open, came inside, while the others stood outside. Only at that moment did we realize what a great mistake we had made. We had thought that in the great confusion of the previous day's clash, the fascists could not have identified us among those hundreds of thousands of demonstrators who shook Tirana. But now here were all of us «workers» of the «Flora» shop facing the terrible trap.

«Enver Hoxha!» shouted one of the carabinieri, «Dove é* Enver Hoxha?!»

* Where is? (Italian in the original).

Pilo [Peristeri] and Ilo Durdha stood frozen at the counter with napkins in their hands. A moment's silence followed, but I pulled myself together, looked up from behind the till where I was sitting as «owner-partner» and very «politely» tried the only possibility that could have been tried:

«He is here, inside, wait a moment, please, and I'll inform him,» I said in a calm voice and with exemplary «readiness», as if I could hardly wait to do these Italians a valuable service!

I had hit the target. They believed me. I went into the inner room of the shop, calling in a loud voice, «Enver, you are wanted,» quickly opening the small back door which had been put in especially for such an occasion, I jumped into a narrow lane, crossed the yard of an old woman's house and from there, through the «Vlach quarter», I reached the great boulevard, which I crossed «quietly,» but keeping my eyes skinned for any movement. A few moments later, when I had entered the people's quarter across the boulevard, I was convinced that the fascists were left with nothing but my name.

I said good-bye to our dear «Flora», the modest shop, where for two years on end we had sold cigarettes and sausage legally, while illegally we prepared for the revolution. «Flora» was a small shop with walls of mud and brick, but within those walls we, a handful of the sons of the people, gathered tête à tête and ardently discussed our communist work, reported on what we had achieved and worked out plans for greater and more fruitful work; there we ironed out a series of disagreements with the comrades of other communist groups; from there we set out with leaflets and on missions to every corner of the capital and to other cities of the country. There I had met my unforgettable comrades, patriots and revolutionaries, Vasil Shanto, Qemal, Misto, Mihal, Dullë Keta and with scores of other sons and daughters of the people.

And now I was obliged to part with it, obliged to put an end to my «legal work». But I did not regret this parting. It was bound to happen very soon in one way or another, because it was obvious that the tide of the popular insurrection was rising and the hour of the great decision was approaching. The only thing that kept me anxiously worried all of that day was the fate of the rest of my comrades. However, late that evening I sprang to my feet full of joy when I saw Pilo enter the illegal base where I was established. He was in high spirits.

«You pulled it off beautifully,» he said. «What a slip!» And he told me in detail about the confusion and anger of the carabinieri when they realized what had occurred. Fortunately, they had done nothing to our comrades. Apparently their names had not yet been entered on the lists of the fascist police.

We got down to work immediately. There was no time to lose, the 8th of November was ahead of us.

In the darkness of the night before the dawn of 8 November, we set out for the small house which was awaiting us. In these reminiscences I shall not describe it, because the house where the Communist Party of Albania was founded has now become an outstanding monument of our country, known to young and old in Albania, as well as to thousands and thousands of foreign friends, comrades and visitors. All the surrounding lanes and alleys were guarded by calm and resolute armed comrades. Earlier, careful investigations had been made of all the families around the house. They were families of poor workers, apprentices and patriots.

In the darkness of the night we entered the small house one by one, in order and in silence. All the windows had been sealed from inside with blankets. No light could be seen. No sound could be heard. Complete illegality. We

entered that small house with great hopes, with indescribable joy and confidence, but I tell you frankly, overriding all this we felt a certain anxiety. Undoubtedly each of us, coming there with the great desire for the formation of the Party, asked himself: «How will things go? Will we achieve our sacred aim?» There I found Miladin, Dušan, Vasil and Qemal. I embraced with the Yugoslav comrades and the others. But to tell the truth, the comrades of the Shkodra group and I embraced with more than usual warmth. When the leaders of the «Youth» Group came our meeting was cool, but with no sign of hostility.

We had all gathered. From our group, those allocated to take part in the meeting were Koço Tashko, Pilo Peristeri, Enver Hoxha, Koçi Xoxe and Sotir Vullkani. We had all arrived with the exception of Koçi Xoxe, whom we had dispatched to Korça a few days earlier to inform Miha and the comrades there about the policy we had decided to pursue at the Founding Meeting, as well as to give the final instructions about a big demonstration which we had decided should be organized in Korça on November 8. Those present from the Shkodra group were Qemal Stafa, Vasil Shanto, Kristo Themelko and Tuk Jakova, while from the «Youth» Group, Ramadan Çitaku, Anastas Lula, Sadik Premte and a comrade from Kosova were present...

On November 8, 1941 the first meeting of representatives of the three communist groups commenced.

As the longest established and biggest group in the communist movement of Albania up till that time, the honour of opening the Founding Meeting belonged to the Korça group. As I have noted earlier, the group had charged me to speak. I rose to my feet:

«Comrades,» I began. «It is a great joy and honour

for our Korça group, and for me personally, that we have been given the right to speak first.»

I was very moved, but gradually «the motor» got started.

«First,» I said, «I invite the meeting to honour the memory of all those communist comrades and other brave fighters, Albanians and foreigners, who have fallen and are falling on the battlefield fighting against fascism for the peoples' freedom; to honour the memory of Ali Kelmendi, Mujo Ulqinaku and the ordinary sons of our people who resisted the fascist invaders with rifles; to honour the memory of heroes of the Spanish War, of heroes of the great Soviet Union who are giving their lives in the war for freedom against the nazi beast; to honour our brothers, the Yugoslav communist heroes who have fallen on the field of battle.»

We all stood in silence for one minute. Then, I expressed our heartfelt thanks to the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and its Central Committee for the assistance they were giving us through comrades Miladin and Dušan who, together with us, strove and made their contribution to the achievement of this day's meeting.

After this I presented the proposal of the Korça group about founding the Party on the first day, as we had decided in our group, for the reasons which I have already mentioned when we had discussed the matter in the group and about which the documents of the Party speak. I have spoken about some of these reasons previously and they have been presented in other documents, but here I want to mention some things as I remember them:

«Comrades,» I said as soon as I had begun my speech, «on behalf of the Korça group I wish to welcome the first joint meeting of representatives of the three communist groups and the comrades present. We hope that the proceedings of this meeting will achieve complete

success. For our part we are convinced that the discussion which will take place in this meeting will be fruitful, but this depends on all of us. We of the Korça group are convinced also that you, too, have come here not so that we will quarrel like enemies, but in order to discuss matters fiercely if need be, but as communists. Above all it is the principles which will guide our work which have and must have priority for us. These principles must be unsullied, always according to the precepts of our great teachers Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. These are the principles which must foster and guide our political, ideological, organizational and military opinions and actions, first of all, and then those of all Albanian communists. Is this what has occurred up till now? We of the Korça group want to say at the outset that we believe these principles have been understood and applied in various ways by the communist groups: sometimes they have been applied well, sometimes they have been half-applied, and in many cases they have been badly distorted. We have gathered here precisely to put our Marxist-Leninist principles in order, while we must reject, fight and kick out the disguised Trotskyite, anarchist and fascist views. We shall discuss all these things and we are of the opinion that we should keep nothing back in the corners of our minds, but should honestly lay on the table everything that we have in our minds and hearts, because only in this way will we be able to reach agreement and to serve our great cause which has to do with the present and the future of the people and the Homeland. We communists, especially, must place the cause of the liberation of the people and the Homeland above everything. The purpose of our lives is and will remain the struggle for the happiness of the people. Therefore, comrades, first let us consider the present, then we can consider the

past and together arrive at conclusions about how to organize and lead the struggle in the future.

«It is clear to each of us that our Homeland is suffering greatly. For more than two years our people have been languishing under the heel of detested Italian fascism and the treachery of the quislings. The satrap Ahmet Zog, the big landowners and the local bourgeoisie prepared this unendurable slavery for our country and our people. Our people have never bowed in submission to foreigners and local despots. Always they have taken up arms, through the centuries they have fought for freedom and have won, have been suppressed again and again have risen in rebellion and have shed their blood demonstrating that the Albanians cannot live without freedom.

«The occupation of the country was a great shock to all of us. The idea of the liberation of the Homeland filled our hearts and engaged our energies, but the occupiers found us communists divided and quarrelling, at a time when we ought to have been more united than ever. The whole country was seething like a volcano about to erupt. Powerful people's demonstrations burst our everywhere.

«It is true that the great duty and honour devolved on us, the communists of various groups, to organize these demonstrations and stand in the forefront of them, but we did not perform our task as we should have done. Together with the people we, too, shouted: 'Weapons, weapons, we want weapons!', but from whom were we demanding these weapons? From Ahmet Zog, the treacherous bandit chief who sold out the Homeland and who, to escape the people's anger, fled with his suitcases filled with gold? Or did we demand them from the Zogite officials, senior officers and other traitors who were getting ready to welcome the occupiers with flowers?

«This was a mistake which we communists made.

We should not have asked for weapons, because those who held them, the feudal landowners and the bourgeoisie, were our enemies, enemies of the people. These enemies could not have given us weapons, because they needed them themselves to drown the people's resistance in blood and to support the occupier. We should have attacked the depots, seized the weapons by force, armed the people and organized them in guerrilla units and *çeta* and attacked the enemy everywhere. We did not put up this resistance at first. Why? Because, in the first place, we communists ourselves were divided and unorganized, because we did not all conceive the struggle against the occupier in the same way.

«This state of affairs amongst us was greatly in the interests of the archeo-Marxists, Trotskyites and agents of the bourgeoisie and fascism, who took advantage of it to spread their hostile, anti-communist and anti-Albanian theories more easily with the aim of keeping us split and divided as they had done during the Zogite regime. For more than two years the Italian occupiers, the quislings and the pseudo-democratic traitors have been exerting all their strength to crush the steadily mounting resistance of the people. We, the communists, entered the fight against the occupiers, but this was more a 'bloodless' war: to prevent people enrolling in the Albanian fascist party, to boycott the 'dopolavoro' (5) and 'Dante Alighieri,' (6) to refuse to give the fascist salute and so on. Of course we did not fail to carry out propaganda against the occupiers, minor acts of sabotage or to distribute some leaflets. But, without wanting to go into detail. I have to add that the three groups did not wage

5 «After Work» (It), fascist organizations to mislead the workers and the youth.

6 Association to disseminate the Italian language and the fascist culture in Albania.

even this struggle in the same way and as we should have done. There were groups that waged this struggle under the influence of the views of their archeo-Marxist and Trotskyite leaders such as Niko Xoxi, Aristidh Qendro, Andrea Zisi, Dhimitër Fallo, Zef Mala and others, who were and are provocateurs and disguised fascist agents.

«Consequently, our communist groups rather than think about organizing and beginning the war properly, tried only to reach social-democratic agreements with one another.

«Naturally, we had first to create unity and get rid of factionalism, but this could not be achieved with such a compromise which brought nothing constructive, because it extended the fields for the dissemination of defeatist ideas: 'we cannot begin the war,' 'we have no proletariat,' 'we cannot form a communist party yet,' 'first we must prepare the cadres,' and other Trotskyite slogans like these, which stank of the fascist occupiers, at whose workshops they had their source.»

At this moment the profound silence which had prevailed among the audience was broken as someone shifted irritably in his chair. Anastas Lula could hardly keep his seat. I paused in my speech for a moment and saw that he was wiping his glasses with the corner of his jacket. Then, taking advantage of the brief pause I made, Anastas interjected:

«Excuse me,» he said with resentment and sarcasm, «but I think we should respect some rules. We gave the representative of Korça the honour of opening the meeting and the right to speak. But do you hear what he is saying?! He is not speaking for the Korça group, he is speaking for all, on behalf of all of us. What is this?!»

«No», I said keeping my temper. «I have not undertaken to speak on behalf of all. But. on behalf of the comrades of the Korça group and on their instructions,

first, I want to present to the meeting a proposal which seems to us very important and a matter of principle.»

«What is this proposal!» Sadik Premte came to the aid of Anastas. «We have not yet begun the analysis.»

«Have a little patience, comrades Anastas and Sadik, because we have just begun to speak and all of us will speak,» and I went on with my speech again. «The past of the communist groups must be made a lesson for us. Today we have great hopes. Oppression and dire poverty are hurting the people deeply. They are ready to take up weapons and fight. The youth are burning to fight. We communists are convinced that we will win, that the victory will go to the people. Hitlerite Germany has attacked the glorious Soviet Union, but without any doubt it will be smashed by the Soviet peoples and the Red Army organized and tempered in revolution by Lenin and Stalin. We must organize the armed struggle as quickly as possible. It is up to us communists to prepare, organize and lead the general uprising. But how can we organize and lead it? Split into groups, divided with all kinds of opinions as we are, when there is no co-ordination of our actions?

«Comrades, are we going to continue even in this underground meeting, which we are holding under the threat of the savage occupier that has captured our country, to quarrel and fail to find a common language as communists in the face of the storm? We of the Korça group think we should go on like this no longer. Why. is this the way Marx teaches us? Is this the way Lenin and Stalin teach us? No. they teach us the opposite. We must be united like a fist against the enemy, must be organized and fight the enemies mercilessly until we win our total victory.

«We must fight as our people have always fought from the time of Skanderbeg and even before, all through

their history. Like our people who have never sat with folded arms, we, too, must fight for a free, democratic Albania without occupiers, without traitors, without oppression and exploitation. And for this we must unite like communist brothers, linked together for a single aim. We can make no progress by going on as we have done up till now, we cannot and must not continue any longer with compromises like the previous ones. Everything must be done in an organized way. We must judge everything and act in everything in the way our Marxist-Leninist ideology shows us, following the example of the Bolshevik Party. This ideology must guide our meeting today, which, I think, cannot achieve the results we are aiming at if it is guided by the unhealthy spirit of groups.

«In order to put an end to this group spirit, first of all we must decide to dissolve the groups and form the Communist Party of Albania. Are we or are we not Albanian communists? Do we or do we not want to form and have our own Communist Party, which will lead our people in the fight and accomplish the minimum and maximum program which we will define? Let us, first, answer these main questions and, if we are communists, let us discuss matters as such, with a sense of responsibility, with clear minds and open hearts.»

I paused for a moment, took a deep breath, in order to gain control of my feelings and, in a somewhat louder voice, I said:

«Comrades, the proposal of the Korça group is:

«Let us form the Communist Party of Albania on the basis of the mandates which the comrades of the groups gave us before we came to this meeting and, after first deciding solemnly and unanimously to found the Communist Party of Albania, let us continue the debate and discussion.»

«Our decisive aim is the formation of the Party.

The objective needs demand this, the working class, the communists, the historic moments through which our country is passing and the people who are calling on us to throw ourselves into the fight together with them demand this. Comrades, we cannot put off this main objective another moment longer. The time and the situation demand the immediate formation of our Communist Party of the new Lenin-Stalin type, as the vanguard of the national liberation movement and the struggle for a people's democratic Albania.

«The party which we shall found will give correct solutions to all the problems and questions we shall discuss. This time we communists will think, discuss, decide and act with a new spirit, with another style and method, because from now on we and all our comrades will have our Communist Party.

«That is all I had to say at the start, comrades,» I said and sat down.

I was carefully watching every movement of the calm, silent, thoughtful faces of the comrades, who listened attentively to my speech. Unlike the others, Anastas and Xhepi were a little fidgety while I was speaking and, when I had finished, their faces were frowning and glum.

We had a break and smoked one cigarette after the other. For my part, I was pleased, but also worried. I was concerned especially about the stand of the Shkodra group and some of Anastas and Xhepi's comrades. If they united with us, I would not mind what Qorri and Xhepi did. The Party would overwhelm them. During the break I noticed that Miladin was talking with Qemal and Vasil, while Dušan talked with Anastas and Baca. The two groups talked quietly. Anastas sat with his head hanging but from time to time raised it to put in a word, while Xhepi listened to what Dušan and Qorri were saying. Qemal and Vasil were cheerful, talking

freely with Miladin. I had no doubt that they were talking about the things I had presented. We returned to the meeting again.

Qemal Stafa took the floor. We listened attentively. I remember only the essence of the main ideas of his contribution. He made a correct introduction about the struggle which we communists should wage against fascism and then went on to prove with theoretical arguments and with examples from life what fascism was and the danger it posed. He said that fascism was the sworn enemy of the peoples, the communists and the revolution. He quoted some excerpts from Dimitrov's famous report.

«However, we,» continued Qemal, «to a greater or lesser extent, did not understand or properly apply the instructions, advice and directives of the Comintern and Dimitrov. That was a great mistake on our part and we of the Shkodra group make self-criticism for this. We have some criticism to make of the Korça group, too, but I am not going to raise it now, because I agree with Enver that we should return to these matters later.»

This was very pleasing and heart-warming to me, because I realized that Qemal and his comrades must agree with me and our proposal for the formation of the Communist Party of Albania.

Then, Qemal continued:

«Of course, since we are communists, we must look things right in the eye and try to judge them correctly and realistically, because, to tell the truth, to one extent or another, we have not looked at the issues as true communists. And for this there are many reasons, which it is our duty to analyse so as to dispel the confusion and darkness from our minds. We must eliminate the conceit and intrigue which have taken root in some and which, in our opinion, have created the grave state of rivalry,

because every group considered itself a party and each pretended that it was linked with the Comintern. Even those groups which had no connections were seeking links with it in all directions.»

«They were seeking seals of approval. Just let us ensure any seal like that of the rotten Zisi and the 'party' is formed!» interjected Pilo with a laugh.

«That's precisely what happened,» Qemal agreed. «But we forgot that no seal could make the party, because the Communist Party is not made by any seals which are secured, but by the efforts, by the revolutionary struggle it wages at the head of the masses. That was the situation,» he continued, «but none of us made a sound, principled analysis of our work. As we know these unhealthy sentiments brought about the outbreak of the unprincipled struggle between us. The enemy occupied the country and we quarrelled with one another instead of attacking the enemy. We of the Shkodra group think that an end must be put to such a situation. Why must it be ended?»

Continuing his speech, Qemal linked the issue with the world war and with the occupation of our country, with the absolute need to organize the armed struggle. Thus, he, too, arrived at our conclusion and he ended his speech by expressing firmly:

«We approve the proposal of the Korça group which Comrade Enver Hoxha presented, to found the Communist Party of Albania immediately. Any subsequent discussion and conclusion will be put off till the party is formed.»

My heart was filled with indescribable joy. It seemed to me that Qemal had been my comrade throughout the whole of my life, from childhood up to that moment when, in that small room, we were discussing one of the greatest issues in all the age-long history of our

people. I wanted to embrace him and his comrades strongly. It seemed to me that all the obstacles were wiped out, the party would certainly be born.

I waited impatiently for a break in the proceedings. Once we emerged from the room I approached Qemal, gave him my hand, pulled him to me and embraced him strongly. We kissed and said to one another, «Long live our Communist Party through the centuries!» Then, I embraced Vasil and Tuk, while Anastas stood apart, smoking furiously and turning over his cunning plans in his head. All our group shook hands with Qemal. Meanwhile Qorri and Xhepi, who were green with anger, made no move towards Qemal, just as they made no move towards me when the comrades were congratulating me after I spoke. However, Ramadan Çitaku approached Qemal and shook hands with him just as he had done with me...

The break passed quickly and we returned to the room where the talks were taking place. By now it was dark, because in November the days grow shorter and nights fall quickly...

Soon we were back in our places. The meeting recommenced. The small kerosene lamp on the table threw a pale light over our faces. It was assisted a little by the flames of the fire burning on the hearth, on which Vasil or the comrades sitting closest to it threw a little wood from time to time. A pot of beans, for supper was simmering on the fire and their bubbling accompanied the contribution of the unhappy Anastas Lula.

As far as I remember he began his contribution differently from us:

«We have gathered,» said Anastas, «to discuss the work which the different communist groups have done and to judge the line which each of them has followed, to decide which groups had a correct line and which

a wrong line. Naturally, our group has a lot to say in this direction, especially against the Korça group and against its leader, Koço Tashko, in particular, who was one of the main culprits for the split. However, we of the 'Youth' Group have noticed that for a long period he had not been alone. He and a number of other comrades of his group have damaged the cause, have always posed as the law-makers of communism, have pretended that their group alone was the party, and that only they had links with the Comintern.»

Anastas was commencing with attacks in order to sabotage the meeting. It was apparent that he had not made even the slightest formal correction to his course. His stand was truly revolting, but we had to maintain our aplomb, because we knew very well that he was a dirty provocateur. Koço's face flushed with anger and he figeted in his chair. Anastas continued:

«Whenever any comrade returned from political exile abroad, the leadership of the Korça group immediately claimed that directives of the Comintern had arrived (obviously he was referring to the directives which reached the Albanian communist movement in 1937), but we were aware that other comrades not of the Korça group and who had links with the Comintern came and they brought directives (he was referring to Andrea Zisi — the archeo-Marxist, who came from Greece bringing his seal made in Athens, which read something like this: 'ACP, Section of the Comintern'). Who Were we to believe? At that time we believed those who our communist consciousness told us were right, so we began to withdraw gradually from the Korça group until in 1940 we emerged as a separate group. The Korça group has accused and still accuses us of being splitters, factionalists, Trotskyites, archeo-Marxists and whatever else it likes. We are none of these things, but we are genuine revolutionary Marxists.»

Koço could stand this no more and said to Qorri:

«Trotskyites is just what you are! And the worst Trotskyites at that!»

This was just what Anastas wanted, because he was ready for that, and he replied:

«Don't you interrupt my speech, Koço Tashko, because that is what you've always done, you've always been arrogant.»

«While you have been a 'lamb' Anastas Lula,» I interposed, «and what's more, ideologically we can describe you as an 'angel'.»

«I shall speak about the ideological issues later,» said Anastas, «because we have gathered here precisely to consider our work from the ideological aspect. We must thrash out these matters first and then come to the conclusion about who is on the right course, you of the Korça group, or we.»

At that moment Qemal joined in saying:

«Define that 'we' better! What do you mean by 'we'?»

This made it clear that Qemal Stafa divided the Shkodra group from the «Youth» Group.

Anastas was shaken because he was left on his own without allies, but with the coldness of a snake he replied to Qemal's interjection:

«Of course I am speaking for our 'Youth' Group, but I cannot understand, Comrade Qemal, why you of the Shkodra group have now changed your opinions, because our two groups have been in unity of thoughts and actions. We were convinced that our ideological and political stands were correct communist stands. We of the 'Youth' Group are still of that opinion.»

This was Qorri's second provocation, this time aimed at the Shkodra group, made deliberately both to insult and to threaten that group lest it broke away from his group.

Qemal gave him an instant, firm reply:

«Our two groups have had similar opinions on a lot of things, but have also had differences. The thing that united us was the spirit of factional work which had blinded our eyes and did not allow us to see the contradictions between our two groups, because we had directed the edge of our struggle against the Korça group. However, communists are people who reflect, because new horizons are being opened to us, and they help us to judge more profoundly about the situation and major events which are taking place. This change in our opinions is not just a bourgeois change, as you think, Anastas Lula, but a communist change,» said Qemal.

«You are quite right, Comrade Qemal,» I said, «that is what we communists of the Korça group think, too.»

Anastas was being pinned with his back to the wall. But as the people say, a snake has seven lives, he doesn't die even if you cut off a bit of his tail. Anastas Lula continued:

«Of course you have the right to change your opinions (this was further provocation, everything he said during the whole period of the meeting was provocation), but we have the right to defend our opinions. And the opinion of our group is contrary to the procedure of the action which you proposed, Comrade Enver. You put the issue in a distorted way; instead of first discussing the issue and then seeing whether or not our opinions are in accord, whether or not the time has come to decide on the formation of the party, you of the Korça group propose that we should form the party first and then discuss the issue.»

That was another cunning manoeuvre of Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte in order to sabotage the formation of the party.

A firm reply had to be given to him. but care had

to be taken to avoid exacerbating the situation to the extreme before founding the party. This had to be borne in mind, not on account of those two incorrigible Trotskyites, but on account of the rank-and-file members of the «Youth» Group, who were misled and who would certainly become good members of the party we were going to form. An immediate flare-up might cause their withdrawal from the meeting, a thing which could enable them to have an argument to say to their group: «We undertook no commitment.» On the contrary, we had to be very careful towards them and succeed in founding the party which was the unchangeable desire of all the communists of this group, too, regardless of the opinions and desires of their chiefs. Once the party was formed, the discussion could develop into heated arguments, because then they would take place within the party, within its Marxist-Leninist norms.

Therefore, without allowing Anastas to go any further with his work of sabotage, I intervened:

«Comrade Anastas, the proposal of the Korça group is not wrong at all. It is Leninist, it is not in the least in contradiction with the theory and norms that guide the activity of the Bolshevik Party which Lenin founded. Were Lenin still alive or if we had the possibility to ask Stalin, they would certainly advise us: 'First form your communist party, because you have dragged matters up long enough, then make Bolshevik self-criticism, set new tasks, and go forward into battle and to victory as the vanguard of the working class.'

«Therefore, it is not the differences which we've had up till now, but the lofty task which the situation imposes on us that must determine our decision to found the party. Our differences must be settled, must be ironed out through discussion and debates, but not about the question of 'whether or not we should form the party'. The situa-

tion is ripe to create the party with such a unity that it will be up to the task of the liberation of the Homeland. This is what we think.»

«Who do you mean by 'we'?», interjected Sadik Premte immediately. «Are you referring to yourself and your four comrades, or you include all of us with that 'we'?!»

«When I say 'we'» I replied to Xhepi, «of course I have in mind much more than myself and the four comrades of the Korça group. We haven't come here by accident, we have been sent here. Our communist groups have sent us, and when I say 'we' I have in mind all the conscious rank-and-file communist comrades who are demanding the founding of the party at all costs. And believe me, Sadik, that 'we' includes the soundest part of the members of your group, whether or not you and Anastas like it.»

«It's not true. And we don't allow you to speak on behalf of our comrades!» Anastas Lula sprang up angrily.

To avoid giving cause for further heating of tempers, I turned quietly to Anastas and Sadik and once again explained to them the reason from which we proceeded in the proposal which we made.

Qemal Stafa stood shoulder to shoulder with me:

«Comrades,» he said, «this major question which Comrade Enver presented should not be taken as if here we have to do only with the desire and will of the comrades of the Korça group. No, this is the will of all of us, of all communists and all revolutionary democrats. I expressed my opinion, but I want to stress that the people are demanding that we lead them in the struggle which they have begun, but the communist groups divided by all kinds of ideas cannot play this leading role. Only a party with unbreakable Marxist-Leninist

unity can lead the struggle. Therefore, Anastas, we are making no mistake if we form the party first, and then discuss our differences.»

Having said this and turning to me, Qemal added in a very friendly fashion:

«Excuse me for interrupting you, Comrade Enver...»

I, who remained on my feet all this time, continued:

«Comrades, we, the groups, have scored some successes, but we've also made mistakes. Not only you Anastas, but we of the Korça group and those of the Shkodra group, all of us, to a greater or lesser extent, have made mistakes. We are not going to conceal them, but on the contrary, are going to condemn them all from whatever side they have been made. At this meeting, which I consider historic, it is not the will of any one group that should predominate, but the sound will of Marxist-Leninists, the iron will of Albanian communists who have decided to form their party and fight valiantly, ready to make the ultimate sacrifice for their people, until the people are liberated once and for all from the bondage of occupiers, landowners and the local bourgeoisie. The will of those communists should prevail who have decided to carry out the revolution and to bring the working class to power in order to build socialism.

«Comrades, all of us know what sort of party we want, what sort of party we should form and with what features we must temper it. I said at the outset, but I stress it once again, that we are going to create a party of the Lenin-Stalin type, in which factions and the group spirit, such as they have been amongst us up till now, cannot exist. This situation must be ended! In our new party which we're going to found we must establish unity of thought and action and not impose the will of one or the other. Our party will be guided by

one theory, by the theory of Marx and Lenin; any deviation from it and the bearers of the deviations will be punished mercilessly. In our party there will be democracy in the expression of opinions, but there will also be discipline and centralism. We will discuss and decide on these matters one by one and will also decide on the structure of the party, what forms its cells and committees will have. In this discussion we will also have the assistance of Comrade Miladin. Therefore,» I turned to Anastas again, «I think there is no sound reason why you should not associate yourself like the other two groups with the proposal that first we should found the party and then develop our discussion as members of the party and no longer as members of groups, should discuss the issues in the spirit and on the basis of a communist party and not in the spirit of communist groups.»

At this point I wound up and sat down. The comrades proposed we should take a break.

After the break, Ramadan Çitaku spoke. I met Baca for the first time at this meeting. He made a good impression on me, and my heart warmed to him immediately. He spoke little, was restrained in his gestures and conversation, and smoked cigarettes inhaling the smoke deeply. He was young although he looked older because of his moustaches, and for this reason we nicknamed him «Baca».

Baca, who spoke in a deep voice, did not go on for long. In substance he said:

«We have gathered here to solve our problems, because we can no longer go on in the way we have done. I want us to form the party and I agree with what Comrade Enver proposed. I am in the same group with Anastas and Sadik, but I cannot understand Anastas' reasoning. I am convinced that many comrades of our

group will think the same way as I do. What is wrong with founding the party as quickly as possible? We have criticism and self-criticism to make, but from now on I want the party and not the groups. Therefore, I am for the founding of the party.»

After these few words Baca sat down. His words were another blow to Qorri and Xhepi, but this time to their surprise, from a comrade of their own group.

Following Baca, Miladin spoke. Dušan translated with occasional corrections from Baca. He spoke for about an hour. First, he thanked us for rescuing him from the internment camp and for the great trust all of us displayed towards him. He said that this trust is due to the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

«I am a member of that Party and, on the proposal of the Albanian communists, I have been instructed by it to give my modest aid and what small experience I have, placing them as an internationalist in the service of the Communist Party of Albania which you are going to form,» he continued. «Among all the Albanian communist comrades I have found a communist affection and sincerity towards me. You opened your hearts to me and so did I. We have been acquainted for only a short time, but it seems as if we have known each other long since. This situation has been created because we are internationalist communists.»

After speaking about his love for the Albanian people, about his respect for them, for their courage, their manliness, their trustworthiness and their wisdom, «with which I am well-acquainted,» he said, «because I have lived among Albanians in Kosova and Montenegro,» Miladin continued:

«You have told me about the Albanian communist movement, about the existence of groups, with various opposing views, about the good results and the short-

comings and mistakes that have shown up in their work. We have discussed things together frankly. As a comrade, as a communist, I have openly expressed some ideas of mine which may or may not be correct, because I cannot claim to know the situation in your country and your work as well as you do. You yourselves are in a position to know and do know the situation of the country, the people and your communist groups, not only in general, like the idea I have been able to get of it, but in depth and in an analytical way. It is up to you to analyse and decide. I am convinced that you will decide correctly. When you consider it reasonable I would like you to allow me to speak, to express my opinion on a series of problems of principle which I am sure you will raise, to give you the experience of my Party on how it has solved some analogous problems. You yourselves will judge whether or not what I have to say is reasonable. The decisions which you will take are up to you and to nobody else.»

We listened to this fine comrade, to this sincere communist with great attention.

Miladin gave a brief but clear outline of the international situation. He spoke about the decisive role of the Soviet Union and the great Stalin, and about the partisan war in Yugoslavia led by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. After speaking about the importance which the formation of the party in our country would have, Miladin concluded:

«I fully associate myself with Comrade Enver Hoxha's proposal that before anything else the Communist Party of Albania should be formed as quickly as possible. Such a great historic act is correct politically, ideologically and organizationally. The situation which has matured requires this.»

Our faces beamed with joy. This Yugoslav interna-

tionalist communist, our comrade, was of the same opinion as we. We adjourned for a break. All of us, including Qorri and Xhepi, embraced Miladin. The signs were good. We sat down to supper with an excellent appetite and great joy in our hearts. Like the other comrades I no longer felt that burden of anxiety I had felt at the start. The sky was almost clear.

After supper we went straight back to the meeting. Koço Tashko asked for the floor. Naturally, at the outset he supported the proposal about founding the party, tried to give a theoretical outline about just and unjust wars and we thought that he was going to close his contribution quietly and gently with this. But Koço Tashko forgot what we had decided and began to make insinuations about other groups, precisely on the problems which we had to discuss after the formation of the party. It was just as well that he did not go on for long and sat down quickly because I would have been obliged to intervene. Nevertheless, his «professorial», *embrouillé** tone and his insinuations did not fail to cause a coldness which was quickly cleared away by Pilo Peristeri and Vasil Shanto, who spoke to the point and briefly in favour of the immediate founding of the Communist Party of Albania. Koçi Xoxe, Tuk Jakova and other comrades expressed similar opinions. The last to speak were Anastas. followed by Sadik Premte. We listened in silence. This time Anastas spoke briefly.

«I withdraw what I said before and associate myself with the proposal that we should form the Communist Party of Albania.»

Sadik Premte also expressed solidarity with the rest.

For a moment silence fell. For many of us the solidarity of Anastas and Sadik was always suspect.

* Involved (French in the original).

«Let us put it to the vote. Everyone has expressed his opinion,» said Koço Tashko.

«Let us put it, but who is to do so? Here we are all equal...» put in Anastas Lula not without malicious intent.

This truly was something that had not occurred to us before. But Miladin rose to the occasion.

«The issue here, comrades, is not one of leaders or presidiums,» he said. «The problem is quite simple: the proposal can be put to the vote by the one who presented it.»

Then, very excited I rose to my feet and said:

«Comrades, on the basis of the proposal of the Communist Group of Korça and the opinions expressed by all present, I am putting the following resolution to the vote: 'Today on November 8, 1941, the representatives of three communist groups, of Korça, Shkodra and the 'Youth', meeting in plenary session and after constructive discussion in the communist spirit, basing themselves on the mandate given them by the comrades of their groups, founded the Communist Party of Albania.' All in favour raise their hands.»

All present raised their hands. There was no vote against or abstention. All of us were filled with indescribable joy. The main step, the decisive task which we had set ourselves when we set out for this historic meeting, had been crowned with success!

Then, I declared:

«The Communist Party of Albania has been founded unanimously. Long live the Communist Party of Albania!»

Happy and deeply moved all of us rose to our feet, raised our clenched fists in salute and under the light of the kerosene lamp sang *The Internationale*, keeping our voices low, and then cheered and cheered for the Communist Party of Albania, but always in an undertone:

«Long live the Bolshevik Party!», «Long live Stalin!», «Glory to Marx, Engels, Lenin!», «Long live the Communist Party of Yugoslavia!», «Down with fascism!», «Long live our heroic people!» And so on...

Thus, on the night of November 8, 1941, our Party was born, the Party which was to lead the Albanian people in the greatest battles of their whole history. It was born from the bosom of the people, from their revolutionary fire and ardour undimmed through the centuries, it emerged like a sun shining through the hideous darkness of the fascist enslavement and terror which had engulfed the people and the Homeland.

The next day and up till November 14, the debates continued. All the comrades who took part in the meeting spoke. The debates were tense and frequently fierce. It was often forgotten that since November 8, we ought to have spoken from the basis of the established Party, in the spirit of this Party, and many continued to argue from group positions.

Koço Tashko took the floor. He tried to back up his statement with quotations without reference from our classics, which he claimed to have learned in Moscow. Koço naturally defended the line of the Korça group, a thing that was correct. We all did this when we spoke, but in his enthusiasm to defend this line, Koço Tashko attributed all the good and positive aspects of the work of the Korça group to his «leadership». Of course he was not objective in doing this. Meanwhile, he «forgot» to point out the shortcomings and mistakes in the work of that group. His self-criticism of the work of the group was feeble and non-existent in regard to himself.

Koço also dealt with the question of the Comintern directives.

«The Korça group,» he said among other things, «was the only Albanian communist group which accepted and put them into practice, while the other groups not only refused to accept them, but also combated them fiercely and in the most condemnable form of factionalism.»

At this point Koço opened the chapter of his criticisms and attacks on the Shkodra group and the «Youth» Group, criticisms which were correct in principle. He began from the enemy of communism, the archeo-Marxist Niko Xoxi who, after he was condemned by the Korça group, took refuge in the Shkodra group, where he became one of its leaders, and together with Zef Mala organized the struggle not just against the Korça group, but against Marxism, against the Comintern and, naturally, against the Soviet Union and Stalin. It was logical that these elements would follow the course of Trotsky and so they did, while the «Green Bulletin» which they put out was nothing but a Trotskyite rag. Koço Tashko did not overlook Aristidh Qendro, Anastas Lula and Sadik Pre-mte. He accused Anastas Lula not only of being a close associate of Aristidh and Sadik, of creating the faction subsequently called the «Youth» Group within the ranks of the Korça group, but also of involving the Shkodra group and setting it on a wrong course.

The discussion went on in this electrified way all day with one comrade after another taking the floor and often interrupting one another not politely, but sometimes with a fierceness that went beyond acceptable bounds.

Anastas Lula spoke after Koço. He tried to attack all the work of the Korça group with vindictive, baseless slanders and allegations. He went so far as to attack Ali Kelmendi, saying that he was hasty and unfair in the

criticisms and condemnations he had made against Niko Xoxi and Aristidh Qendro.

We could not tolerate accusations against Ali Kelmendi and forgot that we were meeting under conditions of complete illegality.

«Watch your step, Anastas Lula,» I shouted at him, «because you are speaking from a Trotskyite position and we cannot allow anyone to attack the unsullied figure of the most outstanding militant of the Albanian communist movement and a comrade of the international communist movement. We do not permit you to sully the figure of our veteran communist comrade who taught us how we must fight Zog, the feudal landowners and the bourgeoisie, to impugn the reputation of the man who brought us Dimitrov's speech (7) and fought until his death, always honoured by the international communist movement. Are you Anastas Lula trying to compare the figure of this great Albanian communist with two dirty archeo-Marxists sent to Albania by the blackest Greek reaction to fight communism?»

Pilo Peristeri jumped to his feet in fury and attacked Anastas Lula with clear facts about the immoral activities of him and Sadik Premte, who had elevated these activities to pseudo-Marxist theories.

«Such theories and views are diabolical and vile,» roared Pilo. «To accept them means to demoralize our pure youth, to set them on the road of corruption. Are you, Anastas, seeking to break up the family and its code of honour with your Trotskyite theories?! We communists of the Korça group,» continued Pilo, «know all about the undermining activity of Niko Xoxi and his vile intrigues to split us, but with Ali, Miha and other comra-

7 In 1932 Ali Kelmendi brought to Albania George Dimitrov's instructions on the creation of the communist movement on a sounder political and organization platform in Albania.

des we defeated Niko Xoxi and he went away and made up with you. Well, you are welcome to him. He showed what he was, an agent of Zog, who betrayed the comrades present here, Qemal Stafa, Vasil Shanto and others to the enemy.»

Qemal Stafa took the floor and made a correct and mature contribution. It was apparent that he, Vasil and his other comrades were more realistic in their judgement of situations, saw the events and the activities of the Shkodra group in the past as well as their collaboration with the «Youth» Group from a different stand-point. In substance, Qemal said:

«We reject the irresponsible statements of Koço Tashko and of the Korça group, generally, that we of the Shkodra group are not communists, but Trotskyites. No,» continued Qemal, «we are conscious and resolute communists, we have fought with conviction in order to disseminate communism in Albania to the best of our ability. There have been mistakes in our work, we know and admit this, but they came about because evil, anti-communist people like Zef Mala and Niko Xoxi got into the Shkodra group and were able to take advantage of our immaturity to spread wrong, harmful, Trotskyite opinions and ideas amongst us. (Qemal with communist honesty listed them one by one). But what about the Korça group and Koço Tashko, personally, didn't they make mistakes? He did not speak about them, but I am going to do so, because this is my right.»

And Qemal began as follows:

«I condemn Anastas Lula for that judgement he made about comrade Ali Kelmendi. I believe now, and this was my opinion previously, too, that Ali Kelmendi was a communist fighter and, although I never met him, I respected and still respect him as an internationalist communist who came from the Soviet Union.

Why, then, did the Shkodra group not accept the directives of the Comintern? We made a mistake.»

«Everybody knows you made a mistake,» Koço Tashko interrupted him. «But why did you make a mistake?! Tell us that!»

«Yes,» replied Qemal, «I will do that, so listen to me, comrade Koço.» And he went on: «We made a mistake because you made a mistake, too. With your group spirit you wanted to exploit these directives to raise your group above the others. Obviously, we of the Shkodra group, too, were infected and heavily infected with this spirit and so it came about that we did not accept the directives. We tried to establish contact, but we fell among provocateurs. But you, Koço Tashko,» continued Qemal, «did you, in particular, make any attempt to persuade us, to come and discuss with us? No, right to the end you did not. All you knew was to pose as 'a great man', 'with great knowledge', 'with great theories.' Only Enver approached us and talked with us as a comrade, while you never did.»

«Please, son, don't deny my work,» Koço objected angrily. «In the discussions a year or two ago, when we reached agreement with you, was I not present and did I not make my contribution?!»

«Are you referring to the compromise?» Qemal asked Koço with bitterness. «During the two days that we have been here, we have condemned that sort of 'agreement' as a dirty compromise without foundations.»

«As a social-democratic compromise. Life itself destroyed it before it came into operation,» I interjected.

«That is true,» continued Qemal. «So, comrade Koço, it is unfitting for you, who say that you have had links with the Comintern, too...»

«I have so!» shouted Koço.

«Then, try to maintain its reputation. I meant it

was unfitting for you to boast to us about past actions which were wrong. We, too, were involved in those actions such as the compromise we mentioned, but now we condemn the stand we took at that time. Therefore, I appeal to you to reflect on your stands and to recognize your mistakes and faults and those of the Korça group. As for the 'Youth' Group,» continued Qemal, «I am of the opinion, and I speak on behalf of the Shkodra group, that the rank and file of this group are sound like ours and that of the Korça group. But anti-communist, Trotskyite ideas have penetrated into our group and into the others, ideas which in this new light we can now see more clearly. However, you, Anastas Lula, and you, Sadik, who spoke in the same language as Anastas, are not showing yourselves to be sincere communists in any way. You are dodging the issues. In our view you have made and are continuing to make grave mistakes, but the worst of it is that you are not making the slightest attempt to recognize them.»

Qemal ended his contribution by calling on them to change their ways.

The debate and discussion went on in this way every day. All of us were advancing in our analyses. The criticisms were taking the correct course and being backed with more solid arguments, the self-criticisms were becoming more and more profound and the common mistakes and mistakes of each separate group were gradually being acknowledged. Thus, day by day the terrain was being cleared of impediments. The days were passing filled with debates. This was a great school for us, a school which we had never had before. In the contributions to discussion everyone expressed his opinion without hesitation about how we should judge and act on this or that problem in the future. I can't remember how many times all the comrades spoke or intervened in the discussion.

For my part I spoke many times, sometimes to interject a short reply, sometimes at some length. The other comrades acted in the same way.

I remember that I spoke after Qemal and supported his views on a number of matters. The substance of what I said was this:

«I associate myself with the criticism Comrade Qemal made of our Korça group for sectarianism and the lack of a healthier comradesly spirit and greater patience in the debates we have held in the past with comrades of other groups. Comrade Koço did not point out this wrong stand, but I am stressing it and we have to acknowledge it, because it has caused great harm in the past. We must not allow such manifestations to pass into the Party and must free ourselves from them, but without acknowledging them we cannot combat them.

«The sectarianism of the Korça group has been expressed also in its acknowledged parochialism, which has damaged the extension of the work of the group and prevented it from making contacts on a more extensive scale with the communist and democratic movement all over the country. The comrades in Korça also have exerted an influence over the comrades of the Korça group, who are not in Korça, to work in a more or less closed and parochial way. Such views and stands narrow the horizons of work and vision, create a feeling of self-satisfaction and egotism and foster the conceit, especially amongst those who have such tendencies in their character.

«In such a situation, comrade Koço (I turned towards him), our Korça group let the way open to the Trotskyites Niko Xoxi, Aristidh Qendro and others to leave Korça and make contact with revolutionary young people in different cities of our country, thus destroying that necessary revolutionary work which the group itself should

have done with them in organized ways. What did those of our group do for those in Tirana and in Shkodra? What did you do in Tirana, comrade Koço? How did the 'Youth' Group emerge as a faction from our Korça group? Don't we, too, have our share of responsibility for these mistakes, these deviations and this sterile struggle which went on amongst groups? I think we have, if we analyse our work somewhat more profoundly. Naturally, I do not accept the mistakes and faults of other groups and their members, either for our group or for us as individuals. But to the extent that we are to blame for those mistakes and faults, we have to acknowledge them and not wash our hands of them.»

Then, I went on to examine another question:

«Comrade Vasil and you Anastas Lula,» I said turning towards them, «you and your groups made a great mistake that you did not adopt the Comintern directives. This gravely damaged the advance of the communist movement in Albania, permitted the penetration of Trotskyism into our ranks and hindered the organized mass struggle against Zog and his regime. You must acknowledge these mistakes.»

«For our part we have no reason to acknowledge them,» objected Anastas. That was the type he was. He made vindictive hints, but said nothing to back them up.

«How come you don't acknowledge your mistakes?» demanded Sotir Vullkani. «Tell us why.»

«First, tell me when those instructions arrived in Albania?» said Anastas in a tone of gloating triumph.

I realized what the old fox was getting at. so I replied calmly:

«In 1937.»

«But in 1937 we were not even a faction, let alone a group,» said Anastas gravely. «We began to create our group in 1938 and emerged as an independent group in

1940. Why, then, should we bear responsibility for something that happened before we were 'born'?»

He gave the comrades a triumphant look and sat down convinced that he had struck us. But I did not leave him long to savour his «triumph».

«Anastas Lula,» I said, «you should put aside the sophisms and cunning 'arguments' of a bad juggler with figures, and judge matters correctly! True, the instructions of the Comintern arrived in Albania in 1937, but they were not just for that year, but for the whole period ahead of us, that is, for the time when you began to form your faction and the time when you came out openly as a group. Moreover, the essence of them — the necessity for the linking of the communists with the masses, the work with the masses, the formation of a broad anti-fascist front — is valid for today, for tomorrow and will be valid for the future, too. Without winning over the masses, without creating strong links with the whole people, with all the forces around the Party, our cause will not advance. The great leaders of the proletariat teach us this, this is the spirit of the directives of the Comintern. Therefore, Anastas Lula, I re-emphasize that you should acknowledge the grave mistakes which you have made up till now and must not allow them to be repeated.»

«Only the Korça group accepted and adopted them,» said Koço boastfully.

«It is true,» I continued, «that the Korça group made no mistake in this direction and for this we are indebted, first of all, to Ali Kelmendi for the correct orientations he had given our group when he was in Albania. We accepted the directives of the Comintern and tried to put them into practice. But we must judge the matter correctly: How did we apply these directives? Did we completely liquidate the old closed sectarian cells and did we go among the broad masses of the people? Did we set to

work to create sound militant new cells from the ranks of the people and to build a truly organized detachment not only of workers of Korça but of the whole country? Comrade Koço,» I turned to him, «we must recognize openly that we did not fulfil the tasks we undertook. True, we disbanded the cells, but those we formed a little later were just about the same as the former ones, with a small difference in their numbers and principles. It is true that the influence of the group was felt a bit more amongst the masses, but only in the city of Korça, It is true that the youth of Korça were organized better and were under the influence of the group, but outside the city, in the countryside and outside the district the question was left to spontaneity. With the few small nuclei that we created there we cannot pretend that our group seriously took in hand and applied the great ideas of the Comintern properly. We cannot avoid our great responsibility and cannot fail to acknowledge these defects and shortcomings. The other groups acted completely in opposition to the directives of the Comintern and, of course, their responsibility is greater.

«I personally still put great importance on these questions,» I stressed, «because they have had harmful consequences for our work in the past, and if we do not make a clean sweep of the shortcomings and mistakes which the groups have had, our newly formed Party will suffer greatly. Are we going to go on maintaining the group spirit in our Communist Party? In no way! We must bury this spirit once and for all here today. But we would be naive to think that when we emerge from this meeting everything will go smoothly. No, we will have to wage a merciless struggle against the spirit and the unhealthy methods of the group work and will fight factions and factionalists without hesitation. We must emerge from this meeting freed from the feeling

of the superiority or infallibility of any group and armed with the feeling of the steel Marxist-Leninist unity of the Communist Party of Albania which we have formed.»

When we were discussing the political, ideological and organizational stands we had taken against the fascist occupiers and the quisling government, I made another short interpolation amongst those of comrades of various groups:

«We of the Korça group,» I pointed out, «have said and say that we have not been wrong either in line or the stand which we have maintained and continue to maintain against the fascist occupiers. In regard to the two other groups, and more precisely their leaders, through their wrong views, they have tried and up to a point have managed to hinder the anti-fascist activity of the rank-and-file communists, the youth and others.»

«That means to say,» objected Sadik Premte, «that you, too, are of the opinion that the Shkodra group and our 'Youth' Group have not been opposed to the Italian fascist occupation. This is an accusation...»

«I didn't say any such thing,» I replied.

«Koço Tashko said it openly, but that's what your remark is getting at,» continued Sadik.

«It isn't at all as Sadik Premte says,» I pointed out to the meeting. «The issues I am getting at are these:

«If Koço Tashko with his ill-controlled and irritable remarks has implied that the two other groups have not taken a stand against the occupiers, I dissociate myself from this opinion of his. All of us, together with the people, rose against the occupiers and the traitors, all of us came out in demonstrations and demanded weapons to fight, but we have to recognize that we were not in a position to organize the struggle and attack the enemy in the first days. Later we recovered, organized our resistance and propaganda against the occupier better and

thought more seriously about the war, but even then we did not manage to have all the groups do this work in the same way. My opinion is that the Korça group took a more correct view of the problems and the tasks ahead of us. The Shkodra group was resolutely opposed to the occupier, was anti-fascist, but, as I pointed out earlier, its leaders were not clear on a number of major issues of principle. Meanwhile, the leaders of the 'Youth' Group and precisely the two comrades who are here, Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte, were not at all clear on these issues and, moreover, there was an anti-communist and Trotskyite tinge to their views.»

«We protest again! You are making a grave accusation against Sadik and me,» said Anastas, springing to his feet. «What is the basis for what you say?!»

«I base what I said on a series of views and slogans which you have adopted and propagated,» I said and I explained the defeatist content of their slogan, «the time to fight has not come yet, because we have neither organization nor weapons,» and I went on to denounce and condemn the views of such leaders as Aristidh Qendro, Andrea Zisi and others that «we should infiltrate the Albanian fascist party and the police in order to find out what is being done there,» that «it should not be considered wrong to betray secrets to the police,» etc. In fact, the rank and file of the groups did not accept these slogans, but the anti-Marxist leaders whom I mentioned, who were agents of the bourgeoisie and the occupier, managed to impose themselves in a thousand ways on and keep the rank-and-file comrades under restraint.

«We had to explain the Soviet-German Non-aggression Pact to the comrades of the Korça group,» I continued. «We did this among the people, too, because this was a very delicate question which the enemy was exploiting

to the maximum, so we had to explain the content and aim of that pact to the comrades, to make clear to them and convince them that the Soviet Union was and remained what it had been, the glorious homeland of Lenin and Stalin.»

Continuing to explain this problem, I underlined that while the Shkodra group was not as active as it should have been, the «Youth» Group was totally inactive in this direction, indeed, it used the non-aggression pact to serve the Trotskyite theories of its leaders. «You see,» Anastas said, «it is proved that you were wrong and we were right when we said that the time to fight has not come,» and he continued, «we are right to consider that we must wait until the country is industrialized and the proletariat created and then form the party,» «that we must train the cadres before we hurl ourselves into the struggle,» «we must protect and not sacrifice the cadres,» and other such rubbish now well-known to all. However, this hostile work by the Trotskyite leaders of groups impeded the rallying of communist energies in resistance and struggle. These Trotskyite chiefs continued their defeatist activity even when the Soviet Union was attacked. They tried to sabotage the strikes and demonstrations which, in the end, the Korça group and Shkodra group managed to organize jointly.

I continued to speak also about the close collaboration we had managed to establish with the outstanding patriot, Myslim Peza, and with other patriots. I specially stressed the question of the peasantry, pointing out clearly its great role in our liberation war and saying that the Korça group had taken a correct view of this vital question in principle, but had done very little about it in practice. The others had underrated it both in theory and in practice, while Anastas Lula and company, with their anti-

Leninist theory, had abandoned the peasantry to the bourgeoisie and fascism.

I demanded that we should appreciate all these major questions correctly, because we had to make up for the time we had lost.

Fiery debates took place about these problems just as about the previous ones. Anastas' group capitulated. He was obliged to admit reluctantly that some of his ideas had been wrong, «but... that it wasn't precisely like that...» that «in practice, it was so but...» a hundred «buts». All his admissions were just to throw dust in our eyes, and, as life itself showed, they were rocks above and below the water, were mines laid in the road of our resistance and fight against the occupiers. This road had to be cleared for the Party and the people, the visible and invisible mines had to be defused. Therefore, during those days, at those fiery moments when the fate of the people and the Homeland was decided, the Albanian communists waged a great fierce battle and triumphed.

The communists of the groups who were present at this meeting were freed from a lot of harmful views with which they had crammed their heads. They brought them out in the open, discussed them freely and condemned them, made fierce criticisms of one another and gained immensely from this great school. In particular, our whole new Party which we had formed was to gain a great deal.

What would this Party be like, how would it be organized, what would be its minimum program for the times we were passing through? All the comrades of the groups who took part in the discussion of these vital questions gave their opinions which were in general in accord. I, too, dealt with this problem at length in my contribution, saying in essence:

«Comrades, we have decided the major issue, the main thing, we have founded the Communist Party of Albania on a Marxist-Leninist basis. Likewise, we have frankly discussed the good and bad aspects of the communist groups. It's true we have attacked the evils, but we must continue to struggle and, from now on, we must not allow these or similar mistakes dressed up in other forms to occur again in the new circumstances which the National Liberation War will create for us. We must put the good aspects of the groups, especially the positive aspects of the work they have done, in the service of the Party and the war, but we must not content ourselves with those few results which have been achieved. In order to strengthen the unity in the Party, from now on we must not permit any discrimination in the ranks of members of the Party irrespective from what group they have come. There must not be any group prejudices retained in the back of anyone's minds.»

«That's right,» interjected Vasil Shanto, «and I propose that from now on we should not hear anyone say: 'I am a member of this or that group.' From now on there are only members of the Communist Party of Albania.»

«I agree completely,» I said and continued. «There are no longer members or leaders of groups, they don't exist any more. From now on there will be the leadership of the Party, the Central Committee and the regional committees. The formation of the Party liquidated the groups for ever, hence the spirit and practice of their work must be eliminated, too. With the election of the Central Committee by this meeting we liquidate 'the power and influence' of leaders of communist groups. I repeat once more what Vasil said: there are no longer members of groups. From now on there are only members of the Communist Party of Albania.»

«Who will be the soldiers of the Party, that is, its first members? The comrades here discussed this and the others will discuss it latter. I associate myself with the idea that the soldiers of our Party will be the organized members of the former communist groups of Shkodra, Korça and the 'Youth' after they have been screened, therefore, we should take the decision that immediately after this meeting we should prepare exact lists of the members of groups as quickly as possible. I say exact meaning that the lists should not be enlarged with people who have not been active or who are suspect, in order to increase the number so that one or the other group will dominate in the Party. But neither should we present short lists in order to conceal and retain activists for eventual factional work outside the Party. These lists must be handed over as quickly as possible to the Central Committee which will be elected.

«There has been a great deal of discussion on the foundations on which the Party must be built. My opinion is that our Party should be built following the example of the Bolshevik Party, both organizationally and ideologically. According to this experience, as far as I know, its basic unit must be the cell, in which the communists will militate. The members of the cell will elect its secretary and the communists of the region or their delegates will elect the regional committee of the Communist Party of Albania. For the time being, I think that the Central Committee should appoint the main cadres of the regional committees and the political and organizational secretary until the conditions are created for their election to be done by the regional organizations of the Party. When we create suitable conditions, the whole Party will send delegates to the National Conference which will play the role of the Party Congress and in these circumstances, as such, will be the highest

instance of the leadership of the Party, which will determine its line and elect the Definitive Central Committee.»

In the meeting there were vigorous and concrete discussions, valuable debates and proposals about the functioning, norms and principles of the new Party. Almost all the comrades rose and spoke one after the other, or expressed their opinions in various interpolations. With these discussions and debates the programmatic line of the Party, the foundations and norms on which it would be built, were being worked out. Thus, amongst other things, we stressed:

«In our Party there will be democratic centralism, open and sincere bolshevik criticism and self-criticism will prevail. In all its activity our Party will base itself on and be guided by the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Our Party is against factions and groups, which it will fight mercilessly. Our Party will encourage the expression of opinions, but the opinion of the majority will predominate over that of the minority, which must obey the majority. Our Party must have steel discipline, must have Marxist-Leninist unity of thought and action. Without internal steel discipline and unity our Party, which will do battle with a large number of enemies, cannot lead the fight successfully.

«The Party will combat all anti-Marxist ideologies and currents. In order to accomplish this effectively, however, we must insist energetically on raising the theoretical, political and ideological level of the cadres and members of the Party by studying the Marxist-Leninist theory.

«Our Party must be the organized vanguard of the working class, while it considers the peasantry as a friendly class, an ally of the working class, and will rely heavily on it because our peasantry will play a major role,

both during the National Liberation War and after.»

This was an important problem which had to be stressed and all the communists had to be clear about it. Our Party had been founded as a Party of the working class, which would be guided by the Marxist-Leninist ideology regardless of the fact that in our country this class was very small, made up of a number of wage labourers, apprentices and craftsmen, and were scarcely tested in the experience of strikes and clashes, or trade-union and class struggles.

There had been workers' strikes in the past in various cities of our country, but they were on a small scale and not co-ordinated with one another, both because the number of workers was small and because there was no organization in trade-unions and no developed industrial bourgeoisie. The workers' strikes like those in Korça, Kuçova and Shkodra, naturally, have had an economic class character, but they had also assumed an anti-state character against the government and its oppressive measures. The strike with the most marked class character was that of the Kuçova workers, which was directed at the same time against capitalist exploiters, who were the Italian concession holders. While the «Puna» association in Korça had the initial forms of the rally of workers and craftsmen of the city to defend their economic rights against the employers. This association had also struggled for democratic and political rights up to the point that its members and sympathizers came out in the streets demanding «bread» and fighting with Zog's gendarmerie. Of course, I am not going to dwell at length on this problem here, because the Party has made a general analysis of this capital question and our historians and sociologists will certainly deepen it with further studies, but I want to point out that, when we founded the Party, we recognized the political, ideological and organizational short-

comings and weaknesses in the working class, but also recognized its fighting traditions, revolutionary spirit and historic mission, therefore at the Founding Meeting of the Party we underlined that our Party would be the organized vanguard detachment of the working class.

But, while bearing this in mind, the Party never underestimated the role and great weight of the peasantry in the war and revolution. From its earliest days the Party took into account that in the fight against the occupiers, it and the class which it represented had to rely on the peasantry. The peasants were oppressed to the limit, had little or no land, lived in mediaeval feudal ignorance and unheard of want. Added to the misery of the peasantry over the centuries caused by the beys, the feudal lords, the usurious grand and petty bourgeoisie, by the aghas and big landowners, was the oppression imposed by the Italian occupiers, the plunderers of the freedom and independence of the Homeland, who were bringing in their own colonists and driving the peasants from their land. Our peasants had great revolutionary traditions. They had fought more than the city-dwellers against a series of occupiers, against their enslaving laws, against taxes and so on. The mountains and the villages, from which our peasants poured down upon the enemies, have always been the centres of resistance and liberation struggles. The progressive elements of the city, whether fighters with the pen or the rifle, had the peasantry as their main base. In regard to the development of the knowledge, the language and schooling it can be said that this began in the cities, but when it came to fighting, the progressive and revolutionary elements of the cities had the peasantry as their allies. Naturally, in those times when the working class did not exist, the peasantry was subjected to various influences. Then, too, a struggle was waged over who would win the support of the peasantry, the emerg-

ing bourgeoisie or the beys, the feudal lords and the big landowners. The beys and the feudal lords supported by the Ottoman and other occupiers maintained their domination over the peasantry by means of force, although often enough they could not restrain the outbursts of the anger of the peasantry against occupiers and feudal lords. The folk songs, the glorious history of each epoch handed down by word of mouth, tell of this.

However, the progressive elements who were emerging from the urban bourgeoisie and the progressive patriotic elements with influence, who broke away from their class of beys and feudal lords, struggled to awaken the peasantry and became competitive with the feudal class in order to undermine its influence in the countryside.

Of course, there were other factors which competed in the struggle, which I have briefly mentioned, such as the various religions, in particular, the heads of which assisted both the foreigners and the exploiting class of feudal lords and the bourgeois speculators. Nevertheless, among the believers, among people of all religions, especially the Moslems and the Orthodox Christians, there were liberal currents which stressed the siding of the peasantry with the progressive bourgeoisie. The patriotic revolutionary spirit, the struggle against poverty and oppression impelled our proud peasantry not towards atheism, as we communists understand it, but on the course of thinking: «I have a religion, because that's the way it is, because I was born of that religion and that's how I will die.» In the great struggle which awaited us we were going to rely precisely on these masses, on these traditions, therefore in my contribution I pointed out:

«The Party must combat sectarianism and opportunism, both in thought and action. We must increase the ranks of the Party, first of all, with sound worker elements, but also with peasants and other revolu-

tionary fighters. All those who are admitted to the Party must be tested in struggle for the achievement of its aims. We must close the doors of the Party to spies and provocateurs, to gossips and cowards, to factionalists, anarchists and intriguers who will try to penetrate its ranks in order to cause confusion and to create the terrain for anti-Party Trotskyite work.

«The merciless organized struggle against the occupiers and traitors must occupy the main place in the program of our Party. Our aim is the general armed uprising, in which the whole people must be mobilized, but in order to reach this stage the simpler forms of struggle, demonstrations, acts of sabotage, executions of enemies and repeated actions must be carried out. In the cities the Party must organize the guerrilla units, while in the villages it must form partisan *çeta* and units of freedom fighters from which, in the course of the war, it will organize the big units which will form the people's army. Therefore, the Party must extend its work among the masses and carry out wide-ranging political activity everywhere in order to mobilize the people, all honest individuals, all the patriotic and anti-fascist forces in the great struggle. The whole people must be convinced that the only way to escape from slavery is to fight arms in hand and that they will triumph in this fight. The people must be convinced about the strength and the correct line of the Party. Our new Party must be in the forefront of the fight; wherever the danger is greatest, wherever the sacrifices are greatest, that is where the communists must be.

«The Party must tell the people that it is fighting so they themselves will take power and, when this is achieved, the Party would carry out major economic, cultural and social reforms. The Party will tell the people that, 'freedom must be won, it is not donated.' Therefore, the Communist

Party of Albania which has been formed will lead the National Liberation War and the people to victory. This must be the great mission of the Party in general outline.»

After these opinions had been expressed and all the comrades had discussed these important problems, finally we decided unanimously that these principles and the conclusions and decisions of this historic meeting, which founded the Communist Party of Albania, should be summed up in the «Resolution of the Meeting of the Main Communist Groups of Albania on the Formation of the Party».

After all this we came to the final question: the election of the Central Committee. First, the comrades agreed to the proposal that this Committee which we would elect would be provisional until the calling of a National Conference of the Party. But who would be elected? This was not a simple problem, bearing in mind that chiefs of the former groups, those who had always pretended to be at the head of everything, were taking part in the meeting, and they would certainly have liked to be in the «leadership» of the new Party. And then, which former head of a group would be «the chief» at the head of the Central Committee? The Communist Party of Albania had been founded, but the confusion of the former groups had not been and could not be eliminated so quickly from the minds and consciousness of their members. Therefore, many comrades including me were of the opinion that the former chiefs of the groups should be left out of the leadership altogether. This decision would have exceptional importance for unity of leadership of the newly formed Party, and consequently for the whole Party.

Because we judged matters in this way, we had to find a way at all costs to leave out the chiefs. And the possibilities for this existed. Besides the period before the

meeting, the six or seven days of debates at the meeting, especially, had shown up the chiefs in their true colours. They had been attacked more heavily than anyone else and blamed for the former weaknesses in the communist movement of Albania.

At this point Miladin, in his role of arbitre among the groups, intervened to make a wise interpolation. He said:

«Comrades, here I am taking account of an opinion or a proposal which comrade Tashko made sometimes ago. He proposed that as one of the heads of the former groups he should not be elected to the Central Committee. I think that the proposal is valid, not only for him, but also for the others. Therefore, looking at Koço's personal proposal in a general context, I suggest to the meeting that none of the leaders of the former groups, neither chairmen nor vice-chairmen, should be elected to the Provisional Central Committee».

Immediately I remembered that during a conversation before the meeting, at which some of our comrades and Miladin Popović were present, when we were talking about how the chiefs of the groups had hindered our unity in the past and were still a hindrance to it, Koço Tashko's face had flushed with anger and on the spur of the moment he had said:

«If I have been a hindrance then remove me. Though it is not I who have hindered unity, but those of the Shkodra and 'Youth' groups...»

I was convinced that Koço did this simply for demagoguery, in order to appear «generous», «principled», «devoted to the cause», etc. Moreover, Koço had repeated this statement in passing in one of his interventions during the meeting.

When Miladin said this, Koço Tashko seemed stunned and he said:

«Just hang on a minute..., don't misunderstand me... What I meant was...»

«You were quite right,» said Pilo in a serious tone, but not without a touch of irony. «I agree that the chiefs should not be elected.»

Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte kept their tempers in check. They did not know who to take it out on, Koço or themselves. Only Vasil Shanto took the decision of the meeting calmly and with the generosity of a true and devoted communist. I don't remember who proposed the «compromise», which was accepted, that the list of candidates to the Central Committee should be prepared and presented by a commission of three people made up of the comrades who had been more or less at the head of the groups and were taking part in the meeting. So, Koço Tashko, Vasil Shanto and Anastas Lula were appointed to the commission. But this commission did not operate apart from consultations with the comrades present at the meeting and not just each with the comrades of his own group, but also in consultation with others. The list was drawn up taking into account the past of the candidates, which was their role in the meeting, also bearing in mind their class origin and establishing a correct proportion between those with worker origin or status and intellectuals. It was taken into account that, within the possibilities, a certain balance should be maintained in including the soundest representatives from the former groups in the Central Committee.

Thus, after discussion of these questions and the characteristics of the candidates which were presented, the meeting elected the Provisional Central Committee of seven persons.

In order to ensure unity there was no election for

chairman or secretary of the Central Committee. **(8)** Complete parity was made the foundation of the whole work as it had been for the preparation and the conduct of the proceedings of the Meeting for the Founding of the Party, Nothing should be done which would create the impression that one group had more rights and advantages than the other.

Thus, after seven days of intensive work the meeting came to an end with a great victory, the founding of the Communist Party of Albania, with a correct line and a clear program.

With joy in our hearts and full of enthusiasm we set to work with zeal and optimism.

Taken from «When the Party
Was Born», 3rd Alb. ed.,
Tirana 1983

8 Known historical facts and official documents of the Party show that Comrade Enver Hoxha led the (Provisional) Central Committee. He was elected General Secretary of the CPA at the 1st National Conference, held on 17-22 March 1943 in Labinot (Elbasan). The Conference, also, elected the Definitive Central Committee, comprised of 15 members and 5 alternate members, and the Political Bureau.

REFLECTIONS

July 15, 1981

We Albanians, as a people, a Party and state have always been and are against imperialist wars, against any unjust war which is aimed at the enslavement, slaughter and exploitation of the peoples. This has its own concrete historical reasons. Throughout their existence the Albanian people have suffered greatly as a result of such wars which have been directly detrimental to their freedom, territorial integrity and national independence. All these wars without exception have brought our people bloodshed, exploitation and the fragmentation of their territory. This is an undeniable reality.

Our people have faced up to these wars heroically and have fought with unflinching determination against savage enemies in defence of their freedom, independence, integrity, culture and their very existence, in defence of what has been and is theirs. At the same time, in the course of these wars our people have learned how to fight better, have gained experience enabling them to understand the problems that faced them, the aims, tactics, plans and plots of external and internal enemies and, on this basis, they have been able to build the tactics of

their resistance in order to withstand the evil-doing of the enemies. This, too, is a reality. To be able to distinguish friends from foes, false friends from true friends, is a question of experience. «Mistakes are often the best teachers,» our people say. They also say: «The waters may sleep but not the enemy». These two sayings, these two great teachings, have emerged from the profound philosophical thinking of the people, from our people's great experience of life, and have guided them throughout the ages of their history.

The struggle of a people for national existence does not and cannot depend on the combinations and diplomatic intrigues of other states, be they big or small. It depends on the consciousness of the people themselves, when they attain understanding of what their rights and true interests are, have confidence in their own strength at any moment and in any situation, and know how to defend these rights and interests with iron will, sound logic, and revolutionary struggle. Only then the strength of the people becomes invincible, is multiplied a hundredfold and bursts out like an irresistible hurricane.

We Albanians have proceeded on such a course. History proves this, otherwise we would not exist today, the invaders would have assimilated us or the enemies would have wiped us out; otherwise we would not have succeeded in building a more advanced society, socialist society, in which the people are in power. Under the leadership of the Party and with this rich experience of struggles and wars for freedom, our people fought, achieved victory and succeeded in building the new society. Moreover, they are determined to develop this society still further and will never allow their freedom, independence and the victories attained to slip from their hands or be stolen from them by any enemy, great or small, old or new.

We know that there are individuals and alien forces who cannot stand Albania and its people and do not want them to exist, who do not want the Albanian people to build their life in the way they themselves have decided, who are displeased that small Albania exists as a socialist state amidst an ocean of capitalist states with various labels.

But they can do nothing to socialist Albania. The times and the ratio of forces have changed greatly in favour of our people and Albania. Yes, they may attack the People's Socialist Republic of Albania from outside, and we never forget or neglect this possibility, but we shall defend ourselves and we know how to defend ourselves and win. Throughout their history the Albanian people have known how to defend themselves. Our Party of Labour has further enriched and tempered the unity of our people in the war for defence. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the peoples who fight to defend their freedom and independence wage a just war, hence they are invincible. And the Albanian people are invincible. They may try to divide us, to take the fortress from within, but this will not occur as long as the Party of Labour of Albania, a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party, remains at the head of the Albanian people. Our fortress is not like the fortresses of their dreams. We have built it with our own hands on our own soil, through the bloodshed and toil of the sons of this land. There are no cracks or breaches in its walls and it has not been built with rotten materials. It is able to withstand all the waves of war just as it has withstood those that have crushed upon it in the past. The imperialist, social-imperialist and other enemies may try to make our Party deviate as they succeeded in doing with other parties, but this will never occur with us because never for one moment will the Party of Labour of Albania deviate from the Marxist-Leninist theory and the Leninist norms of the life of the party at any time

or on any question. It is precisely this resolute stand, this steadfast loyalty to Marxism-Leninism that keeps our Party pure and makes it strong. The Party is closely linked with the people, it exists, lives and fights in the interests of the people who gave birth to it, who are the daily witnesses of the great leading role of the Party in the progress of the country and the raising of their economic well-being, and social and cultural level.

So, it is clear why the Albanian people are against predatory imperialist wars. They have suffered the terrible grave consequences of such wars on their own backs. That is why our people and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania are for peace between nations. The experience of the Albanian people over the centuries and our Marxist-Leninist ideology which guides the Party of Labour of Albania in every action are evident proof of their correct stand on this great problem, irrespective of what those who, in fact, are opponents of peace between nations say.

Our people have never attacked other peoples, they have never coveted or laid even a finger on what belongs to others, on the contrary, although the Albanians have been the victims of the evil and predatory aims and ambitions of some states, they have gone to their aid. This, too, is a reality which cannot be concealed by any kind of propaganda or demagoguery. Some may present historical events in books and in the press the other way round, but they cannot do so with real history, because it is perpetuated in the bosom of the peoples themselves, by the peoples themselves who hand it down from one generation to another.

However we are very clear about the fact that peace between peoples cannot be achieved without the just revolutionary struggle of the peoples themselves against those who do not want this peace, who do not want the freedom and sovereignty of peoples, do not want

the peoples to free themselves from the heavy chains of enslavement and savage exploitation with which the capitalist powers have shackled them for centuries. This is precisely where the peoples who want complete freedom and their imperialist oppressors and plunderers reach the parting of their ways. This is a class struggle both internal and on an international plane. In this struggle the enemies of the peoples, the capitalists of all hues and calibres, strive to preserve their plunder and domination of the peoples, while the latter fight to win their rights and put an end to the exploitation of man by man once and for all.

In their unjust predatory war against the peoples, the capitalists are guided by their own ideology, but the peoples, too, have their ideology, Marxism-Leninism, the immortal ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, which guide them towards liberation from capital.

This is the source of the contradictions and struggle between two systems which represent two different societies, capitalist and socialist, which have completely opposite aims and interests, in struggle with and diametrically opposed to each other in regard to the ways of the development of mankind in the future. This is also the source of the policy of states with different systems in the world. The policy of capitalist-revisionist bourgeois states serves the interests of the bourgeois class which rules in those countries. It exercises this rule through a structure and superstructure which oppresses and exploits the working class, the peasantry and the other working masses of the country. This rule is exercised also through all kinds of alliances which the capitalist-revisionist bourgeoisie forms with that of the big capitalist, imperialist and social-imperialist states.

The strength of the infrastructure of various states with capitalist systems and with nuances in the form of

the state and what it is called varies depending on their different levels of socio-economic potential to which their unequal development gives rise. The efforts to eliminate these different levels and their consequences cause contradictions within the ranks of the bourgeois class in power, different strata and representatives of which, through demagogic political manoeuvres strive to ensure that state power never slips from the hands of their class. They disguise these deceptive manoeuvres, which are very dangerous for the peoples, with the so-called democratic freedoms of the capitalist system, with the struggle each of their parties wages from its own positions «for the rights of electors, the working masses», with the struggle which parties of various descriptions wage even in parliament, etc. But there is nothing democratic about these parties and what they represent. The «struggle» between them is a struggle between financial-political clans, a struggle of words, a struggle conducted in corridors and drawing-rooms in the interests neither of the working masses nor of the electors. On the contrary, as soon as they get into parliament, the representatives of these parties, the deputies elected «through free, democratic ballot» approve laws which are completely in favour of the bourgeoisie, to protect its immense capital, i.e., to prolong the existence of the rule of the bourgeoisie over the working masses.

In capitalist society the opposition between political currents and the economic reforms proclaimed by the various bourgeois parties serve only to ensure their power or to share it and the colossal profits among themselves, at the expense of the masses. Only the illusion is created that they are allegedly fighting in the interests of the masses, whereas in fact and in essence they are fighting for the relentless impoverishment of the masses, for the exploitation of their blood and sweat.

Thus in capitalist-revisionist bourgeois society, the polarization into oppressors and oppressed, into exploiters and exploited, is deepened. Similar class relations exist also among capitalist and revisionist states. The biggest states, those with the greatest economic and military power, impose their law in various ways on the smaller capitalist and revisionist states. The economic dependence which is imposed on the small states by the big ones undoubtedly brings all-round political dependence and submission. The independence of these states is fictitious and serves only to embellish their constitutions and deceive the peoples. It is an irrefutable fact that today a number of capitalist-revisionist states are dependent on and aligned with the imperialist superpowers and their policies through a thousand interconnecting threads, and not only through such military organisms as NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, or monopoly economic communities such as the European Common Market and Comecon. Even the other capitalist-revisionist states, which are not members of these blocs, are by no means independent from or non-aligned with the big powers and the imperialist and social-imperialist superpowers. These so-called independent states have got into permanent debt to the big capitalist powers. Consequently, and there can be no doubt about this, their political independence has no solid basis, because everyone knows that there can be no political independence without economic independence. Past and present international practice confirms this. If this unwritten capitalist law did not operate in an inflexible way in the relations of subjection between the provider and the receiver of money or commodities on credits or loans, the all-round pressure of the bigger on the smaller, of the very rich and the rich on the poor and the very poor would not exist, the instability in the policy of states would not exist, the struggle for markets, neo-colonialism, the

interference of one state in the internal affairs of another state, which has become a common occurrence all over the world and even develops into bloody local armed conflicts, would not exist. The general crisis itself determines the chain of economic-political dependence of the capitalist-revisionist states on one another.

To conceal this situation of economic-political subjection from the peoples, to fail to show them the reasons for and the sources of this general political instability in the world, to fail to make clear to them who oppresses and exploits them, to use all sorts of anti-social and anti-revolutionary political formulas, to conceal the great and uninterrupted arming of the superpowers and the imperialist powers as well as their frenzied preparations for war, is a great and unpardonable crime against mankind.

There are plenty of wordmongers who create «pacifist organizations», who gather and shout about problems of disarmament and peace, who divide the nations into «non-aligned», into many «worlds» or «undeveloped countries», but none of these things prevents the imperialists and social-imperialists, who defy every international forum or conference, from going ahead with their hegemonic and expansionist policy. They continue to rule over other peoples and countries, to divide their spheres of political, economic and military-strategic influence, to make colossal profits from the imposed sale of stock-piles of goods and weapons of all kinds and to throw a few crumbs of these profits, as credits and investments, to certain states and support those governments which are more inclined to obey their imperialist policy, keep the peoples of their own countries in bondage and give the superpowers and the developed capitalist states the maximum concessions for the exploitation of their national wealth. Thus they are totally dependent on the credits which the imperialist powers give them.

In the world today many contradictions are developing, becoming more profound and increasing in scope and intensity. There are profound and acute contradictions between the superpowers, between the superpowers and the industrialized capitalist countries, between them and other countries of the world with different systems and strange descriptions such as «developing countries», «undeveloped countries», «backward countries», «poor countries», etc. All these things make the general situation more dangerous. At the same time, the entire capitalist-revisionist world is wallowing in an unprecedented economic, political and moral crisis.

The capitalist and revisionist bourgeoisie are making all-round efforts to unload the catastrophic consequences of this crisis on to the backs of the working masses and peoples of their own or other countries and to keep their profits intact. Therefore the burden of crisis falls, first of all, on the working masses, who, although it is they who produce the material blessings, are oppressed by the exploiting class.

This tendency of the bourgeoisie makes its class contradictions with the proletariat and the working masses even deeper, widens the gulf between rich and poor, aggravates the inter-imperialist contradictions, those between the «allies» in the capitalist and revisionist groupings, and between the metropolis and the colonial and neo-colonial countries.

Today the biggest and most acute contradiction is that between world capitalism and the working class and working masses of all the countries of the world. This contradiction cannot be resolved in the capitalist-revisionist regimes. In this field concrete struggles are being waged for national liberation, for social liberation and for reforms, and there are strikes and demonstrations of a political-economic character. All these things have

shaken the foundations of the world capitalist bourgeoisie and are shaking them more and more each day, building up to revolutionary situations and the outburst of revolutions.

In the international arena, different forms of struggle are being developed by the two sides. The use of violence, the baton and the capitalist-revisionist demagoguery has increased in frequency and brutality. From its arsenal of weapons, the capitalist bourgeoisie, frightened by the rising tide of revolutions, has made extensive use of the corruption of cliques, both secret and in power, while spreading intellectual and moral degeneration with all the means of propaganda. The bourgeoisie is also using its favourite weapon in times of crisis, terrorism, by means of which it tries to arouse revulsion among the people against the burning desire for liberation from the shackles of capital, and by identifying terrorism with the activity of the genuine revolutionaries, to frighten the masses, to turn them against the revolution, to preserve its order of oppression and to emerge without great pain from the grave lethal crisis.

The world of labour, the world which demands social and national liberation, is fighting with its own means against these savage measures of struggle and violence of the capitalist bourgeoisie.

Amidst this chaos created by their economic, political and moral crisis, the imperialist and revisionist enemies are making a great ado about the «isolated position and situation» of our country. But is Albania isolated from the foreign world, as the revisionists of all hues and the various imperialist enemies claim and want it to be?

The answer to this question depends on the class and political standpoint from which one views this question.

From our state, ideological and political standpoint,

the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has never been, is not, and will not be isolated. We have diplomatic relations with the majority of the states⁽¹⁾ of the world, and there is nothing to prevent us from having such relations with the remaining ones. With the United States of America and the Soviet Union, however, we do not want such relations, whereas Great Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany have unpaid debts to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the former for the stolen gold and the latter for war reparations.

This is how things stand, also, in regard to our mutual trade relations with many capitalist-revisionist countries. The trade between us and these countries is conducted with clearing or *cash** In this field, too, there is no isolation.

When it is politically advantageous and when the other party agrees, we also establish and develop cultural relations with many capitalist countries, exchange experience in the fields of education, culture and technology. For our part, the extension of activities in these fields depends only on the material possibilities. Hence, in this field, too, there is no isolation.

In regard to the development of tourism, we do not do this on that scale or in those forms that the capitalist and revisionist countries do, or with their aims of making profits and spreading degeneration. We permit tourism for friends and well-wishers of socialist Albania, for honest people from countries and states which maintain friendly and correct stands towards our country. Tourism in Albania is not an industry and a means of corruption or hooliganism. And because tourism of that kind is not permitted in our country, the enemies say that the

¹ In 1986 Albania had diplomatic relations with 105 states.

* English in the original.

People's Socialist Republic of Albania «is a closed, isolated country». But when, if ever, have our imperialist and revisionist enemies spoken well of the Albanian people and of Albania? When have they not slandered our policy, our ancient and modern history and our victories? However this has done Albania and the Albanian people no harm. On the contrary their prestige and authority have been raised higher and higher. Hence, from our standpoint and the standpoint of the truth we are not and never will be isolated. We have told the imperialists and revisionists and we tell them once again that Albania is not an inn with its doors wide open for pigs and sows to enter. In the cities, the mountains, the plains and the shores of our socialist Homeland there is and will be no room for their ugly, degenerate way of life and thinking.

We know that the revisionist states (Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, etc.) and the capitalist states call our country isolated from the world because it has not entered and will not enter their orbit, because it is not economically dependent on them, does not accept credits from or get into debt to them, because it is not politically dependent on them, does not allow its independence and sovereignty to be violated and alters neither its state order nor its Marxist-Leninist ideology. This is how it has been and how it will be in the future, too.

In the opinion of some of these states, the independent policy which the People's Socialist Republic of Albania pursues in all fields and in all circumstances is something of an anachronism. We can understand why they have this opinion. For them it is an anachronism that our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not in a crisis, that it is not influenced by the great world crisis, that our state has political stability, that our economy is developing year by year, that there are absolu-

tely no price rises for any goods, that there is no unemployment, economic and political emigration, economic strikes or political demonstrations, as there are in the capitalist-revisionist countries all over the world.

But we can say that Albania, with the social order it is building, is a case isolated from the various states which are in a political, economic and moral crisis. On this count and because of the very good, sound situation in our country, yes, they are right to say that we are «isolated» from them and the evils of their social order and policy.

Therefore, with its principled and independent policy, with its courage and the tangible results it has achieved, small as it is, Albania plays a dual socio-political role in the international arena — on the one hand it exposes the capitalist-revisionist order and its policy, on the other hand it plays a constructive revolutionary role, encouraging the peoples of the world who are fighting for their liberation from the yoke of capital.

It is from the prism of this great role that the question of whether or not socialist Albania is isolated must be judged.

Socialist Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania which leads it, love, respect and defend all the peoples of the world, while they, on their part, are in unity with us. Little socialist. Albania has become a great example in which the working masses place their hopes. In these conditions and circumstances, then, there can be no talk of isolation of Albania. It is the capitalists, the revisionists, the imperialists and social-imperialists that are isolated, discredited and hated by the peoples. And it is precisely they who try to present the People's Socialist Republic of Albania as isolated, who strive, without success, to distort its correct opinions and its victories, and in the final analysis, this is part of their efforts to isolate the Marxist-Leninist theory itself, to call it outdated and

anachronistic. In this context they try to prove that «socialism can be built» guided by any kind of reformist, opportunist or even fascist ideology.

In the «strict» sense, the capitalist-revisionist states are not worried by the existence of a small country and people like ours, but in a broader sense the ideology which guides our people, the genuine socialist society which is being built successfully in our country, where there are no political or economic troubles and a sound culture is being developed, worry them a great deal. That is why the enemies of the peoples try to present the sound moral-political situation of our people in a distorted way and to belittle the great and uninterrupted socio-economic progress of our country.

The struggle of all enemies of the peoples against our socialist country proceeds from the same class positions but with variations in intensity. This comes about because, while it is true that there is unity between capitalists and revisionists as enemies of socialism, there are also differences, struggles and feuds between them. There are struggles and feuds also between big and small states, between highly developed, less developed, and totally undeveloped countries.

In the present epoch of the great crisis of capitalism, the capitalist-revisionist states are politically and economically dependent on one another. Of course the strongest and the biggest are less dependent on the weakest and the smallest, but all of them are sensitive to and affected by the contradictions between them which are becoming more and more acute. These contradictions have their political and economic effect and are expressed in the stands of every state, internally and in the international relations between various states.

The present epoch can be called the epoch of the total destabilization of capitalism, of instability in pol-

itics, of general insecurity and gloomy and unclear prospects for the future. The idea of war predominates, because the world is being impelled in that direction through the unjust imperialist wars, although still localized, which are instigated by the imperialists and social-imperialists. They think that the profound and acute contradictions which are eroding them will be resolved by means of war.

The peoples cannot and must not put any trust in the policy of the capitalist-revisionist states and in the demagogy of this policy. What the peoples must clearly discern from the concrete facts, through the dense fog with which the superstructure of the capitalist-revisionist regime obscures their vision, distorts the reality, deceives the people and tries to blacken the road of the revolution, is not the external forms of the structure of capitalist-revisionist states, but the content, the essence of this structure, whose hands wield this weapon and which class it serves.

This is a great, serious problem which is difficult to understand and solve, but it is not insurmountable. The forces which oppose the capitalist attack are larger and more powerful. But they must be fully awakened, their consciousness tempered. These forces must be organized on a national and international scale. The device on which the strength of capitalism is based is its «divide and rule» policy. By this means capitalism crushes the weakest and makes him unable to object, binds him with a thousand threads so that he will always be a slave as an individual, a people or a state, exploits him to the maximum and creates the illusion that he is living in a «free democratic world» in which he ought to be content with the miserable life he leads, for which he should be grateful to his overlord. The peoples must oppose this device with the glorious slogan of Marx: «Workers of all countries, un-

ite!», a slogan which has terrified the capitalist bourgeoisie at all times.

In this chaotic and unequal development no progress can be made without all kinds of efforts and without struggle between oppressors and oppressed, between exploiters and exploited. The capitalist states vie with one another for supremacy. In most cases, because of their different interests, this contest between them develops into discord. Whoever comes out on top, he who manages to trip his rival and make him fall, he who succeeds in making the law and in imposing his policy of domination, is presented as the cleverest, the most successful politician. However his ruling position is not everlasting, because he creates two kinds of opponents: individuals from his own class who are rivals for ruling positions and capitalist profits, and the great opponent, the working class and the broad working masses who, through various forms of class struggle, erode the capitalist order from within, causing splits and bringing defeat after defeat upon it.

Impelled by the lure of illegal gains, its tendency to enslave peoples and engage in unscrupulous speculation at the cost of their blood and sweat, the capitalist world will never find stability in any field of life. Although the great advances achieved are the result of the toil and sweat of the working masses, they are excluded from any benefits from them. The masses have been polarized on one side, and as such, are permanent opponents of the inhuman exploitation by the capitalist bourgeoisie.

In this eroding reality of defeat and political-economic instability, the capitalist-revisionist states are trying to find a temporary solution for the most acute and dangerous problems. However the solutions they offer cannot be satisfactory, because they are one-sided in their aim and applied in a terrain which is quaking as a

result of the popular upheavals. The great antagonisms within the ranks of capital and those between the bourgeoisie and the working class and masses of working people make these anti-popular solutions ineffective.

Seen from this class angle, the present development of the capitalist world leads to a more realistic understanding of the policy which capital follows to prolong its existence, of the methods and tactics of its struggle against the peoples.

The various states, of the world, whatever their social order, have their own foreign policies. This is based on certain principles which have a class character, which represent and serve the class in power and are adapted to the political circumstances existing within the country and in the relations with other states, i.e., in the international arena. Among these states there are some which, at certain moments and in certain circumstances, come out with a policy «independent» from others, differing temporarily in certain aspects or circumstances, with the aim of getting certain political, economic and military concessions. These differences in form and sometimes even in content reflect the strength or the weakness of the bourgeois class in power in a given state and the influence of one state over the other, an influence which is determined by the decrease or increase of their economic and military potential. The principle of gain and domination, the stability or instability of the situation of a capitalist-revisionist country, make the policy of these states unstable and inclined towards the strongest, the most powerful. This leads to economic and political dependence of one bourgeois state on another bourgeois state, or to the grouping of a number of states against the grouping of other rival states. Irrespective of the contradictions they have with one another, these bour-

geois states have common denominators which compel them to support one another, although they also have other opposing factors which erode the relations between them from within, which cause disturbances, economic instability and political revolts, which consequently weaken their general and bilateral links. At present these inter-state phenomena in the capitalist countries have assumed an irrestrainable development, and it is very difficult to co-ordinate, harmonize or stabilize them. Hence, the great crisis in the capitalist order is not only economic but also political.

The relations of production and the policy which supports these relations in all capitalist states, taken separately or in the relations between them, are undergoing continual catastrophic transformations. Whatever happens in any of these states inevitably influences the other states. The metamorphoses, the changes, the economic and political crises which occur in a powerful capitalist state cannot fail to have repercussions in all the other states which are dependent on that power, even though they present themselves as allegedly independent of it. To justify these phenomena, this chaotic development, a specious language has been found, using all kinds of different theories which vary according to the circumstances, countries and tendencies. All these theories are labelled «democratic» or «revolutionary» and, in practice, are accompanied by the creation of all kinds of organizations to give the impression that a struggle is being waged against the evils of the time. However, the world today is faced with the fact that the evil are fighting the evil and rivalling with one another. Thus, all are arming and, at the same time, all are fighting allegedly for disarmament, all say they «are against war», but each of them is struggling with his own means and in his own way, and frequently with joint means, to undermine

peace; all of them speak of non-interference in the internal affairs of others, but in one way or the other they all interfere brutally in the internal affairs of others by means of weapons, politics, diplomacy and the «influx of dollars» and all kinds of credits. The bourgeoisie has also created its own method of presenting all these criminal and reprehensible acts, a peculiar ethic about the expression of opinions and open and hidden aims in politics and in practice. Whoever deviates from the form and content of this ethic is a «heretic», is «undesirable», is an enemy of the «civilized world»!

Every individual, person, people, state or class not in power must willy-nilly proceed on the road determined by the «all-powerful» capitalist oligarchy, which alone is capable of finding «a correct solution» to every problem vital to states and peoples. Imperialism, social-imperialism and world monopoly capitalism are trying to preserve this absolute hegemony and to make it permanent in theory and practice.

We think that this hegemony should be combated and destroyed mercilessly. The world must break out of this vicious circle of modern spiritual, economic and political enslavement. This modern enslavement is a cruel deed of the bourgeois capitalist class and the economic and political order which it has created. The working class of every country, the broad masses of the working people who are oppressed and exploited, are the destroyers of this capitalist hegemony. Marxism-Leninism must guide all these masses in the revolution for the new, genuine socialist life without exploiters and exploited.

Socialist Albania is the offspring of the proletarian revolution. Guided by the Marxist-Leninist theory it has built the new society, socialist society. The Party of Labour of Albania has always based itself on the theory

of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, has applied this theory without vacillations or deviations, fearlessly and in opposition to and uncompromising struggle with the capitalist-revisionist ideologies.

The foreign policy of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, too, is a policy guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It is principled and unchanging in its strategy. This policy supports the revolutionary movement of the working class and world proletariat for liberation from capital, hence it is against the latter, against its policy of oppression and exploitation, against its structure and infrastructure, it supports the struggle of the peoples for freedom, independence, social progress and socialism and relies on their solidarity. It is against any form of aggression and military intervention of one state against another, against colonial exploitation, against any form of tutelage, dictate and hegemony, national oppression and racial discrimination. It upholds the principle of the self-determination of peoples, the exercise of complete national sovereignty and the equality of all countries in international relations.

Hence the crucial orientations of the foreign policy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania are: support for the liberation of peoples from any bondage and exploitation by reactionary internal or external forces, struggle against imperialist wars and any other unjust war, struggle for genuine disarmament and peace, struggle for friendship between peoples and the denunciation of all enemies and every means they use to sabotage this friendship and understanding among peoples.

The reactionary capitalist and revisionist bourgeoisie and its states are acting against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, but Albania acts against them, too. The bourgeois-capitalist-revisionist states consider the cor-

rect, revolutionary policy from the firm positions of our theory as interference in their internal affairs, while their own policy of plots and sabotage against peoples they consider not interference in our internal affairs, but a correct and normal policy already accepted by world opinion. But this is not true. World opinion, the broad masses of the peoples, do not accept the bourgeois revisionist world outlook which covers up the deception, oppression and exploitation. The masses who hear about and understand our political stands on many international problems, reflect, make comparisons about the state of things presented, weigh up our arguments and those of our opponents, and approve, support and adopt our stands. This is precisely the real major reason why the anti-Marxists and the modern revisionists of all hues are so worried. Otherwise they would not concoct slanders against the correct political stands of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania. They do so because our policy, proceeding from the positions of the working class and based on Marxism-Leninism, exposes their pseudo-Marxist policy which proceeds from capitalist positions. Also thanks to this exposure, the broad working masses realize that, irrespective of external appearances, the structure and superstructure of the revisionist states are identical with those of other capitalist states. In practice, their content, essence and results are in unity.

Precisely because the Party of Labour of Albania and our state expose and fight the exploiting order (under both names, capitalist and revisionist), both politically and through the positive example of the successful construction of socialism in Albania, they have an honoured name in the world, not only among the ranks of the working class, but also among progressive elements of the bourgeoisie, the youth and intellectuals.

The modern revisionists are greatly worried by the powerful voice of the Party of Labour of Albania, because both in policy and in theory it is opposed to their efforts to pass revisionism for «renovated Marxism» and suitable for our time, when, according to them, capitalist society must be rescued from destruction, private ownership of the means of production must be preserved, and the proletarian revolution, i.e., the seizure of power by the working class, must be avoided. The modern revisionists do not want the Marxist-Leninists to expose their work of sabotage. Therefore the modern revisionists call the exposure which our Party of Labour makes of their anti-Marxist theories, of the state-economic orders of the modern revisionists, and of their pro-capitalist internal and external policy interference in their internal affairs. But we are not concerned about what they say about us.

Not just today, not only now, but ever since they were founded, our Party and proletarian state have declared publicly that they will apply an open, principled foreign policy, a policy of good neighbourliness and relations with all states on the basis of equality, respect for sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual benefit. And they have adhered to this policy without the slightest deviation. However they have also made it clear to anybody who cares to listen that such a policy does not mean concessions to or giving up the resolute struggle for the defence of our guiding ideology, Marxism-Leninism, the struggle against greedy imperialism and capitalism, or support for the just struggles of the world proletariat for social liberation and the national liberation struggles of the peoples against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

No one and no force can stop the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Socialist

Republic of Albania from voicing their own opinion, not only on the problems and political events in which our socialist Homeland, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, is directly interested or which have to do with its supreme interests, but also on other general world problems and events, because these, too, are the concern of all and not just of some.

In persistently following this policy, our Party and state do not proceed from interests of the moment, to please or to serve this or that foreign power, big or small. They are not urged to this policy by any of these powers, but they never lose sight of the principles of the basic strategy of defence of the freedom and interests of the peoples, of the cause of the world proletariat and its revolution. They do not alter their strategy according to the changing circumstances. The stability of our policy and the correctness of our stands result from this.

We do not impose our foreign policy on anybody. Nevertheless, there are many people around the world, even various diplomatic chancelleries, that seek information about our policy and stands, because in them they see something original which does not exist in the policy and stands of other states (either capitalist or revisionist): truthfulness, maturity and the courage to voice one's opinions openly. No capitalist-revisionist state can follow such an open, correct and well-considered policy, because of the complexity of the political and economic dependence, religious influences and the class contradictions to which they are subject. Socialist Albania does not suffer from any such complex of restrictive and inhibiting factors and precisely this is the basis for the strength of its influence. There are others who find it very difficult to understand our policy and position, who wonder how such a small country as Albania can follow such a policy which, according to their judgement and in their

own words, contains good points and truths which only the Albanians, but none of the others, can proclaim.

The Party of Labour of Albania is a strong party not because of the number of its members, but because of the Marxist-Leninist ideology which inspires and guides it. Likewise the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a powerful state not because of the size of its territory or population, but because it lives in, fights for and builds the new socialist society, because the Party and the people are in complete unity, conscious of their actions, where they are going and how they will get there. The main, cardinal problems of life are clear to them: they must build a secure present, without forgetting the past and foreseeing and preparing the future.

Someone might think that pursuing such a course of development is something temporary, abnormal, unorthodox, linked with the life and activity of certain leaders and that «there can be no departure» from the line of development which bourgeois capitalist society and its *sous-fifres**, the modern revisionists, have established. On this issue, too, they are gravely mistaken because they cannot see and do not want to see the great strength of socialism and our triumphant doctrine, Marxism-Leninism, which destroys the old society and builds the new one, do not know either the Party of Labour or the Albanian people, do not recognize and cannot understand the steel intellectual, spiritual and material unity between them.

The great instability of capitalist society foundering in all-round crisis is a result of the struggle of the discontented peoples against the enslaving system, and undoubtedly, of the inspiration they gain from the revolutionary ideology, Marxism-Leninism, to find the genuine right road in the darkness of the modern epoch.

* Underlings (French in the original).

We Albanian communists are conscious of the difficulties we encounter and will encounter on our road, but at the same time we are fully convinced that we shall overcome them, because we are on the right road. We take each cautious step with confidence, after weighing up the issues and making careful calculations, we are clear about the period we live in, watch the changes and developments in the world with a critical Marxist-Leninist eye, and try, not without success, to assess these developments correctly, defining their positive and negative aspects, and benefiting from the former while combating the latter. We build our tactics, which are neither unprincipled nor momentary, in conformity with and to strengthen our unwavering revolutionary strategy.

We Albanian communists, sons and daughters of this people, whose joys and sorrows we know very well, are the main basis of all the victories which the people and the Party of Labour of Albania have won together. This is where the solid foundations of our political, economic and cultural achievements lie. Socialist society in our country has been built by a people who have ancient traditions, but at the same time, have plenty of will, wisdom, courage and the vigour of youth. History has taught them to fight for their freedom, for a good life, for justice. History has taught them to distinguish the peoples from their evil, oppressing and cunning leaders; it has taught the Albanian people to love the other peoples, never to harm them but only help them, never to become the instrument of anyone to oppress others, but to fight for their own rights and the rights of others. The Party with its Marxist-Leninist ideology implanted these lofty virtues more deeply in their consciousness, strengthened them, made them even clearer and more understandable so that they flow in the pure bloodstream of every Albanian.

Our people are modest, industrious people who are

not in the habit of boasting to anybody about anything. They have understood that their independence and the victories achieved must be defended as they were won, arms in hand, even with their blood if need be, and must be further consolidated with their own strength and resources, through struggle and efforts. Some think that this cannot be done, that loans and credits from the capitalists and revisionists are indispensable. This is not true. When true freedom and independence are understood correctly by a people and developed correctly by their leadership, they bring them well-being, develop them and make them conscious of their own destiny. Foreign loans and credits have never been and are not in the interests of the peoples. They bring all kinds of misfortunes upon the peoples. For them the loans and credits are a noose around their necks. Daily life in countries nearby and remote from us proves this very clearly.

The brilliant road of the Albanian people is the road of all peoples who fight for national and social liberation, for socialism. And the peoples of the world, who fight with all their possibilities and in all forms, are the powerful allies of small but invincible, socialist Albania. This strengthens the positions of our correct Marxist-Leninist policy and enhances the authority of our country in the international arena. In this context we must continuously strengthen our Party of Labour and our People's Socialist Republic, make our economy more powerful, raise the well-being and cultural level of the working masses and continue the successful construction of the new society, socialist society.

«The Superpowers»

ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

*Extracts from the report submitted to the 8th Congress
of the PLA*

November 1, 1981

I

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY AND THE TASKS OF THE PARTY

Our socialist economy enters the new five-year period of its development with stability, dynamic and with great possibilities to develop and extend social production further and raise its efficiency in all directions.

The main objectives of the 6th Five-year Plan have been successfully attained in general. This has made the material-technical base of the country still stronger, has further increased the resources of raw materials and energy, has ensured better conditions for the harmonious, rapid and ceaseless development of the economy. During the past five-year plan the development of the productive forces continued at high rates, the intensification of the economy developed further and the technical-scientific revolution saw important new advances. Industry, agriculture and the other branches of the economy made further progress. In 1980, as against 1975, social production rose about 25 per cent and industrial production more than 34 per cent, at a rate 2 to 3 times higher than the growth of the population.

Through the consistent application of the economic policy of the Party, perceptible improvements were made in the structure of industrial production, and the proportion of means of production in total production increased. Industry met the needs of the population better and its role in the all-round development of the economy and the defence of the country was increased.

Compared with the 5th Five-year Plan, agricultural production rose more than 21 per cent. Agriculture met the needs of the country for bread grain, food products and the most essential raw materials, and increased the volume of export of agricultural products.

To fulfil the targets of the 6th Five-year Plan the Party and our state raised the level of utilization of the internal resources and possibilities of the country. The uninterrupted financing of the development of the economy and culture was ensured, about 300 important projects were built and commissioned and goods exports rose over 51 per cent.

The growing economic power and the implementation of a number of measures of an economic and social character guaranteed the level of well-being already achieved and led to its further uplift. The real per capita income of the population increased both in town and countryside. The retail goods turnover went up about 20 per cent. The housing conditions of the population were further improved and measures were taken to expand social services. About 20 thousand people graduated from the higher schools and more than 113 thousand from the secondary schools, or 57 per cent more than in the 5th Five-year Plan.

These achievements in the general socio-economic development of the country assume special significance if we bear in mind what is occurring in the capitalist-revisionist world, where the economic crisis, with its grave consequences for the working masses and the whole life

of these countries has caused stagnation and decline in production. These achievements mark a great victory for our Party and people.

On behalf of the Party and the people, from the tribune of this Congress I hail and congratulate the workers, the specialists and the cadres of construction and industry who, responding to the call of the Party, even in the difficult conditions which the Chinese revisionists created for us, proved up to the task and succeeded in building and commissioning the great projects of the 6th Five-year Plan, which further strengthened our socialist Homeland.

Despite the successes achieved, we are also aware that some targets of the five-year plan were not fulfilled. The Party, the state organs and the working collectives have carefully analysed these failures and have drawn lessons in order to eliminate weaknesses and shortcomings in the work of organization and management of the economy.

The great achievements of historic significance already made in all fields, as well as the rich experience gained in the work and struggle of the Party and people for the construction and defence of socialism, constitute a powerful political, economic and social base from which to advance confidently and boldly.

On the basis of the general line and the economic policy of the Party for the construction of socialism, the Central Committee, after all-sided work and study and a broad popular consultation, prepared the draft-directives for the 7th Five-year Plan of the development of the economy and culture for the period 1981-1985, which it presents to the Congress for examination and endorsement. The fundamental task of this five-year plan is: **«The general development of the economy, relying completely on our own forces, on the basis of deepening the socialist industrialization of the country, the strengthening and intensification of agriculture, raising the efficiency of the economy, the develop-**

ment of the technical-scientific revolution and perfecting the socialist relations of production, in order to guarantee and gradually raise the material well-being and the cultural level of the masses of the working people and to further strengthen the socialist order and the defence capacity of the Homeland.»

The main directions and objectives of the development of the economy and culture during the 7th Five-year Plan, which is distinguished by a number of special characteristics, are synthesized in this task.

This is the first five-year plan which will be carried out relying entirely on our own forces and possibilities.

Today Albania is the only country in the world which is developing and advancing on the socialist road without any kind of aid or credit from abroad. This is a great but glorious test for our people and Party, and the victory is certain, because, by proceeding on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, we prepared ourselves long ago for this decisive step.

The objectives and tasks of the new five-year plan are greater than in any other plan, but they are scientifically based and fully achievable. For the five years 1981-1985, the volume of social production and investments will be larger than the volume realized over the first four five-year plans taken together, while the volume of exports will be even larger.

Important tasks are envisaged for the development of education and culture, the health service, housing and other public services.

In setting these targets and rates, account has been taken both of the possibilities the economy has and will provide and of the needs for the development of the economy and the employment of the new active forces, for the strengthening of the defence of the country and the increase of reserves, and for the development of the social

and cultural sectors, as well as for ever better fulfilling the growing demands of the population. Many of the targets of this five-year plan, especially those which have to do with the utilization of reserves of oil and minerals, the allocation of investments, etc., have also been seen to in close connection with the development of the economy in the future five-year plans, when we will be faced with even greater needs and demands.

During the 7th Five-year Plan some important structural improvements will be made in the field of production, the circulation of goods and consumption by the people.

These improvements will involve energy resources, black metallurgy, the engineering industry, agriculture, transport, finances and mass consumer goods, etc. The improvements envisaged will lead to intensification of the economy, raise its efficiency and make it more capable of meeting the needs of the country and of coping better with the encirclement and blockade and the pressure of the economic crisis of the capitalist and revisionist world.

The development and strengthening of the material-technical base of the country, as always, will be closely linked with the improvement of various aspects of the economic relations in the city and, especially, in the countryside. Important measures have been and are being taken for the further development of the cooperativist system and the restriction of the personal plot, for the extension of specialization and cooperation, the strengthening of the organization and management of production, for a better linking of the remuneration for work with quantity and quality, savings and the fulfilment of targets of the plan. These measures will be carried still further with the aim of ceaselessly strengthening our socialist order.

1. THE FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF INDUSTRY —
A DECISIVE FACTOR FOR THE GENERAL
ADVANCE OF THE COUNTRY

The socialist industrialization of the country, which has developed from one five-year plan to the other as a great and ceaseless process, has occupied and continues to occupy the main place in the economic policy of the Party. It has been and is a decisive factor for the general advance of the country on the road of socialism. The creation and strengthening of our multi-branched, heavy and light industry, based firmly on our own resources and assets and with clear prospects of development, is a monumental deed of our Party and people, achieved with great toil, sacrifice and unrivalled heroism, a deed of historic importance for the present and future generations.

In the 7th Five-year Plan our industry will advance still further and develop on a broad front. About 46 per cent of all the investments of the five-year plan will be made in this branch. The aim of the policy of the Party for the development of industry is: to consolidate the multi-branched structure of industry, giving priority, as always, to heavy industry; to maintain and further improve the positive balance of energy resources, attaching particular importance to the oil industry; to further develop the mineral extracting and processing industry, while also starting to utilize new minerals; to make tangible improvements in the structure of means of production and consumer goods; to put industry even more in the service of the intensification of agriculture; to expand the existing productive capacities through their reconstruction and modernization.

The Party devotes special attention to the energy industry, to the extraction of oil, gas, coal and the production of electric power. We have created a powerful and independent energy system which meets the growing needs of

the country for energy and earns important incomes in hard currency from its exports. This is a major victory for the correct policy of the Party and a reliable basis for the development of the national economy as a whole.

This victory must be consolidated and carried further, in the first place, by making investments and increasing production, but also by using all our energy resources with the greatest economy, strict control and thrift. The solution of these problems calls for well-organized, disciplined and systematic work with sound scientific bases and methods. The development of this crucial branch of major strategic importance is put forward as an imperative duty, especially in the conditions of the world energy crisis.

The extraction and processing of oil and gas will occupy the main place in our energy resources. This is a great but fully realizable task, because it is based on the existing resources and the known and tapped reserves.

The achievement of the targets for the extraction of oil and gas and the increase of the effectiveness of the major expenditure made in this branch of industry require that the oil workers, specialists and cadres give special attention to improving prospecting and extraction methods, basing themselves completely on the achievements of science, on the application of rigorous technical and working discipline.

The expenditure on the extraction of oil and gas must be made on the basis of profound studies and with responsibility. Thorough-going technical, organizational and material measures must be taken to increase oil extraction, not only from the new deposits, but also from the older ones, using intensification and secondary methods much better than up till now. In this vital sector we must proceed with economy, with reserves guaranteed and proved, and utilize oil and gas frugally, thinking of today and also of the future. The scientific and technical forces must involve

themselves more deeply in speeding up the exploitation of bituminous sands with a high level of efficiency, because these are a great asset of the country, which must be brought into economic circulation as soon as possible.

Coal, which is a fuel used on a mass scale and of great economic benefit, occupies an important place in the energy resources of the country.

Attention should be centered not only on the rational exploitation of the existing coal mines, but also on the opening of profitable new mines. Prospecting for coals of higher calorific value and coking coals must be extended. Work must be done everywhere to replace liquid fuels with coal and for its frugal use. Likewise, it is also necessary to take measures for the enrichment and briquetting of coals, to increase the economic benefits from their use.

In order to keep ahead of the growing needs for electric power, as well as for the intensive exploitation of the water resources in which our country is very rich, during this five-year plan the work for the completion of the Koman hydro-power station, which will be the most powerful we have built up to now, will be stepped up to major proportions and preparations will be made for the construction of other hydro-power stations, big and small, not only to cope with present and future needs, but also to increase the export of electric power.

The production and use of electric power must be seen in unity. The Party and the state and economic organs must work to change people's concepts, so that electric power is appreciated as a major national asset which must be used thriftily and with rigorous control in all fields, especially in that of material production, where scientifically studied norms must be established for every kilowatt consumed.

The 7th Five-year Plan opens broad perspectives for

the extracting and processing industry of useful minerals.

Conditions have now been created for the extraction of other useful minerals also, such as phosphorite, quartzite, rock salt, dolomite, olivinite, bauxite, etc.

Current and future needs pose the task of expanding the extraction and enrichment of low-grade minerals and increasing the proportion of useful elements recovered from them in order to raise the value of our mineral resources, to exploit even those deposits, old or new, which are of poor quality, but of which there are large reserves.

Special attention will be paid to metallurgy, in general, and iron and steel production, in particular, not only to deepen the full cycle processing of our main minerals, but also to strengthen the independence of our economy from imports. Therefore, our metallurgical workers must mobilize all their strength and skills so that they learn and master thoroughly, with strict discipline and on a scientific basis, the technology of smelting minerals and the many ways of processing metals, in order to utilize all the useful main and associated elements of the complex ores, to reduce the costs of materials and energy, which are still high. Thorough studies and intensive work are required for the big extensions which will continue at the «Steel of the Party» metallurgical combine, for the setting up of plants to produce tubes of various kinds, steel plate and carbonic products.

Now that we have our own steel and have built **a powerful mechanical engineering industry** the conditions have been created to set this branch greater tasks. The production of the engineering industry in 1985 will be 43-45 per cent greater than in 1980.

The engineering industry successfully fulfilled the task of producing spare parts, set by the 7th Congress of the Party, meeting 95 per cent of the needs of the economy for them. In this five-year plan this achievement must

be consolidated by radically improving quality and greatly increasing the reconditioning of the parts replaced.

In the years of this five-year plan the engineering industry will engage on a larger scale in the production of equipment and machinery for the construction of new production lines and factories, for various reconstructions and extensions of productive capacities. To carry out such a task demands improved organization and management of this branch of industry, and the technology of processing, planning, the cooperation and the standardization of production must be put on the most scientific basis possible.

Urgent and comprehensive measures must be taken especially for the preparation of the technological and structural designs of equipment and machinery for the new projects to be built and the reconstructions to be done during this five-year plan. Much of this equipment and machinery will be produced for the first time. The designing and production of this equipment and machinery on time and with high quality is one of the most difficult tasks which our engineering industry has to cope with.

The commencement of machine building on a large scale by the engineering industry forcefully poses the need to raise the level of qualification of the people involved and develop their creative thinking, the need to train higher and middle cadres even for narrow profiles and particular specialities, making the appropriate changes in the programs of vocational schools and the University for this purpose.

The chemical industry will undergo great expansion and development during this five-year plan. Compared with 1980, in 1985 its production will go up 63-65 per cent. Particular importance will be given to increasing production of phosphate fertilizers and chemicals for plant protection. Now that many basic products and a number of industrial residues and associated components of minerals

are available, the chemists and other specialists must study and produce a much wider range of chemical products and reagents in order to reduce imports of them as soon as possible. The beginnings of chemical synthesis, based mainly on local raw materials, must also be carried forward with the aim that its products become a good source of exports in the not-too-distant future.

The Party has always borne in mind that, in the development of industry as a whole, **the production of mass consumer goods must be increased in keeping with the needs of the population, ensuring the stability and continuous raising of the material and cultural level of the working masses.**

A real change for the better is necessary in the products of the light and food-processing industry, and a radical improvement must be achieved in the structure, range, quality, packaging and the lowering of the cost of the goods. This change can be made only through complete and effective measures in the fields of organization and management, and the planning and technology of production. Above all, artisan concepts must be radically changed, ingenuity and creative thinking must be developed, there must be swift and efficient action to make positive changes, to open a broad way to the new everywhere.

Huge investments have been made for the establishment and development of industry, and a whole army of qualified and devoted workers, who are a powerful support for the development of this vital sector of the economy, has been trained.

The attainment of the great targets laid down by the Party requires that the workers of industry increase the efficiency of production and the productivity of labour, and raise their creative activity to a higher level. They must utilize the many productive capacities at their disposal

extensively and master the use of the new projects and production lines that will be completed and commissioned, as well as those which will be reconstructed in the years of this five-year plan, as thoroughly as possible. With courage and determination and relying on the results of studies and science, they must carry forward and modernize the technology of production, improve its qualitative and financial indices.

The people and the Party are fully confident that the workers of all branches of industry, conscious of the situation we are going through, will multiply their efforts and step up their struggle to achieve the objectives and fulfil the great tasks which this Congress is setting for the development and strengthening of our socialist industry.

2. AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION MUST BE FURTHER INTENSIFIED AND THE SOCIALIST RELATIONS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE PERFECTED

Our Party has worked out and implemented a Marxist-Leninist agrarian policy, taking account of the historical conditions and the concrete circumstances in which our people's revolution triumphed and the country embarked on the road of socialism. In the conditions of a very backward agrarian country, the Party had to solve two problems simultaneously: both the socialist transformation of the countryside and the all-round development of agriculture. Agriculture had to be in a position to feed the rural population and to make its great contribution to the industrialization of the country and the development of the national economy. **Achievement of these fundamental tasks required not any kind of development of agriculture, but precisely its socialist development on the basis of modern,**

large-scale production closely linked with all the other branches and sectors of the economy.

The revolutionary transformations and the progress achieved in agriculture represent one of the greatest victories of the line and policy of the Party for the construction of socialism. The fact that during nearly four decades of the people's state power agricultural production in general in our country has continued to increase about 2 times more rapidly than the population, that the real per capita income of the peasantry has gone up 10 to 20 per cent from one five-year plan to another, that now, as compared with 1960, agricultural production has increased 1.7 times per unit of arable land and 1.6 times per agricultural worker, is clear evidence of the correctness of this policy. In the 6th Five-year Plan, too, although the targets were not fully accomplished according to plan, the average annual production was 21.4 per cent higher as compared with the 5th Five-year Plan.

Consistently following its agrarian policy, the Party has set new, more important objectives for the development of agriculture and the progress of our socialist countryside during the 7th Five-year Plan. The tasks which the Central Committee of the Party has set for the sector of agriculture in the new five-year plan aim to increase production in order to ensure ever better supplies of all the food for the people and improve its structure; to substantially increase the raw materials for the light and food-processing industry; to gradually eliminate imports of that part of foodstuffs and agricultural raw materials which are still brought from abroad; to increase the volume of exports of processed and unprocessed agricultural products; to increase and strengthen the necessary reserve. On the basis of these objectives, as well as through other economic and social measures, the well-being of the peasantry will be raised and the distinctions

between town and countryside will be further reduced.

These major problems for the development of agriculture have to do with the present and the future of the country. For all these reasons, in this five-year plan agriculture will occupy a special and more important place than hitherto.

As always, grain production remains the primary task of agriculture. Each year we must supply the bread needed by the ever growing population, fulfil increasing requirements for concentrated and industrialized foods for livestock, as well as other essential needs for grain. These problems cannot be solved by constantly increasing the area planted to grain. On the contrary, the stress must be laid more and more on increasing yields and improving the structure of the types of grain grown. This becomes even more essential in the conditions in which the population is growing at high rates and, as a consequence, the area of arable land per capita tends to decrease. Therefore, the increase of about 20 per cent in the production of grain in the 7th Five-year Plan, as against the 6th Five-year Plan, must be achieved entirely through increased yields. The tasks in this field are very serious and require exceptional attention from the organs of the Party, the state, the economy and all the workers of agriculture.

Apart from the increase in grain production, measures must be stepped up in all the links in the procurement, handling, storing and use of grain in order to avoid any loss or damage. We must also aim at reducing the consumption of bread per head of population, both in town and countryside. We must proceed on this course with a scientifically studied program to improve the structure of the people's food by increasing the production and use of vegetables, potatoes, fruits, livestock products, etc. The problem is that we must provide the population with more milk, meat, vegetables, etc., and reduce the consumption of bread,

thus not reducing the standard of living but raising it.

Hence, parallel with the increase of the production of vegetables, potatoes and beans per head of population and the reduction of their cost, more organized work must be done to study people's demands and tastes and to transform the existing almost artisan mentality regarding the production, transport, industrialization and sale of these products. The solid tasks envisaged in this five-year plan concerning vegetables, potatoes and beans require the implementation of all-round agro-technical measures, as well as the concentration and specialization of the production of them, especially around the big cities, with the aim that the plans must be fulfilled in quantity, in variety and on time throughout the year.

The state and the cooperatives have made major investments for the development of fruit-growing. Up till now, however, the effectiveness of these investments, especially in the cooperatives, has been low and the weight of this sector in agricultural production is still relatively small. Hence, to realize the increasing tasks for the development of fruit-growing it is necessary, first of all, that this branch should be appreciated more correctly, and that ideas underrating it and manifestations of lack of interest in this great wealth with promise for the future of our country, must be combated. In the orchards and olive groves all the necessary services must be fully carried out and the appropriate conditions provided for extensive irrigation.

The new investments must be concentrated mainly on the completion of existing blocks and the reconstruction of the existing vineyards. Studies must be carried out in the field of fruit-growing and a great deal of work done to add to and improve new varieties, the planting of orchards of various kinds around the cities must be proceeded with

and, within the possibilities, the practice of joint state-cooperative investments should be applied.

The needs of the people and the development of a multi-branched agriculture require improvement in the structure of plantings of industrial crops, concentration and specialization of production in the districts and economies which have had the best results, ensuring supplies of seeds which produce heavy crops yielding high levels of industrial products, and the application of advanced technology in production. We must adhere to the orientation for industrial crops to fulfil the needs of the people and the economy ever better with the local production.

In regard to the forest economy, along with measures to proceed more rapidly towards balancing cutting with the annual natural growth of forest trees, we must aim to transform the forests into complex economies in which, apart from extracting timber, secondary forest products, such as plants producing essential oils and medicinal herbs, are cultivated and harvested, and more is done to develop and utilize the zooculture.

The objectives put forward in the new five-year plan concerning livestock-farming require much greater attention from the organs of the Party, the state and the economy and all the workers of agriculture for this important branch. Despite the progress made, the level of production and modernization of the livestock sector does not respond to the big investments made and the increasing needs for animal products. To this end it is necessary to radically change the concepts on and attitudes towards the needs and requirements arising from the development of large-scale livestock-farming with many kinds of animals, and built on a scientific basis.

The number-one problem in the field of livestock-farming is the application of a complete system of appropriate measures to double and treble the yields of forage

crops and the productive capacity of natural pastures, to gather and utilize all the reserves and by-products of agriculture, as well as to apply a more advanced technology in the processing of concentrated foods and other agricultural and industrial products for the livestock.

We have made and will continue to make investments and take measures to set up modern complexes for the strengthening of livestock-farming, for the production of meat and eggs, for the industrial processing and ensilaging of feed for animals. However, care must be taken to ensure that these investments are made in time and give the proper effect. On the other hand, it must be kept clearly in mind that the overwhelming part of the livestock, this great national asset, is in the agricultural cooperatives and in the herds formed from the animals belonging to the members of these cooperatives. Therefore, very great attention must be paid to the proper management of these animals, the increase of production and reduction of the cost of livestock products in all areas of the country.

The fulfilment of the targets envisaged in the 7th Five-year Plan for agriculture will be achieved, more than ever before, through intensification. The land and all the relatively powerful and diversified material and technical base which has been created must be utilized with the greatest possible efficiency, with the aim of getting the maximum agricultural and livestock products with the least possible expenditure — this is the task set.

While setting major tasks for stepping up the intensification of agriculture, in the future, too, persistent efforts must continue to extend the area of arable land, because our country still has land which can be opened up in the hilly and mountainous areas, as well as to gain new areas of land through desalinization, etc.

A major problem, which has to do with the intensification of agriculture, is a better harmonization, based

on scientific criteria, of all the human, material, agro-technical and natural factors which condition agricultural production. This is a general problem which concerns every economy, district or area. The specialists, cadres and vanguard workers at the base, the economic and planning organs, as well as the scientific research institutions, have here a broad field for studies and creative activity and innovation.

In the future, too, investments and care for the land must constitute the main direction of the work for the intensification and increase of agricultural production. This calls for the application of comprehensive measures to increase the fertility of the land and protect it against erosion, to enrich and improve the soil through a combined and integral system of fertilizers. It requires the production and use of seeds with high productive capacity, resistant to diseases, pests and unfavourable natural factors.

The many problems related to the intensification of agriculture can be successfully solved only by placing all agricultural production on rigorously scientific foundations. The 8th Plenum of the CC of the Party gave orientations and directives of very great importance to all the scientific organisms in agriculture, from the base to the centre. It is a prime duty of the party organizations, the state and economic organs to ensure that this program is persistently applied. To this end it is essential that a correct concept should be formed of the great importance and role of scientific research and experimentation in agriculture and that all organizational measures are taken to ensure that the results of these studies find application in large-scale production as quickly as possible.

In the context of the work that will be carried out in agriculture during this five-year plan, the Central Committee of the Party proposes to the Congress that **a series of important measures for the intensification of agricul-**

tural production, giving priority to production in the more fertile plains of the country, should be applied within a ten-year period. The first stage of this program, to be applied in the 7th Five-year Plan, covers more than 100,000 hectares of land in the area of the coastal plains. The aim of this action is to increase agricultural and livestock production in the areas in which the work and investments yield greater and more rapid results. This will also create favourable conditions for a more rapid development of the cooperatives and for the gradual transition from the property of the group to the property of the whole people. Undertaking this action will not affect the investments and material resources necessary for the development of agriculture in the other areas of the country. On the contrary, work will continue for the further development and strengthening of all agricultural cooperatives.

Success in carrying out this great task requires careful work, well-programmed and organized, by the Ministry of Agriculture, the State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Finance and other central institutions and party and state organs in the districts which are included in the zone where the higher level of intensification of agriculture will be applied.

The level already achieved in the development of the productive forces and the new steps, which will be taken in the 7th Five-year Plan and in the future, will be accompanied and supported by the further improvement of the socialist relations in the countryside. The Central Committee of the Party has made a meticulous study of and approved the revolutionary initiatives of the peasantry for the further restriction of the cooperativist plot and the formation of joint herds from the members' personal livestock, and has taken or is taking all-round measures to give this progressive process in the countryside proper support. The Party is highly appreciative of the revolution-

ary spirit and ardent patriotism of the cooperativist peasantry in taking this step of special importance for the strengthening of the cooperativist system in our country.

It is fully convinced that the restriction of the personal plot and the formation of joint herds will certainly lead to increased agricultural and livestock production, to guaranteeing and further raising the well-being of the peasantry and the further consolidation of the spirit of socialist collectivism. Thus, on the basis of the rise in production and the general well-being of the peasantry, the plot, as a temporary auxiliary economy, is gradually losing its importance and will eventually wither away completely.

The implementation of the program for speeding up the intensification of agricultural production in the country's lowland area will also bring about important transformations in the socialist relations of production in this zone. With the big investments, which the state will make in the cooperatives of this zone, the proportion of the state-owned means of production will increase. This will lead gradually to restriction of the sphere of the relations of cooperativist property, until, at a later period, the latter turns into property of the whole people. Until this phase is reached, the cooperativists in the zone in which agriculture will be intensified at higher rates, will continue to be paid in the current forms, with norms and workdays. Meanwhile, we shall work towards gradually raising their remuneration to the level of the wages of the workers of state farms.

Parallel with this, the work will continue to consolidate the higher-type cooperatives, some of which will be transformed into state farms. This will serve as an experience for the future, too. Other higher-type cooperatives will be set up in the lowland zones. Some cooperatives of the hilly and mountainous zones also may become higher-type

cooperatives, depending on their development and the possibilities of the state.

While programming these new steps, the Party will continue to devote great attention in the future to the development and strengthening of the cooperatives in the hilly and mountainous zones. A large part of the population of the country lives in these zones which include a considerable area of the arable land. The speeding up of intensification of agriculture in the plains will provide the state with greater material and financial possibilities to make investments and give greater assistance to the hilly and mountainous zones.

Special attention and care must be given to the development and strengthening of all the state farms, combating the shortcomings and weaknesses which exist in some of them today. The task which the Party set long ago, that the state farms should be in the vanguard, must be carried out persistently.

The majestic objectives of the new five-year plan open up prospects of all-round development and progress for our agriculture and the socialist countryside. To attain these objectives requires the mobilization and persistent work of all the working people of agriculture, perfection of the planning, organization and management of agricultural production and of all the subsequent links in the chain: the organs of procurement, the light and food-processing industries, internal and foreign trade. The Ministry of Agriculture and its dependent organs and institutions, in particular, are faced with important duties in order to ensure that they are equal to the major tasks for the development of agriculture which this Congress is setting.

The successful achievement of the targets in the field of agriculture will be a major victory for the agrarian policy of the Party, which is the diametrical opposite of the policy pursued in the revisionist countries, where agriculture has

landed in an impasse. As everyone knows, the Leninist road of collectivization has long been abandoned in those countries. In the Soviet Union and elsewhere, the existing form of collective capitalism is now associated, to a large degree, with direct forms of private property. The individual private economies are regarded by the revisionists as a main source for the production of meat, milk and other agricultural products, moreover, they are even being given the animals of the kolkhozes and sovkhoses to feed and raise, thus liquidating any trace of the socialist system in the countryside. This is the course that has led the agriculture of many of these countries, in which the shortage of food and agricultural raw materials has become one of the most serious problems for the life of the working masses today, into a profound crisis.

5. THE LEVEL OF WELL-BEING OF THE PEOPLE MUST BE GUARANTEED AND GRADUALLY RAISED

The construction of socialist society is an all-sided revolutionary process. Therefore, the Party has seen the development of production in unity with the strengthening of the socialist social order, the fulfilment of the material and cultural needs of the working masses with their communist education, the well-being of the whole people with the strengthening of the independence and defence potential of the Homeland, the general and collective with the personal, the present with the future, the development of the town with the progress of the countryside.

In the development of production and all other social activities the Party has always had the working man, the fulfilment of his material and cultural needs, in the centre of its attention. During the 6th Five-year Plan, too, although the set targets were not fully reached, the

purchasing power and the real income per head of population rose both in town and in countryside, the supply of mass consumer goods steadily increased, and the housing conditions of the working people were further improved. There have been no price rises in food-stuffs, or industrial goods, fuels and electric power, house rents or charges for services for the people. The fund of social consumption increased 20 per cent and each family received benefits averaging nearly 4 000 leks a year from this fund.

With the development of industry, agriculture and the other branches of the economy during the 7th Five-year Plan, the material well-being and the cultural level of the people will be guaranteed and raised. Despite the huge program of investments and expenditure for the development of the economy and the increase in the norm of accumulation, the real income per capita of the population will go up 8-10 per cent. The rate of increase in real income in the countryside will be more than double that in the town. The production of mass consumer goods will increase 33-35 per cent and services for the people 45-47 per cent. There will be increased supplies of meat, fish, eggs, vegetables, potatoes and fruit. Improvements are envisaged in the structure of mass consumer products and the supply of durable household goods, in order to make living conditions easier and to ensure a more cultured family life.

To attain the objectives in the field of well-being, the work and efforts must be concentrated, in the first place, on fulfilling the targets for increasing production and raising its efficiency in industry, agriculture and all the other branches and sectors. Special attention must be paid to ensure knowledge and implementation of the requirements of the laws which govern production and distribution, the circulation of goods and money in socialism. The productivity of labour must increase more rapidly than the per capita income, the national income must increase more

rapidly than the purchasing power of the population, the purchasing power of the population must be covered with goods and services taking into account not only their total quantity, but also the suitability of their structure. Violation of these proportions would bring about disorder in the monetary circulation, which cannot be conceived or achieved apart from production, the circulation of products and various goods, and the creation and distribution of incomes.

The working people of the trade sector are faced with major tasks in order to serve the people and meet their daily needs and requirements better. They must radically improve their work, collaborate more closely with the other organs of the economy, make profound studies, organize a cultured trade, enhance their active role in production and become a barrier to poor quality products. Special care must be given to the sale of food-stuffs in the countryside, both by the state trade network and by the cooperatives, in order to give proper support to the initiatives and the measures applied recently for the further reduction of the cooperativist personal plot and the formation of joint herds from the personal livestock of the cooperativists.

The improvement of the housing conditions of the population has always been one of the important issues of the Party's policy in the field of well-being. Today, about 80 per cent of the population lives in houses built during the years of the people's state power. During the 6th Five-year Plan, more than 56 thousand flats and houses were built by the state and the people themselves. It is essential to speed up the rates of housing construction in order to solve the problems of housing better than has been done up till now. Therefore, during the 7th Five-year Plan it is envisaged that more than 80 thousand new flats and houses will be built to accommodate about 400 thousand people.

Although house rents are among the lowest in the world, they have not been and will not be raised.

The organs of communal economy have major tasks for the maintenance of this asset which keeps increasing from year to year. However, they are faced with even greater tasks for the extension of services for the people, for the radical improvement of these services in quality and for the reduction of their cost, and in particular, for the extension of communal and repair services to the countryside. In regard to these and other problems connected with the daily life of the people, there must be greater responsibility and interest from the executive committees of the districts, which frequently concern themselves mostly with the fulfilment of production plans.

The education and cultural development of the working people and the protection and strengthening of their health have always been at the centre of attention of our Party and socialist state. Raising the level of education and culture of the masses constitutes a condition and sound basis for the economic and social progress of the whole country, for strengthening the defence potential of the Homeland, and for the constant improvement of the life of the people. The increased level of knowledge and culture of the people represents a great potential for the realization of the current and future plans, for the advance of technical and scientific progress to new heights. Therefore, during the new five-year plan education, culture and science will be further developed.

The number of pupils enrolled in secondary schools will grow considerably. Besides the children from the cities, more and more children from the countryside will be included in secondary schooling. Vocational secondary schools will be extended and profolized, in order to respond better to the rapid development of the economy, the creation of new branches and the introduction of new technologies in

production. About 160 thousand pupils will graduate from all categories of secondary schools during this five-year period, as against 113 thousand during the last five-year period.

Special attention will be given to the development of higher education, in which 45 per cent more students than in the 6th Five-year Plan will be enrolled. New profiles will be opened and post-university qualification and specialization will be extended.

New steps forward will be taken in the various sectors of culture, just as in schooling, so that their work extends and deepens among the masses and serves their education better. Publication of political, scientific, technical and artistic books will increase. The total printed will be 1 million more than in the last five-year plan. Cinematography will assume further development. The radiotelevision network will be extended through the setting up of relay and repeater stations with the aim of covering all the zones of the country. During the 7th Five-year Plan colour television broadcasts will begin. For the revolutionary and patriotic education of the working people new museums will be built in the towns and villages and the existing ones will be further enriched. Important projects in this field are the Museum of National History in Tirana, the Skanderbeg Museum in Kruja, the Museum of People's Material Culture in Shkodra, etc.

In this five-year plan, more funds are allocated for the development of physical culture and sports. Sports facilities will be extended and new sports palaces and stadiums will be built. They will serve the physical training and recreation of the youth, making them better prepared for work and defence. Those taking part in sports and physical culture must respond to this care of the Party by attaining the highest possible level of results.

A genuine revolution has been carried out in the pro-

tection of the health of the people during the years of the people's state power. The network of different health institutions has been greatly extended, the medical service has been continually improved and all the other measures for the protection and strengthening of the health of the people have been extended. This successful course will be continued during the 7th Five-year Plan, too. The all-round prophylactic measures will be extended further and undergo a qualitative improvement in both town and countryside, but especially in the latter. Special attention will be given to improving the health service in order to raise the quality of treatment and medical aid and to strengthen the measures for the protection of the health of mother and child, with the aim of further reducing the rate of infantile mortality. The decision on the extension of maternity leave to nearly 6 months will assist in this direction.

Our country is characterized by a dynamic growth in the population, a structure in which younger age-groups and a population which is always active and fresh predominate. The Party has always worked to ensure that the demographic processes are studied and treated on a more scientific basis, so that the population continues to increase at suitable rates.

Not only are unemployment and economic emigration unknown in our country, but the dynamic development of the productive forces and social and cultural activities always require new work forces. All the new forces that will become available during this five-year plan, amounting to about 210 thousand people, will be employed mainly in production. Employment of the new work force calls for profound studies by the State Planning Commission, the State Committee of Labour and Wages, the other central departments, the executive committees of the people's councils of the districts, the enterprises and agricultural cooperatives.

Naturally, the Party and the state will strive to open up new jobs wherever there are people, however, this depends, to a large extent, on the distribution of natural resources and riches. Therefore, some of the new work force will have to work wherever the country needs them and wherever more jobs are available. This process must be supported better through the development of urban centres, the development of transport, the improvement of working conditions and through adjustments to the pay system to encourage people to take jobs in the remote zones or under difficult working conditions, too.

II

WE MUST CEASELESSLY STRENGTHEN THE PARTY AND FURTHER ENHANCE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF ITS WORK

Our Party of Labour, unwaveringly loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, a determined fighter against external and internal enemies and with its roots deep in the people who gave birth to it and raised it, has led the Albanian people with wisdom and foresight from victory to victory, at each stage of the revolution and the socialist construction of the country.

The Party has also accomplished with honour the great, difficult and complex tasks set by its 7th Congress. The struggle and work for the accomplishment of these tasks has further strengthened and steeled the Party, enhanced its leading role and fighting spirit, revolutionized the life and activity of the basic organizations, the forums and the members of the Party and tempered the steel unity of its ranks and its close links with the broad masses of the people.

The general mobilization of the communists and the entire people to carry out the tasks which the Party has set, the great revolutionary actions and movements and the wonderful solidarity of our people are clear expressions of this monolithic unity of the Party and of the people around it. This unity has been and is the decisive factor, the key factor of all our victories in the socialist construction and defence of the Homeland.

The continuous struggle the Party has waged for the revolutionization of its ranks through its work for raising

the ideological, political and cultural level of its members, increasing their activity as political and social militants, and for strengthening its proletarian composition has served to strengthen the Party and enhance its leading role. Militating in the ranks of the Party is a whole army of communists who have displayed unwavering loyalty to the correct line of the Party in all the situations we have gone through. As always, the Albanian communists have fought and worked with revolutionary courage and optimism and have shown themselves to be able organizers, educators and leaders of the masses.

The intensification of the struggle against manifestations of liberalism and bureaucracy in the activity of the organs and basic organizations of the Party, the elimination of the consequences of the work of enemies in some sectors of the economy, in art, culture and the army, intended to displace the leading role of the Party, and the observation and implementation of the principles and norms of the Party everywhere, have further enhanced its militant spirit, have made the Party more mature, more able and determined to accomplish the new great tasks that emerge in the course of the socialist construction of the country.

I. WE MUST FURTHER ENHANCE AND PERFECT THE LEADING ROLE OF THE PARTY

The experience of our Party over 40 years proves that only a party which is based firmly on the Marxist-Leninist science can become the true leader of the working class, can achieve its hegemony and ensure the triumph of the revolution and the construction of socialist society. Our Party has always stood in the forefront of the struggle and work of the masses, it is the leader everywhere, in policy

and ideology, in the state and the economy, in education, culture and science, in the army and all the other sectors of the life of the country. No problem, simple or complicated, current or of the future, can be solved without the leadership of the Party. This has been and remains a law for us. The single and indivisible leadership of the Party is the source of all the victories in the socialist construction and the surest guarantee for the brilliant future we are building.

The Party does not and cannot place itself or remain in the leadership by chance. It secures its leading role through its correct line and its persistent struggle and work to put this line into practice. Easing itself on the theory of the most advanced class of society — the proletariat, on the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, on the laws of the materialist development of society, the Party has a broad range of vision, an elaborated and scientific opinion. It sees clearly in any situation, understands the present, foresees the future and knows how to anticipate events, by defining and always applying a revolutionary strategy and tactics which express the interests of the working class and the working masses.

The Party realizes its leading role everywhere and on every question through the basic organizations and the party members. The better the ideology and political line of the Party in general, and each of its decisions and directives in particular, are grasped and applied by every organization and member, the stronger the Party and its links with the masses become, and the more its leading role is enhanced in all the links of the socialist construction. This is a decisive condition for the fulfilment of the great tasks which face us at the present stage of the development of the country and in the concrete conditions under which we are building socialism. With the Party strong as steel, vigilant and fearless in the lead, the cause of the revolution and socialism is invincible.

The formation of a clearer and more complete concept of the realization of the leading role of the Party in all the links and in every field is of special importance. In practice, some party committees, bureaus and basic organizations have a narrow understanding of this question. Some think mistakenly that «the apparatuses and leading organs alone are the Party» and not the large, organized mass of all the communists. Others do not understand or fully realize the leading role of the Party in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and under the slogan, «the Party leads everything», involve the party organizations, committees and their leaders in the practical solution of minor problems of production, administration, technology, etc. Apparently, it is not thoroughly understood by everybody that all the party members, wherever they work, run the affairs of the Party, that the Party exercises its leadership en bloc, in an organized and centralized way, by means of all its levers — the state and economic organs and the mass organizations.

This is why, in their handling and solution of different problems, some party organs and organizations pay more attention to the technical and administrative aspects and neglect the political and ideological aspects, the problems of the economic, cultural and military policies of the Party, or the work with the people, which is their main duty. Such judgements and actions lead to the monopolization of affairs, suppress the initiative of the cadres and the masses, duplicate and displace the levers of the Party and weaken and vitiate the leading role of the Party itself.

Our Party has always had a correct concept of its role in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and has played this role correctly. Therefore, it is very important to establish thorough understanding and ever better application in practice of the fact that the work of the Party is not the work of the party organs and basic organizations

only, and even less, of their apparatuses. The state and economic organs, the commands and staffs of the army, the mass organizations, all the cadres and working people, whether or not party members, also carry out the work of the Party, because they are all guided by the ideology and line of the Party and carry out the laws and regulations of the state and its plans in which this line is embodied.

This in no way reduces or diminishes the full responsibility of the party organizations and their leading role on all questions. However, they cannot do everything themselves. Therefore, the party organizations charge their levers with different tasks, mobilize them, open perspectives to them, guide them in their work, check up on them and call them to account for the precise fulfilment of their tasks. Through the party members who function in them, the party forums and basic organizations work to make these levers conscious and set them in motion so that they carry out the functions, tasks and responsibilities with which they are charged, in a revolutionary way and with initiative.

These questions must be thoroughly understood, not only by the organizations of the Party, but also by its levers and every cadre. The Party has assigned to everybody his tasks, competences and responsibilities. It guides, checks up on and demands a rendering of account from all. But everyone must master his own job, should act with initiative and persistence and, according to the competences given him within the line of the Party, should bear complete responsibility for the fulfilment of the tasks set in the sector which he runs. From this point of view, those tendencies seen in practice, in which some state and economic organs, allegedly to ensure the leading role of the Party, seek the opinion and permission of the organizations and forums of the Party about everything and try to legitimize their actions by entering into partnership with the

latter in this way, are not correct. This is not ensuring the leading role of the Party, but a tendency to divide the responsibility with the organization of the Party.

The state and economic organs, the mass organizations and their cadres are not apolitical, dealing only with technical, agro-technical, military or other questions. Basing themselves on the line of the Party, they, too, work and fight for its application. Naturally, the party organization has its own responsibility when it allows failure on the part of certain directors or administrators to perform the duties they have been charged with. It must help these people, guide them, educate and correct them, make them face up to their responsibilities, and when the need arises, put in their place all those who want to act as they please, either under cover of the basic organization or in the name of the party member. In this way, the danger of mistakes is diminished, the cadres mature and their sense of responsibility for the work increases.

The party organizations take up and will continue to take up all issues: the problems of the economy, culture, defence and the entire life of the country. Otherwise they cannot remain the vanguard and give leadership. They must be able to grasp the most important issues at the given moment, provide correct, justified, theoretically supported solutions to them, examine how the line and directives of the Party are understood and applied by the party members, the cadres, the economic and state organs and the mass organizations, and call them to account when they do not fulfil their tasks — this is the basis of their ability. The party organization bears direct responsibility for this. It must concentrate its attention on these questions and not become involved in the solution of minor concrete problems for which the Party has created special organs and organisms.

The work of the Party is, first of all, work with people,

work for their education, enlightenment, mobilization and organization. This must never be forgotten, otherwise the Party is diverted from its main task and function as a leader, is transformed into an operative organism and assumes state functions. This constitutes a great danger for a party in power. This is a danger we have pointed out long ago to prevent it from ever becoming a serious threat.

The invincible strength of our revolution, of our socialist social order, lies in the masses of the people, in their high level of political consciousness, in their readiness and determination to build and defend socialism. This is the glorious deed of the Party, which it must consolidate and carry steadily forward through its ideological, political and organizational work.

To this end, it is necessary that the organizations of the Party and all the party members merge with the masses and work tirelessly amongst them, are well acquainted with their moral-political state, always informed about the problems worrying the masses, explain the situation to them, convince them of the importance of the tasks set, and make clear to them the directives of the Party and the laws of the state. The party members are required to educate the masses with the communist outlook and morality, to combat any backward remnant or alien manifestation, to concern themselves with the life of the masses, to encourage and support the creative work and initiatives of the masses, to mobilize them and involve them in actions to strengthen the economy, raise the level of culture and enhance the defence potential of the Homeland.

2. THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE WORK OF THE PARTY
AND THE SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY OF THE
PARTY ORGANS AND ORGANIZATIONS
SHOULD BE INCREASED

The present stage of rapid, all-round development and the great and daring tasks which we have to solve require that the effectiveness of the work of the Party must be raised to a higher level in all its links and in all directions. The work of the Party is broad and all-sided, an harmonious synthesis of political, ideological, organizational, administrative, economic and psychological aspects which must be carried out as such. Its effectiveness is measured by the concrete results in the fulfilment of targets in each sector of social activity.

In practice there are instances when the work of the Party is conceived narrowly. Some party organs and basic organizations forget the perspective, do not penetrate below the surface of problems and base themselves only on what they have learned from practice, without confronting this with advanced experience and thinking, with the changes that have taken place in the life of the country and the people. In most instances of failure to fulfil economic plans or shortcomings in the work of certain enterprises, agricultural cooperatives or some district, such manifestations are the cause.

Culture, learning, competence and scientific knowledge are required in our work nowadays. We often repeat that we have been obliged to march on untrodden paths which we have been obliged to seek and create. However, this cannot be achieved without deep knowledge of the Marxist-Leninist theory and without scientific study and generalization of the revolutionary practice of the communists and the working masses. Today, the problems of production, the organization of work, education and culture, science and defence, cannot be correctly and successfully solved without

serious studies. It is necessary to do such studies, also, on the work of the Party itself, in management, organization and education. Studies and generalizations broaden the horizon and open clear perspectives to the organizations of the Party, the communists and the working people, help to combat manifestations of routine, formalism and superficiality, to create sound convictions and to define the right measures and ways to carry out the current and future tasks.

The party organs and organizations must make better use of the qualified opinion of the specialists, activists and other competent people, whom the Party has trained in every sector. They are required to support and encourage advanced scientific thinking and ensure that it is applied in the solution of problems. They must combat manifestations of sectarianism and underestimation of advanced experience and thinking. In this direction the communists must be the first to set the example. A good communist is one who makes a profound study of science, who learns continually by his own efforts and from others, who follows the development of society, supports the progressive new and thinks about the future.

The work of the Party is not only agitation and propaganda to enlighten and convince people, but also the work of organization and mobilization to implement the line and directives of the Party. The work of the Party leads, educates and mobilizes the communists and the masses for revolutionary actions, so that they think, work and fight as revolutionaries.

The Party has fought manifestations of one-sidedness in the work of some party organs and basic organizations, which give priority to repeated meetings and lengthy reports and discussions rather than to the clear definition of the tasks and concrete measures to carry them out. This explains why there are cases when, although many meetings are held to analyse the state of affairs in this or that sector,

still the problems remain unsolved and the situation does not change.

Experience has shown that problems are solved and tasks fulfilled, not just by appeals to the conscience of the communists and the workers, but also when the work to carry out tasks and convince people is accompanied by all-round measures, by organization and concrete guidance, check-up and calling to account. The ideo-political and technical-organizational measures constitute a dialectical unity; they educate, mobilize and impel people to revolutionary actions.

Perfection of the vanguard role of the communists has been the main task of the organs and basic organizations of the Party and remains so for the future. In the present conditions especially, it is the duty of the communists to increase their demands on themselves to uphold this lofty title, to fight any alien manifestation in themselves and in others, to be advanced people in every direction. The communists must be outstanding for their revolutionary determination and active participation in the daily struggle for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland, must be always on the most difficult and important front of the work and struggle, must be talented organizers and leaders who act with responsibility for the implementation of the line of the Party.

The masses carry out the decisions of the organization of the Party and follow the communists when they do not separate their words from their deeds, when they think, work and make sacrifices for the interests of the working people, socialism and the Homeland. To be a communist and a revolutionary means you must undertake and accomplish great tasks, must not mark time or be content with the normal rates, but fight for rapid development on all fronts, and always take the side of the new and defend it.

The work of the Party is effective when the party organizations and all the party members develop the ability to act on their own initiative, develop the creative and innovative spirit widely. In this direction there are many examples and positive experience everywhere. However, among some party organizations, some cadres and party members in enterprises, agricultural cooperatives, central departments and institutions, it is necessary to combat manifestations of waiting for instructions, procrastination and hesitation, lack of initiative to solve problems which are within their competences.

Methods of work, management and organization are not prescribed once and for all and unalterable. Life progresses, our socialist society is developing ceaselessly, the conditions change. This development requires us to be creative and inventive, to find new, more flexible and varied forms of work, and to continually renew and enrich them so that they respond better to the requirements of the time.

More qualified and effective work is required in analysing the directives of the Party. This is a fundamental task of the basic organizations and all members of the Party. The directives of the Party express its line, define the tasks facing the communists and the masses for the solution of different problems. Good experience has been gained in the work of analysing the directives of the Party. However, the manifestations of formalism and stereotyped practices, which are still observed in the work of some party organs and basic organizations, must be combated more forcefully. Sometimes the directives and decisions of the Party are not transmitted to the grassroots, to the people, with the same seriousness and force with which the Central Committee or the district party committees put them forward. They are simply transmitted mechanically to lower levels without regard for the concrete conditions and si-

tuations in which the party organization operates, or the tasks it has to carry out.

To analyse the directive of the Party means to explain the need for it and its importance from the political, ideological and economic viewpoint, to bring out the tasks which emerge for the party organizations, the mass organizations, the state, economic, cultural and other organs, in conformity with the concrete conditions of each district, zone, sector and collective, and to define the ways and necessary measures to fulfil these tasks.

Launching the masses into revolutionary actions for the complete and creative application of the directive is of decisive importance. It is here, in the heat of this battle, that the correctness of the directive of the Party is tested and the necessary additions and amendments are made to it. In actions and through actions the party members and the masses strengthen their conviction in the directives of the Party, are educated and tempered, display their revolutionary initiatives, achieve the unity of words with deeds and ensure accelerated rates of work for the fulfilment of tasks on time and with good quality. Actions also serve to combat bureaucratic and technocratic methods, procrastination, personal ease and self-satisfaction, and help to stir people everywhere into activity in life and work.

The work of the Party becomes effective when the party organs and organizations are aware of and bear full responsibility for the implementation of the line of the Party and the fulfilment of the tasks of the state plan.

There can be no struggle and efforts, no revolutionary actions for the solution of problems without a sense of responsibility. The tasks are carried out by working and struggling with devotion and sacrifice, by putting our shoulder to the wheel and performing our duties to the last detail, with good quality and high efficiency.

It is a fact that the overwhelming majority of the party

organs and organizations, the party members and cadres work with a high sense of responsibility. However, organizations, communists and cadres can be found who do not struggle persistently to overcome difficulties and obstacles and to fulfil the tasks. Manifestations of indifference and making excuses, of covering up shortcomings and weaknesses with general statements are nothing but a reflection of the lack of a sense of responsibility.

The Party must struggle to increase the sense of responsibility, not only in its own ranks but also in the organs and organisms it leads, in all the working people and cadres. Building up the collective sense of responsibility of every party organ and basic organization and of their levers, and the individual sense of responsibility of every party member and cadre, creates a great guarantee for the fulfilment of tasks at all times and in all fields.

The sense of responsibility is strengthened when the demand that everybody must render account is made more rigorous, when there is strict check-up on the fulfilment of tasks. Despite the improvements achieved in this direction, there are still manifestations of liberalism and sentimentality, a spirit of justification and signs that check-up is underrated, as well as formalism and superficiality in exercising it. Sometimes check-up and calling to account are weak because the tasks and decisions have been set out only in general terms and, as a consequence, cannot be controlled.

Every party member or member of some party forum, regardless of his post and function, must render full account himself, and demand that others do the same, on his work to carry out the line and directives of the Party, the decisions of the basic organization and state duties. This is achieved when the party members engage in self-criticism courageously and without hesitation, as well as in criticism of anybody who does not fulfil his task, when they wage a

determined struggle against fear, vengeance and petty-bourgeois indifference. A self-critical attitude towards shortcomings, the courage of the party members to criticize and call to account are an example and great source of inspiration for all the working masses.

*«... a well-organized check,» Stalin teaches us, «is the searchlight which helps to reveal how the apparatus is functioning at any moment and to bring bureaucrats and redtapsists into the light of day.»**

We must always bear this teaching in mind and put it into practice consistently. It is the duty of the organs and organizations of the Party to invigorate and strengthen the party control and the state control, the worker and mass control, and see that they are exercised consistently in a combined way. Control from above, parallel control or control from below must necessarily be more active, must be accompanied with concrete help, must open perspectives and teach people how to organize their work, how to mobilize themselves and cope with difficulties for the fulfilment of tasks.

3. THE ESTABLISHED CRITERIA FOR INCREASING THE RANKS OF THE PARTY MUST BE APPLIED CORRECTLY

Our Party has always applied correct criteria for the increase of its ranks, with determination and in a revolutionary way. This has made the Party stronger and healthier and increased the effectiveness of its work.

The Party comes to this Congress with its ranks in-

* J. V. Stalin, Selected Works, Tirana 1979, pp. 418-419. Alb. ed.

creased with communists who are resolute fighters for the cause of the people, the revolution and communism, proletarians in thought and action. Now 122,600 communists, of whom nearly 38 per cent are workers, 29.4 per cent cooperativists and 32.6 per cent office workers, are militating in the ranks of the Party. Women make up 30 per cent of the total, or 2.5 per cent more than at the previous Congress. Members of the Party make up 4.5 per cent of the population; 24,363 candidates for membership, 42.40 per cent of them workers, 40.43 per cent cooperativists and 17.17 per cent office workers, have been admitted to the Party in the years following the 7th Congress. Of these, 40.70 per cent are women comrades.

The overwhelming majority of those admitted to the Party, either as full members or candidates, come from the sphere of production, especially from its main fronts. They are among the best workers, the most developed politically and ideologically, those with lofty moral qualities and virtues and a high educational level, vanguard fighters and active participants in the construction of socialism.

On the basis of experience and the existing situation, the Central Committee considers that it is in order to apply in the future approximately the same rates and criteria for the increase of the ranks of the Party as in the past five years:

Priority should be given to admission of activists from the ranks of the working class, especially those working in the main branches of production, in heavy extracting and processing industry and on the big projects under construction.

Better work should be done to hasten achievement of the objective set by the 7th Congress, that in the future the cooperativist party members should occupy second place, after the workers, in the membership of the Party.

Among the office workers and the intelligentsia, those

who have a high ideo-political, cultural, technical and scientific level and who work in the most important sectors of socialist construction and defence should be admitted.

Concern about and work for increasing the number of women in the ranks of the Party should be intensified.

The implementation of these orientations requires that the organs and basic organizations of the Party carry out more qualified and better considered work to increase the ranks of the Party. Manifestations of formalism and bureaucracy, any tendency to be in order with figures and percentages, should be resolutely combated.

The quality of admissions has been and remains decisive in the policy of the Party for the increase of its ranks. The candidates must have a good political and ideological level, must have capacity and ability, be progressive in their thoughts and actions, with broad cultural, educational and technical-professional horizons, must enjoy the trust and respect of the masses, have initiative and be consistent revolutionaries. Nobody should be admitted to the Party simply because he is the son of a worker, peasant or party member, on account of the merits of his father or mother, but on account of his own personal merits, qualities and abilities. These qualities and traits must be further tempered by the basic organizations of the Party and by each communist individually, in the daily struggle and activity.

The probation period of the candidate plays a major role in the communist formation of those newly admitted to the Party. The experience accumulated must be used to enhance the role and increase the responsibility of the party basic organizations in the continuous ideo-political education and the revolutionary tempering of the candidate members. Such manifestations as underestimation of the probation period of the candidate, or failure to rigorously apply the rules for performing the probation period, which are sometimes seen, should be combated.

III

THE TASKS OF THE PARTY FOR THE COMMUNIST EDUCATION OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

The all-round education of the new man has been and remains a fundamental question in the activity of the Party in order to carry the construction of socialist society consistently forward. This education has been carried out on a broad front, closely linked with the tasks of each stage of development, with the problems which life has raised, and with the concrete situations. This has always ensured the active character, the great mobilizing and transforming force of the educational work of the Party and its levers.

The conditions in which we are working and fighting for the construction and defence of socialism, as well as the tasks which we are putting forward in this Congress for the socio-economic development of the country, require that **the educational work of the Party be raised to a higher level and concentrated better on certain current and future main problems**, in order to create deep Marxist-Leninist convictions among the people, to raise their professional skills, to equip them with broad culture and pure moral virtues.

1. THE COMMUNIST EDUCATION OF THE WORKING PEOPLE — THE BASIS OF OUR SUCCESSES

Albania is the country in which socialism is being built with success and which remains firmly on the rails of

Marxism-Leninism, in which the development of the economy and culture, the organization and leadership of the Party and the state, the formation and tempering of the new man, are carried out on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism. The road which our country has traversed has not been easy. Our Party and people have had to cope with many difficulties, to press onwards over roads known and unknown, over new, untrodden paths.

The boundless loyalty of our Party to the immortal doctrine of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, its ability to apply this doctrine in a creative manner, in conformity with the conditions of the country and the complicated international circumstances, its determination to defend the purity of the principles of this doctrine from the attacks and distortions of many enemies, internal and external, have been and remain the fundamental basis of all the successes and victories of our people.

The whole preoccupation of the Party has been to ensure that every step on the road of the revolution and the construction of socialism should be well considered, that the foundations of the new socialist society should be such as to guarantee its ceaseless development towards progress, and that the waves and storms of the hostile imperialist-revisionist encirclement should be faced and overcome. This is why the revolution and the socialist construction in our country have known no zigzags and reverses, but have gone consistently ahead and have always scored victories.

The example of Albania is a new experience in the history of the dictatorship of the proletariat and constitutes a valuable contribution to the theory and practice of socialism and Marxism-Leninism.

The communists, the cadres, the working people, and the younger generation, in particular, must be thoroughly acquainted with the road of the development of our country towards socialism and communism, should be as clear as

possible about where we started from and what road we have travelled, what difficulties have been surmounted, what line the Party has pursued and implemented and what are the foundations of this society which has been built with the blood, sweat and toil of our heroic people.

Knowing this glorious road and rich experience, our people will have a broader view of socialist society, of its present stage and its future, and will work with greater consciousness and unshakeable conviction to consolidate the victories of socialism more and more and carry them steadily forward. The Party must see this as a capital question, because the stronger the foundations of the present, the more secure the socialist and communist future of our country will be.

The strengthening of convictions about socialism, about its vitality and superiorities, assumes special importance in the present conditions when socialism has been undermined in many countries and when the imperialists, the bourgeoisie and the revisionists have launched a frenzied campaign against socialism in order to disparage the revolutionary ideals, to sow the seed of doubt and uncertainty about the socialist future of mankind. It is no accident that the main thrust of this struggle has been aimed against our triumphant doctrine, Marxism-Leninism, without which there is and can be no genuine socialism.

Likewise, we must always take into account that the conditions in which socialism is being built in Albania are very complex. Our Party, state and people are fighting single-handed, face to face against a colossal enemy force, against the capitalist and revisionist world which encircles us. Our people must never underrate or forget the dangers with which our socialist society is threatened from the great, all-round political, economic, ideological and military pressure of this world.

Our historic duty, national and international, is to be

all on the alert, vigilant and ready to cope with any situation, to defend the victories achieved and to press on with the revolution and our socialist construction. We must counter the dangerous diversionist activity of the enemies of socialism with our determination and courage, with the steel unity of the Party and the people, with untiring work to develop and strengthen the economy and the defence of the country. Above all, in order to defend socialism and ensure that it always forges confidently ahead, it is essential to continuously strengthen the healthy and profound convictions about socialism, as the highest social order to which the future inevitably belongs.

Our people, living and working in a socialist society, are educated with its norms and principles, which are embodied in the economic and social relations, in the organization and running of the state and the entire life of the country, in the legislation and the way of life, in the system of education and culture, etc. Our socialist reality itself, together with the direct participation of people in the work of the socialist construction of the country, educates them and helps them to understand and assimilate the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialism.

However, socialist convictions and consciousness, which are created in practical life, are inadequate to enable people to find their bearings correctly in any situation, to understand the policy of the Party profoundly and to act always with clear objectives. Such convictions may be shaken in the face of the various difficulties of the socialist construction or the great pressure from the capitalist-revisionist world, if they are not based on solid theoretical foundations. Only Marxism-Leninism, which is the theoretical base of scientific socialism and the communist education of the working people, creates profound, lasting convictions. The Party imbues the masses with such convictions through its educational work.

Our Party has always done a great deal of work for the Marxist-Leninist education of the communists and the masses. The Party School, the various courses and forms of education within the Party and the mass organizations, the publications, the press and all the other means of propaganda, serve this aim. Marxism-Leninism is studied systematically in the various categories of schools of our state education system. The works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, as well as many documents and materials of our Party, have been made available to the communists, cadres and working people.

The task now is that all this work should be done at a higher, more qualified level, with the aim that the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of our Party should be mastered as well and as thoroughly as possible. The main thing is that our people should be properly armed ideologically with the Marxist world outlook and methodology, should be properly formed from the theoretical viewpoint, so that they stand and act consciously, at all times and in any circumstances, as consistent revolutionaries, as determined fighters for the cause of socialism and communism, and not be taught only some Marxist theses and conclusions.

Our Party and people have to advance continuously, to solve new problems. The theoretical working out and the practical solution of these problems require that creative thinking should be developed continuously, relying on the basic Marxist principles and methodology, as well as on the summing up of the experience gained. For this reason it is necessary that in schools and the system of the Marxist-Leninist education of the communists and the masses, and in all the propaganda of the Party, Marxism-Leninism should be studied, propagated and mastered as a living and creative doctrine, as a science which is being continuously developed and enriched. The spirit of revolu-

tionary criticism should be developed everywhere, fruitful debate and discussion should be aroused, any manifestation of rigidity and dogmatism should be combated, the way should be opened wide to advanced thinking in the party spirit, everything should be subjected to penetrating analysis and sound Marxist logic.

Theoretical uplift is an indispensable condition to combat manifestations of empiricism and practicism. The fact is that there are communists and cadres who make little effort to master theory, who have a narrow understanding of the problems and tasks which are presented and the directives and orientations which are given, who see them in a simplistic manner and do not go deeply into their ideological content, into their theoretical aspect. On this question, what Stalin said,

*«... the higher the political level and the Marxist-Leninist knowledge of the workers in any branch of state or Party work, the better and more fruitful will be the work itself, and the more effective the results of the work; and, vice versa, the lower the political level of the workers and the less they are imbued with the knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, the greater will be the likelihood of disruption and failure in the work, of the workers themselves becoming shallow and deteriorating into paltry plodders, of their degenerating altogether.»**

always remains valid.

The shortcomings in the general theoretical formation also lead inevitably to subjective and volitive concepts and actions which are contrary to the requirements of objec-

* J. V. Stalin, Selected Works, Tirana 1979, pp. 509-510, Alb. ed.

tive laws, violate the scientific management of affairs, impede and distort the processes of socio-economic development and harm the education of people. We come across such manifestations on many occasions, but they are more obvious and harmful especially in the planning, organization and the management of the economy.

It is true that socialist society is a society which is built in a conscious manner, but this is not done according to the subjective will and desires of people. In socialism, too, development takes place according to laws which have an objective character. The peculiarity of socialism lies in the recognition and conscious implementation of these laws in conformity with the aims of the Party and the socialist state. Herein lies one of the great superiorities of the socialist order, which ensures harmonious and rapid development of the economy and culture in favour of the working masses.

Hence, the task emerges that the attention of the educational work of the Party, the state, the mass organizations and all the means of propaganda should be centred on ensuring knowledge of the objective economic laws of socialism, on which the economic policy of the Party is based. Through profound knowledge of the objective laws and acting in conformity with their requirements, manifestations of subjectivism can be avoided, the great superiorities of the socialist order can be utilized, and the planning and management of the economy and the education of people can be put on a scientific basis.

It is a recognized fact that the man, with his conscience, abilities and experience is the decisive factor in any work, in the fulfilment of any task. That is why the Party gives first-rate importance to the work with people for their continuous education, tempering and the development of their abilities. However, the activity of people is successful and can attain the objectives set, when, apart from the educational work, it is properly supported with

economic, organizational and administrative measures. Those instances when problems are treated in a one-sided way, when the causes of shortcomings and weaknesses are sought only in the ideological-political work or in the method and style of leadership, when it is thought that the state of affairs can be changed and improved with words and meetings, without concrete actions and measures, are manifestations of subjectivism.

The social sciences have a great role in raising the level of the party propaganda and all the work for the education of the masses in the spirit of socialism. Only on the basis of scientific studies and generalizations of the experience of the Party and the masses and the problems raised by life, can the work with people be supported with sound arguments and result in profound conviction.

Our social sciences have made progress and have developed on the right road. With their studies and publications they have made valuable contributions in the field of study of the history of our people and their culture, the experience of the National Liberation War and the socialist transformations, and the political, economic and social life of the country. Very valuable work has been done by the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies at the Central Committee in compiling the History of the Party, in publishing many materials and documents of the Party, and in studying various problems of the revolution and socialist construction.

It is the duty of the scientific institutions, the departments of the higher schools and all the cadres engaged in social sciences to raise their work to a new level, to go more deeply into the fundamental problems of the experience and perspective of the development of our country, to elaborate them at a high theoretical and scientific level and to militate more actively in the struggle of the Party for the education of the new man.

A correct understanding of the decisive role of the masses in the construction of socialist society is fundamental to the communist world outlook and revolutionary theory and practice. Our Party has permitted no deviation from this principle and this is one of the underlying reasons why socialism has been built in the right way and is developing successfully in Albania.

As the experience of our country has confirmed, the active participation of the masses in running the country and in the whole of social life constitutes an indispensable and decisive condition for the preservation and strengthening of the people's state power, for ceaselessly carrying forward the socialist revolution and for ensuring a strong and impregnable defence of the Homeland.

The decisive, ever increasing role of the popular masses in our socialist society is the most profound expression and the fundamental direction of the development of our socialist democracy. From this standpoint, our socialist democracy is not only an historic victory of the masses of the people, won in war and revolution, but also a need, an indispensable condition, an intrinsic law of the development of our socialist society, a great motive force which carries it forward.

Socialism has freed our people from any form of the exploitation of man by man. A great historic victory is the liberation of the conscience of the working people from the spiritual shackles of exploiting societies, the emancipation of the woman, who has become an equal participant with man in our social life. Our people enjoy great democratic rights and freedoms, such as the right to work, to education, to elect and be elected to state and social functions, the freedom of speech, of the press, etc., which in our country are a reality, not only proclaimed by law but also applied in daily practice. The entire life of our country, the organization and management of the state, the economy,

education, culture and defence, has been constructed in such a way as to ensure and require the active participation of the working masses.

The dangers which threaten socialism from the separation of the state organs and cadres from the masses, from the development of bureaucracy in the apparatuses, etc., have long been made clear by the Party. It has stressed that the struggle against such manifestations and distortions must be waged continuously, without allowing them to build up and become firmly established. In practice, however, manifestations of one-sidedness and formalism are encountered in the understanding and implementation of the democracy of the masses and the relations of cadres with the masses. There are instances when the administrative organs place themselves above the elected organs, when certain cadres do not maintain close contacts with the people or consult them only formally. Sometimes the assemblies of the agricultural cooperatives and other organizations of the masses are not taken into account at all or insufficiently taken into account, sometimes the norms established about rendering account to the masses, not only by the elected cadres but also by the appointed cadres, are not respected, and so on.

It is the duty of the Party propaganda to explain and prove with profound arguments that the role of the masses is not an abstract question, that it is realized through the daily activity of the collectives, the Trade Unions, the youth organization, the Front, the organizations of women, the people's councils and all the elected organs. In particular, the Party propaganda must ensure that the cadres, especially, have a political and ideological understanding of the need for direct links with the masses, with the workers, with the cooperativists, with the youth, with the women, with all sections of the population. They must consult wide circles of the people, seek their opinions, put before the

masses the problems which preoccupy the Party and the state and, together with the masses, find the most rational solutions.

When the Party raises forcefully that the voice of the specialists should be listened to more attentively, that their qualified opinion should be backed up and supported better in order to place production on scientific foundations, this must in no way lead to underrating the advanced ideas of the masses and their rich revolutionary experience. The technical-scientific revolution in our country can be developed with success only when the intellectual and scientific potential of the cadres and specialists is closely linked and merged with the struggle and all-sided experience of the masses.

In the implementation of the line of the masses any simplification and formal treatment of it must be avoided. It is impermissible to overwhelm people with fruitless meetings over trifling matters allegedly in the name of the implementation of the line of the masses. Meetings at which the problems causing concern are not solved, which do not arrive at conclusions about concrete measures to change the situation, have no value at all. Likewise, it is impermissible that the line of the masses should be used as a smokescreen to cover up lack of responsibility, shortcomings in the organization and direction of work, and failure to exercise competences and apply the laws and rules established.

Enlightenment and activation of the control by the masses from below, including the groups of direct worker and peasant control, which should be centred more on the control over the administration of socialist property, the activity of administrative organs, as well as in the field of services for the people and the fulfilment of their needs, must be the object of continuous attention from the Party and the organizations of the masses.

It is particularly important to understand properly that the control by the masses from below must not be limited and must not be reduced to just one form of it, that of the groups of the worker and peasant control; it must be exercised much more extensively and in the most varied forms by rousing the broad masses of the working people and inculcating in them the idea that they are the masters of the country, who must have their say about everything and everyone. At the same time, the Party has stressed that the groups of the worker and peasant control cannot and must not replace the control by the party organizations, the state organs or the organizations of the masses.

There is a need for understanding and implementing socialist democracy and the role of the masses properly, for more profound study of them, so that they are constantly perfected. The aim is to ensure that the process of the construction of socialism is never transformed into a bureaucratic-administrative process, but is always a living, creative work of the broad working masses, under the leadership of the Party.

The education of the new man is one of the greatest victories of socialism and one of the fundamental guarantees for its uninterrupted development. The historic tasks with which our Party and people are faced for the socialist construction of the country and coping successfully with the encirclement and pressure of the capitalist-revisionist world, require people formed and tempered as consistent revolutionaries, equipped to a higher level with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and ethics, who must be able to withstand the pressure from the ideologies of exploiting classes. This requires more thorough-going ideological struggle against any alien remnant or manifestation in the consciousness of our people.

The struggle against the petty-bourgeois mentality and outlook, which has deep roots in our country, has been

and remains a major ideological problem. It is true that the great social and economic changes which have been carried out, as well as the all-round work of the Party for the communist education of the working people, have dealt heavy blows to the petty-bourgeois psychology and shaken it to its foundations. Nevertheless, although its sphere of operation has been drastically reduced, we still encounter petty-bourgeois outlooks, attitudes and actions among various strata of the population. The petty-bourgeois concepts and tendencies are a great evil, because they not only hamper the communist education of the people, not only inhibit their active participation in the socialist construction of the country, but also become the cause of all sorts of vacillations, serve as the basis for the spread of the bourgeois ideology and for undermining the socialist order itself.

The petty-bourgeois psychology manifests itself in various forms and in many fields. The remnants of it are most marked in the attitude towards work and property, which occupies the main and decisive place in people's activity.

A high level of consciousness in their attitude towards work and socialist property characterizes our working people in town and countryside. This is a distinguishing feature of our new man and is a reality which stands out everywhere. However, socialism, as the initial phase of communist society, which emerges from the exploiting capitalist order, has its own conditions and peculiarities of development, which leave their mark also on the attitude towards work and property. Socialism, said Lenin,

*«...cannot as yet be fully mature from the economic viewpoint, and entirely free from the traditions and vestiges of capitalism.»**

* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 25, p. 559, Alb. ed.

On the other hand, it is important to bear in mind also the large masses of young people who are to enter social production and other sectors and who, despite their readiness and enthusiasm to work and create on behalf of socialism, still have not formed the habits of work and have not been hardened to withstand the difficulties of life.

These factors, as well as the weaknesses in the work of leadership, organization and education by the organizations of the Party and those of the masses, the organs of the state and the economy, account for the alien attitudes towards work and socialist property, which are seen.

These are the reasons why the Party insists on the need to raise the level and the effectiveness of propaganda and ideological work, so that the socialist consciousness of the workers, the cooperativists, the cadres in their attitude towards work and property is strengthened and raised to a higher level. This has been and must continue to be one of the most important fronts in the work of the Party, the state organs and mass organizations, especially in the work of the trade-unions.

The measures which the Party and the state have taken for perfecting the socialist relations of production, for the further reduction of cooperativists' personal plot, the improvement of the pay system, legislation, the planning and management of the economy, etc., have created new possibilities and conditions to engage in more extensive and thorough-going educational work among the working masses in order to imbue them with correct concepts and attitudes towards work and property, to create an atmosphere of revolutionary optimism and mobilization in work everywhere.

The communists, the cadres and the working people must be made conscious that we are living in new situations at home and abroad, which give rise to new tasks and demands. A mighty duty facing us is the need to mobilize

all the working people to fulfil the tasks of the plan to the letter. The situations we are going through and the great objectives of this five-year plan demand a new rhythm and commitment in work, a higher sense of responsibility and greater persistence, demand that we advance at a more rapid pace, as the time demands.

The educational work of the Party must implant deep-rooted convictions that work and the socialist property are two great pillars on which the development of the economy, the entire life of the country, its present and future, are based. In this field an organized struggle must be waged on all fronts against negative manifestations, against any petty-bourgeois or liberal concept and stand, in order to strengthen the spirit of organization, order and discipline everywhere.

The tasks for the strengthening of the socialist consciousness and psychology demand that greater attention should be paid to knowing the various interests which exist and operate in our society and to maintaining correct relations among them. Engels pointed out that the economic relations in any society present themselves, first of all, as interests. Therefore, neither the application of the requirements of the economic laws, nor the strengthening of the socialist attitude towards work and property can be understood and achieved apart from different interests, and above all, apart from economic interests.

The placing of the general interest above the interests of the group and the individual, the interests of the future above those of the moment, the fundamental interests of the state above departmental and local interests, has run right through all the activity of our Party and state for the construction and the defence of socialism. This remains the guarantee that we shall always continue to advance on the right Marxist-Leninist course, permitting no devia-

tions from the theory and practice of the construction of socialism.

In many cases, however, personal interest is still a very compelling force, and this is expressed in the tendencies to take from society more than one contributes, to pursue quantity to the detriment of quality, etc.

There is no doubt that the existence of various distinctions, such as those between town and countryside, the differences in incomes between members of our society, as well as the discrepancies which emerge between the growing demands of the working masses and the real possibilities for their fulfilment, have their influence in keeping such phenomena alive. But these factors cannot justify the various manifestations of placing personal interest above the general interest. In our socialist society all the possibilities exist to reduce the alien phenomena more and more through strengthening the educational work among the masses, developing production and perfecting the economic relations and the rigorous implementation of the laws of the state.

This is linked, first of all, with the fact that in socialism the general interest is not contrary to the personal interests of the working people. When we speak about the priority of the general interest, this by no means implies that personal interests are ignored. In socialism the general interest is realized not as an aim in itself, but in order to serve the fulfilment of the legitimate needs of the working people, the well-being of the people and the strengthening of the defence capacity of the Homeland. The line of the Party is applied correctly and consistently when the preoccupation with economic problems and the care for the general interest are never divorced from concern about the individual, from care to fulfil his material and spiritual demands.

A major problem, not only economic, but also ideo-

logical and social, is the harmonization of the interests of the cooperativist property fairly with the general interests of society. The Party must combat both the tendencies, which are sometimes seen, to isolation within the framework of the interests of the group, regarding them as something divorced from the interests of society as a whole, and those, which allegedly on behalf of the general interest, harm the interests of the cooperative.

This problem has to do with the relations between the state and the agricultural cooperatives, as well as with the process of the transformation of the property of the group into property of the entire people. The cooperativist property is of the same type as the state property. Both are socialist property, but the property of the group is a lower stage of the socialization of property. Through wide-ranging and well-considered educational work the Party must make clear to the cooperativist peasantry the transitional character of the property of the group, as well as the ways for its transformation into property of the entire people. In our country, the process of the transformation of the property of the group into property of the whole society has begun and will be accelerated in the future. However, we must proceed on this course step by step, as the objective and subjective conditions are created, taking into account and respecting the interests stemming from the property of the group.

The propaganda of the Party must deal more extensively and profoundly with the unified character of our economy and the factors which strengthen this character. In this context it is necessary to wage a determined struggle against the pursuit of narrow departmental, local or enterprise interests. The obstacles raised to the specialization, concentration and cooperation of production, as well as the cases of keeping something in reserve in the planning of production, productivity and reduction of costs, or the

exaggerated demands for investments, labour forces, etc., are manifestations of narrow interests, which impede the development of the economy and harm the general interests of the state and society.

In the conditions when the new has become dominant in our country, the phenomena of petty-bourgeois psychology, the remnants from the past, become more and more discordant and constitute a serious obstacle to our socialist course.

The peculiarity of these remnants is that they are extremely resistant and continue to exist even though the conditions which gave birth to them have been completely changed; they assume «new» forms, camouflage themselves under socialist norms and revive wherever they find suitable terrain. Certain outdated customs and practices, in particular, should attract our attention, because although they have been hard hit, they still crop up in the way of life, in family relations, in the stand towards women, etc. The Party and its levers must work to strengthen and consolidate the socialist principles and concepts, the proletarian ideology and morality, and to ensure that the spirit of great ideological actions and movements of the masses, based on the struggle to eradicate all the old hangovers and affirm the new socialist norms and customs, is always kept ablaze. This struggle must be waged with wisdom and intelligence, so that the new norms and concepts become acceptable to the conscience of all.

To this end, it is necessary to have a profound knowledge of the psychology of the masses, to carry out qualified educational work, differentiated according to the various strata and regions, types and places of work, collectives and sectors, age-groups and sexes, right down to separate individuals. A thorough knowledge of the spiritual state of the masses cannot be gained in an empirical manner, but on the basis of profound systematic studies, analysing the

problem in all its many aspects, in its present state and in the dynamics of its development, taking into account the whole complex of different factors which influence the formation of the consciousness and psychology of the masses, such as the material conditions, the old traditions and customs, the development of education and culture, the external capitalist-revisionist world, etc.

In our struggle on the ideological front we should never for a moment forget that the remnants of the past are intertwined with the degenerating influences of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, which, although advertised as «modern» or «progressive», in essence, are just as old, if not older, and extremely dangerous.

Wide-ranging ideological aggression, intended to denigrate the reality of socialist Albania and corrupt people's minds, is being directed against our country. The Party and its levers must become powerful, insuperable barriers to this aggression and its influence on our people. They must temper the ideological unity of the people and increase their vigilance and struggle against liberalism and all alien manifestations, so that no breaches, no situations of relaxation or euphoria are permitted, so that the communists, the cadres and all the working people always uphold the socialist principles and norms, the proletarian ideology and morality.

The struggle for the communist education of the working people against the remnants and manifestations of alien ideologies, old and new, constitutes the broadest and most complex front of the class struggle which is going on in our country. This struggle becomes especially important and acute in the present conditions when our country is forging ahead in the construction of socialism, relying entirely on its own forces, when the struggle between socialism and capitalism, Marxism-Leninism and revisionism in the international arena has become extremely severe and

when the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and its pressure on our country have become more ferocious.

The Party must work untiringly to ensure that the communists, the people and the younger generations are educated continuously in the spirit of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the class struggle, are always vigilant and ready to defend socialism from any enemy or danger, and struggle in their own conscience, in the ranks of the Party and among the people, against everything which runs counter to the spirit and principles of socialism.

To wage the class struggle correctly means to apply the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party correctly, to accept the principles of socialism consciously and with profound conviction, and to work and fight at all times for the good of the people and the Homeland, to safeguard and defend socialism. This means, also, that this struggle must be waged without allowing opportunist or sectarian deviations to the right or the left, which are equally dangerous and fraught with grave consequences for the Party, the unity of the people and socialist society.

Only by waging the class struggle correctly and without deviations, with the large-scale participation of the working masses led by the Party, will the present be built always correctly and rest on sound foundations, and the future of the Homeland and socialism be secure.

The Party has set up an entire system of means of mass communication, such as the press, publications, the radio and television, films, etc., in the service of the education of the party members, cadres and masses. Their role is great, therefore they must continuously raise the level of their work, both in content and form, in order to respond ever better to the growing demands of the working masses.

IV

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE PSR OF ALBANIA

The Party of Labour of Albania has always followed the development of international situations and the events which occur in the world with attention. It has analysed them in an objective and realistic manner, based, as always, on the Marxist-Leninist principles, and has drawn the respective conclusions. In all this work the Party has proceeded from the fact that the processes going on in the world today exert their influence, to this or that extent, on our country, too. We follow and analyse the international situations with particular interest, so that we are never taken by surprise, to ensure that we are always prepared to face up successfully to any danger which might come from abroad, and to build socialism with success. On the other hand, this also constitutes a condition for us to properly and effectively perform our internationalist duty in support of the peoples' struggle for freedom and national independence, democracy and social progress, and to contribute to the strengthening of international peace and security.

Viewed as a whole, the present international situation is disturbed, complicated and very tense. Major political and social forces confront one another: on the one side, imperialism, capitalism and reaction, the bearers of oppression, exploitation and war, and on the other side, the

peoples, the revolutionaries and the democrats, who are struggling for national and social liberation and the emancipation of mankind. This large-scale, profound and all-round confrontation, which is a reflection of stern class clashes and has included all the continents without exception, has further exacerbated all the contradictions and the grave crisis which has swept the capitalist world today. **Everything indicates that the present situation in the world could give rise to general and local wars, just as it may give rise to liberation wars and revolution.** The development of events will show whether imperialism will be able to lead the world to a new catastrophe or whether the peoples will prevent the war and save mankind.

In this situation, the peoples' war and the revolution are on the agenda, not only as aspirations and immediate tasks for liberation from capitalist oppression and the imperialist yoke, but also as historical necessities to defeat the warmongering plans of imperialism and avert a new general war.

Imperialism has been and still is the source of all aggressions and predatory wars, the source of all the disasters and suffering which have existed and exist in the world. The peoples have paid the price for the insatiable greed of the imperialists for conquests and exploitation and for world domination with their blood and their lives. The struggle going on today among the imperialist superpowers and the big capitalist powers for markets and spheres of influence is further testimony of this unalterable character of the nature and aims of imperialism.

American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are contesting with one another, are competing and manoeuvring to carry out aggressions and occupy other countries. In many regions of the world the struggle between the two imperialist superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, not excluding imperialist China and

other capitalist powers, has assumed new, major proportions. Each of these powers is striving to achieve economic, political and military superiority over the other and to capture new strategic positions. Although the flames of world war are not blazing yet, the local fires which have broken out and the dangerous hotbeds which have already been created may turn into a great conflagration of imperialist world war. The Middle East, and Indochina once again, are very clear evidence of this. This rivalry, this superpower policy, further complicates the situations and leads to tension with dangerous consequences in all world relations.

Of course, while we observe that the rivalry between the superpowers and the sharpening of contradictions between them constitute the main source of present-day international conflicts and the danger of war, we cannot fail to notice also their efforts to reach compromises and agreements and even temporary alliances. The effort to come to terms to the detriment of the peoples has always been the response of imperialists to the tendency towards inter-imperialist clashes and conflicts.

However, an atmosphere of mutual trust can never exist between imperialist states. Due to their aggressive nature, they are bound to act against one another openly and secretly. This is the dialectic of relations between imperialists.

Up till now the superpowers have tried to preserve a certain equilibrium between themselves, to ensure respect for their mutual spheres of influence, and to keep pace with each other in the arms race. They have made efforts to avoid a direct war between them, but now, as a result of the crisis and unequal development, this equilibrium is tending to fall apart.

They can no longer find unoccupied spaces in which to extend their expansion. Any further step brings them

into collision with the other's interests and carries the danger of an unpredictable reaction. This gives rise to imbalance, to the dangers of armed confrontations which might lead mankind into a general imperialist war.

In the past, it became possible to conclude the treaty on the non-proliferation of atomic weapons, which ensured the United States of America and the Soviet Union the monopoly of these weapons, and even to sign the SALT agreement, which established the equilibrium of the superpowers in these weapons. Now the two sides have been caught up in the fevers of unrestrained armament, in which they have lost all sense and logic. The megalomania and arrogance of the superpowers, which think they can make the law in the world and get away with it, is mingled with fear of each other and with the terror that the revolution strikes in them.

The interests of the superpowers and those of the peoples are not in accord and do not coincide at any time or in any instance. For imperialism to exist the peoples must be enslaved, for the peoples to be liberated imperialism must be destroyed.

That policy of reactionary classes which, to protect their own power and to deceive the masses, rely on one or the other imperialist state, presenting the one as good and the other as bad, the one as a supporter of the peoples and the other as their enemy, the one as the champion of peace and the other as a warmonger, is very dangerous and must be fought to the end. The superpowers, individually and jointly, are the most ferocious enemies of the freedom and independence of the peoples, the protectors and guarantors of reactionary regimes, supporters of national bondage to foreigners and instigators of feuds and conflicts between nations. Their policy contains the direct danger that mankind is hurled into a third world war.

Therefore, now as in the past, the struggle of all revolu-

tionary, progressive and democratic forces to expose and foil the predatory and enslaving plans of imperialist super-powers is an historic necessity, a condition and a duty for the defence of the freedom and sovereignty of the peoples, for the triumph of the revolution, for averting the war and ensuring peace.

In one way or the other, in this or that form, all the peoples encounter the interference of and are threatened by the aggressive policy of American imperialism, which represents the greatest capitalist power of our time and the main defender of the bourgeois-imperialist system.

From the end of the Second World War, when it emerged at the head of the imperialist powers and became the main pretender to world domination, to this day, American imperialism has caused the shedding of torrents of blood by the peoples it has attacked, either directly or by means of its obedient tools. In every counter-revolutionary process which has occurred in the world, in every fascist putsch and overthrow of democracy, in every attack on the revolution and socialism, the hand of American imperialism has always been present. This is the imperialism which has made its interference in the internal affairs of other countries, its despotism and dictate, a normal practice in international life, and which has transformed aggression and the threat of aggression into its basic policy and a permanent form of its activity.

American capital is the greatest and most insatiable plunderer of the assets and toil of the peoples that history has ever known. The American capitalist companies, which have extended their tentacles all over the globe, violate the sovereignty of the nations in the most barbarous way and make the law in many countries. Together with the export of capital, American imperialism has also exported its way of life, corruption and degeneration, the spirit of decadent cosmopolitanism and servile submission to foreigners.

American imperialism has covered the globe with military bases, which are the main outposts for its war and aggression. It pursues the policy of strengthening the existing blocs and setting up new military blocs, by means of which it ensures its own domination over its partners, threatens to put down the revolution and the people's struggles with fire and steel, and defends the system of capitalist oppression and violence by force.

At the present time American imperialism has begun to apply a harsher, more aggressive and more adventurous line in foreign policy. It is relying more and more on military force. Reagan's new policy is clear evidence of this.

Now American imperialism is demanding that the whole of world reaction and counter-revolutionary forces unite in a single crusade under the American aegis against the revolution, socialism, the freedom, independence, sovereignty of the peoples and against the democratic human rights. Considering nearly all the zones from which oil and all the main raw materials are extracted, all the sea routes and all the strategic points of the globe as «zones of American interests», and by officially declaring that it will intervene with arms to defend these «interests», American imperialism has come out openly with a concrete program for the extension of its political and military power all over the world. The creation of the «rapid deployment force», that great aggressive army ready to intervene anywhere that Pentagon sends it to establish the domination of the United States with fire and steel, is an incontestable proof of this course.

This line is also expressed in the new «doctrine» of Washington, begun by Carter and further developed by Reagan, that allegedly peace in the world and the security of peoples can be achieved by means of the «increase of the American power and superiority». In reality, this «doctrine» incites general imperialist war and brings it closer.

The unprecedented build-up of various weapons, from the conventional weapons to atomic bombs equivalent to hundreds of megatons, the incitement of the militarist spirit and the total mobilization to achieve military superiority over the Soviet rival at any cost, are creating the concept in American leading circles that war is not only inevitable, but also an imperative necessity.

All these things show that the world will be faced with an intensification of the aggressive policy of American imperialism, an increase in its interference in internal affairs of other countries and especially in the use of its military force.

In these conditions any concession or giving way to American imperialism, any illusion that its policy might change for the better, carries great dangers for the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the peoples.

Today the hegemonic and expansionist policy for the establishment of world domination, the adventurous course for the preparation and incitement of war also characterize Soviet social-imperialism, the global strategy of which and especially the ways in which it is applied have likewise become more aggressive.

Beginning with the occupation of Czechoslovakia, the policy of the Soviet Union has gradually assumed a pronounced militarist character which is expressed in the use of military force to realize its expansionist aims. Its military interventions followed one another. After Czechoslovakia came Angola, Yemen, Ethiopia, Eritrea, into which the Soviets intervened by third parties. Finally came Afghanistan. Afghanistan marked the commencement of the great march of Soviet social-imperialism towards the South, where the world's greatest resources of energy are found, together with the most important strategic junctions and the fields where the most acute imperialist rivalries collide with one another.

The policy of the Soviet Union has assumed the same aggressive, expansionist, war-mongering features as those of the United States of America. This is clearly apparent from the same objectives which they have chosen and the parallel courses on which they are proceeding. The Soviet Union is seeking military bases in foreign countries and creating political-military alliances with other countries to have them as outposts for the extension of its domination over the peoples and in its contest with American imperialism. Likewise, it is not lagging behind in the armaments race. The Soviets have now a huge military arsenal which they are continuously building up and perfecting in the preparations which they are making for the outbreak of the war. The militarized Soviet economy has been placed in the service of realizing the plans of this new imperialist superpower for conquests.

As a result of all these things, the Soviet Union has been unmasked before the peoples as a ferocious imperialist power which is openly threatening and endangering their freedom and independence.

Nevertheless, among certain people and political forces in various countries, illusions about the Soviet Union still exist and there is a mistaken concept about the order which exists there and a naive trust in its policy. This comes about not only from the fact that the Soviet Union gambles heavily on its socialist past and that it peddles its policy of rivalry with the United States of America as an anti-imperialist policy, but also for many other reasons. The main one among them is that the Soviet expansion is generally carried out through its penetration into the anti-imperialist, liberation movements, transforming them into its instruments and exploiting them to its own advantage. The facts have shown that not only those who have trusted the «internationalist aid» of the Soviet Union, but also those who have believed that they can rely on Soviet «aid» and

alliance with it in order to oppose or gain liberation from American imperialism and other imperialisms, have become victims of its expansion.

It is particularly important to unmask the pacifist demagoguery of the Soviet Union, the Khrushchevite slogans of «peaceful coexistence» and the misleading revisionist propaganda which tries to convince the peoples that averting war and ensuring peace, indeed even national independence and social transformations, depend on the so-called *détente* between the two superpowers. The peoples do not want mounting tension, the development of acute conflicts, or the use of force in the settlement of international problems. But the so-called *détente*, which the Soviet revisionists advocate, has nothing at all to do with guaranteeing international peace and security which are threatened precisely by the two imperialist superpowers.

The *détente* trumpeted by the Soviet revisionists and the others is nothing but the old imperialist theory of balance and harmony among the great powers. The theories of «*détente*», «balance», or «bipolarism», which, despite some nuance in form, are identical in content, are intended to guarantee the mutual spheres of influence, to raise the dictate of superpowers in world affairs, the complete and unconditional submission of other countries to the two supergreat and abandonment of their national interests and sovereignty, to international law.

The imperialist-revisionist policy of war, oppression and exploitation has run into the great resistance of the proletariat and the peoples of the world. The peoples understand the intrigues, manoeuvres, strategy and tactics of the savage superpowers — the United States of America and the revisionist Soviet Union, and are not sitting idle.

The world today is witness to the fact that the struggle of the working class and the peoples, oppressed and exploited by world capital and imperialism, has assumed

wide proportions and a variety of forms never seen before. The working class and all the exploited, in one way or another, with greater or lesser intensity, are fighting against all the capitalist ruling forces, whether local or international, which exploit them, impoverish them and oppress them economically and morally.

In all the capitalist countries, the resistance of the working class to the attacks of the bourgeoisie and its struggle to defend its standard of living and democratic rights have extended. Not only have the strikes, demonstrations and manifestations become more frequent, but the participation of workers in them has also reached unprecedented figures. Millions of workers are on strike in the USA, in Britain, in the FRG, in Italy, in France, Spain and elsewhere. These strikes and demonstrations are assuming a more and more militant character. Proof of this is the fact that in many countries of Europe and America the apparatuses of bourgeois violence have been obliged to use their weapons and fight the workers, as well as to take other restrictive and repressive measures. Cases in which the workers do not obey to bourgeois trade-unions and come out in the streets against the desire and orders of the trade-union bosses have increased.

In the present period the workers' struggle has been directed especially against the consequences of the economic crisis, the burden of which the bourgeoisie wants to throw on to the working class. The working masses have risen against this new injustice and robbery and are demanding that this burden should not fall on them, but on their employers. They are fighting to retain their jobs and real wage levels, fighting against inflation and the increasing cost of living, fighting for increased funds for health, education, social assistance, etc.

The social and political demagogy of capitalism and the opportunism and sabotage activity of social-democracy,

revisionism and the trade-unions under their control are also being exposed and unmasked in this daily confrontation between the working class and the bourgeoisie. This anger and revolt, which is hitting the capitalist and revisionist bourgeoisie in different forms and with different intensities, is also a direct and powerful blow against the sinister forces of war which want the destruction of mankind.

In the capitalist and revisionist countries today, the working class is bound by many chains with which the bourgeois state and the various parties have shackled it. But this state of affairs will not last for ever. The increasingly acute contradictions between labour and capital and the capitalist and imperialist oppression in general are accelerating the rise in the political and class consciousness of the proletariat and making it conscious that it can escape oppression and exploitation only through class struggle, only through revolution.

Besides the upsurge and extension of the struggle of the working class, a general awakening of the oppressed peoples, a strengthening of national feelings, and a greater desire to be free, independent and sovereign can be seen today. The peoples' liberation movements have grown in extent and enhanced their quality, their anti-imperialist, anti-social-imperialist and anti-neo-colonialist character has been strengthened.

The struggle of the Iranian people, who rose in revolution and swept away the Shah and his mediaeval regime and threw out his American patrons, was a heavy blow to imperialism. In Iran, the United States of America suffered a major political defeat which it is unable to reverse through diplomatic methods and economic blackmail, or even through military intervention, as it attempted and failed to do at Tabaz. In Iran, American imperialism lost one of its most important sources of oil, lost colossal profits and lost its credibility as an invincible protector of its Arab

«allies» of the Persian Gulf. The Egyptian-Israeli compromise at Camp David was shaken, and open and surreptitious disagreements with its NATO partners emerged.

The struggle of the Arab peoples against the Israeli occupiers and their American patrons has assumed greater proportions and intensity. In the centre of this struggle stand the heroic Palestinian people who, in extraordinarily difficult conditions, have been waging a titanic battle for tens of years to regain the homeland denied them, to secure their rights and live free and independent on their mother soil. The people of Afghanistan are fighting valiantly and boldly against the Soviet social-imperialists and the local lackeys to regain their national independence.

The peoples of Latin America are shedding their blood in the fight against the fascist dictatorships, which are kept in power with, the direct aid of American imperialism. The liberation and revolutionary movement there is growing and deepening and in many cases has succeeded in conquering the enemies and emerging triumphant. The most recent evidence of this is the triumph of the revolution in Nicaragua, which overthrew one of the most reactionary regimes — that of Somosa, the outbreak of the revolution in Salvador, etc. In the «backyard» of the United States great tempests are blowing up, tempests which cannot be stopped, either with weapons or with dollars.

The African continent is not passive, either. Thanks to a long and persistent struggle, the overwhelming majority of the African countries won their state independence one after the other. Through armed struggle the black population of Zimbabwe succeeded in winning its rights, which a reactionary minority of old colonialists denied it. However, Namibia and the people of South Africa, who continue to live in segregation and without any rights, are not yet liberated. The peoples of Africa have not reconciled and

cannot reconcile themselves to racism. Its existence insults and angers all the African peoples.

The peoples' national liberation wars, the blood shed by the peoples who are fighting for freedom and independence, reflect the hatred for and anger against capitalist exploitation and the imperialist yoke. They confirm Lenin's theses about imperialism as capitalism in decay, as the eve of proletarian revolutions. They confirm that imperialism is heading for the abyss, that it is no longer capable of stopping the revolutionary drive of the peoples who dare to rise against it and are not intimidated by the imperialist pressures, threats and even armed interventions.

The international situation and the danger of war are becoming even more acute because of the grave economic, political and ideological crisis which has swept the capitalist and revisionist world today. The present economic crisis is the clearest and the most concrete expression of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. Unlike the crisis of the 30's, which included the United States of America and the big developed countries especially, the present crisis has engulfed all the capitalist countries, developed or undeveloped, without exception. This greater extent and depth of the crisis results from certain new factors in the development of the capitalist system after the Second World War, such as the further increase in the concentration and internationalization of capital, the establishment of the almost complete domination of the dollar in the world financial system, the extension of the activity of multi-national companies and their ever increasing weight in world production and the growth beyond all bounds of non-productive expenditure, especially on armaments.

The class and liberation struggles, the general weakening of the positions of imperialism, which came about as a result of the destruction of the colonial system and the emergence of scores of new states, which, to this or that

extent, are fighting to achieve complete political and economic independence, have exerted an influence, indeed a great and decisive influence, on the birth and development of the present crisis.

Like all the other crises, the present crisis is one of overproduction. It is the offspring and an inevitable phenomenon of the capitalist system. Unlike the others, this crisis is continuing for a long time and there is no sign of emerging from it.

The capitalist economy remains in stagnation. In some countries production is declining further or showing only some unimportant increase. Because of the restriction of markets, exports are declining on a world scale. The productive capacities of the big industrialized countries are being utilized less and less. Unemployment in those countries has reached 25 million people. Inflation is rising continuously.

Like any other crisis, but more so in this case, the present crisis has proved that, irrespective of the external forms it may assume during its development, the bourgeois system cannot ensure a harmonious growth of the economy, cannot ensure work and food for all the working people, cannot avoid economic catastrophes, and the destruction of productive forces and the national wealth created with the sweat and blood of the working people.

The present crisis is the crisis and failure of state monopoly capitalism. The mechanism of the state monopoly regulation of the economy has not only proved to be powerless against the crises, but has been transformed into another factor increasing the economic difficulties. Thus, it has been proved that the intervention of the monopoly state, the capitalist programming, are unable to eliminate competition, to ensure full employment of the population and to eliminate the obstacles to extended social reproduction.

With the present crisis, the model of the capitalist «consumer» society has received a crushing blow. The economic theories of present-day capitalism, spread and applied in all the big capitalist countries, and which inspired a number of revisionist countries in their economic reforms, have gone bankrupt along with it.

Moreover, the present crisis has clearly shown the decay of the capitalist system, not only in its classical form, but also in the form of capitalism which prevails in the Soviet Union — state monopoly capitalism, and its superstructures. This capitalist form of the domination and exploitation of the working people could not avoid the disturbances in the economy, the disorganization of the productive forces, the decline in production, the fall in the standard of living of the working masses, and the spread of the ills which bourgeois society creates.

If we were to make a general characterization of present-day capitalist and revisionist world economy we would say that it is in a state of stagnation, which is more and more degrading the internal social relations and the relations between states. What stands out most obviously is the intensification of a general attack on the standard of living and the rights of the working people. In almost all countries, expenditure on health, education, aid for children, pensions, etc., is being cut drastically.

Along with the worsening economic situation of the working people, in most of the capitalist countries there are mounting demands for «strong» governments, with the purpose of imposing anti-worker measures on the population and keeping in check the mounting class struggle. In some countries military putsches are carried out, there is terrorism and anarchy, organized by the bourgeois capitalist governments in power, there is illegal trafficking on a colossal scale, robbery organized on a national and international scale, and a hideous, unlimited development of

physical, moral and political corruption. Fascism is knocking at the gates of many countries.

In all directions and in all aspects the present crisis proves that Marx's analysis of capital and Lenin's conclusions about imperialism remain not only correct but also the fundamental scientific basis for understanding the present social processes going on in the capitalist world and the tendencies of their development.

The economic crisis and the aggressive course of the superpowers have made all the contradictions between the imperialist powers more acute and struck heavy blows at their blocs and alliances. The economic, political and military relations within the various imperialist and revisionist groupings have been shaken. The members of Western and Eastern groupings are trying to exploit various splits and to find excuses for not abiding by the commitments, treaties and agreements which exist among them. New conflicts and rivalries have been added to the old ones. This is more obvious especially in the Western bloc.

The American policy of the big stick against the peoples is accompanied with a tightening of the screws on its partners and clients. From Europe, Japan and China, American imperialism demands not only collaboration in all fields, but also complete submission. It is trying to dictate to its NATO allies that they increase their military budgets and accept the stationing of the new American «Pershing» and «Cruise» missiles on their territories, that they do not emerge with a policy of their own and do not flirt with the Soviet Union or the Arabs. However, the situation in the world today and the condition of the United States of America itself are no longer what they were in the time of Truman and the Marshall Plan.

Today, the political and economic power of the United States is declining in comparison with that of Western Europe. The competition from the Common Market and

Japan has become very powerful and threatening. Whereas in 1950 the industrial production of the United States of America was two-thirds of world industrial production, today it is one-third of it. Whereas the USA at that time possessed 50 per cent of the world monetary reserves, today it has only 7 per cent of them. The leadership of American imperialism has been greatly weakened and is accepted reluctantly.

The European members of NATO have now organized and strengthened their economic potential within their countries and abroad, have strengthened their own military arsenal, and have created their reactionary organism — the European Common Market. Its tendency is to oppose the American dictate as much as it can, to restrict the American expansion into the markets of its member countries, to compete on the American market and to extend its own markets. Each of the big states of Western Europe has begun to re-create and strengthen its own spheres of influence on an extensive scale.

The strategy of the European monopolies is aimed at the transformation of Europe, first into an economic superpower, then into a political superpower, and later still into a military superpower. However, these are fields in which it will come into collision with the superpowers and other imperialist powers.

On the chess-board of the present situation, a very favourable piece for the United States of America is China, and Japan along with it. True, China is a weaker partner than «United Europe», but it has greater need for America and is very hostile to the Soviet Union. For this reason American imperialism has decided to provide China with many armaments, including offensive weapons. At the same time, it is putting pressure on Japan to increase its military budget, its army and armaments.

Already a new imperialist alliance between the United

States, Japan and China has taken form in the Far East, and this constitutes another danger that local wars, or a general war, will break out. Apart from American imperialism, which has considered the vast expanses of the Pacific Ocean as its indisputable spheres of influence, now Japan, too, an economic superpower with new imperial ambitions, has emerged with hegemonic pretensions. China, which dreams of becoming the sole ruler of Asia and Oceania, also, has similar ambitions in this zone. The United States of America, for its part, is trying to direct the expansionist tendencies of China and Japan towards the Soviet Union.

In order to cope with and counter the American-Sino-Japanese front in Asia, the Soviet Union is trying to get footholds in Africa, the Middle East, Pakistan, Indochina, and if possible, also in India, while in Europe it seeks to maintain a «détente» with the Common Market and pursues a policy to split the fronts. In other words, it is making every effort to weaken the encirclement around it, to split the military bloc which is being prepared and developed on its two flanks — in Europe and Asia, and to secure dominant strategic positions for an eventual war. However, Europe, for which the Soviet Union constitutes a great threat, does not want to be endangered, either. It is ready to set the others, especially the Sino-Japanese front, fighting the Soviet Union so that this front draws the chestnuts out of the fire for it.

Moreover, it also has its internal problems which frequently bind it hand and foot. «United Europe» is not internally united. The Parliament of Strassburg cannot settle its many problems and the contradictions which are eroding the Common Market. The feuds, rivalries and opposing interests of each state are increasing to such an extent that they are putting the very existence of this Market in jeopardy.

The contradictions and disagreements have become very acute, also, within the so-called socialist community. The Soviet Union itself is in such difficulties that it is no longer able to fulfil the demands of the allied countries for a normal development of their economies. Having long ago turned into appendages of the Soviet economy, these countries are obliged to submit to its ups and downs and caprices.

There are frictions and quarrels also because of the tendency of the satellite countries to move closer to and collaborate with the West. The Soviet Union tries to hinder this rapprochement and to keep the countries of Eastern Europe bound to it with chains. To this end, it is trying in every way to strengthen the Warsaw Treaty, Comecon and the other organisms of economic and political integration, to reinforce its military garrisons in these countries, etc. When this cannot be achieved through agreement, it acts with tanks, as it did in Chechoslovakia in 1968.

The best evidence of the grave situation in the «socialist community» and of the deep contradictions eroding it are the recent events in Poland, which have led that country to the brink of economic catastrophe and to major social and political upheavals. These are consequences of the line pursued by the Polish revisionist party for the re-establishment of capitalism, of the all-round subjugation of the country to the Soviet Union, of opening the doors to Western capital and the consequence of the large debts of Poland, which amount to the colossal sum of 27 billion dollars. Herein lies the source of the revolts of the working class and working people of Poland.

The revolt of the workers of Poland has confirmed two capital questions of principled importance. It has shown that the working class has the strength to destroy a reactionary state power, either revisionist or capitalist.

On the other hand, it has demonstrated that the subjec-

tive factor, the political force which leads the working class, plays a decisive role. In the case of «Solidarity», the working class is manipulated and directed by the Catholic Church and Polish and world reaction, which are fighting to establish another revisionist-capitalist regime on a course full of unexpected dangers and tragic consequences. Otherwise, had a truly Marxist-Leninist communist party — the subjective factor, been in the leadership, the Polish working class would have carried out the proletarian revolution and established the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The way for the working class and people of Poland and of all the other revisionist countries to escape capitalist exploitation and foreign oppression is not through reconciliation with the revisionist regime in power and with the Soviet social-imperialist slavery, or through uniting with Western capital and reaction. The only way to ensure the development of the economy, the freedom and independence of the country and the re-establishment of socialism is through the open and resolute struggle of the masses of the people under the leadership of the working class, with a genuine Marxist-Leninist party at its head.

The sharpening of the contradictions among the imperialist powers, as well as with their partners within their military and economic blocs, is increasingly leading to new tensions and conflicts, to wars of a local and general character for the redivision of markets, sources of raw materials and spheres of influence. This is a law of the development of capitalism.

However, the inter-imperialist contradictions and conflicts also cause the weakening of the imperialist system as a whole and of its individual links. It is up to the conscious revolutionary forces to know how to utilize the situations created by these contradictions in order to mobilize the masses, to make them conscious and engage them in struggle and revolution.

The neo-colonialist system created by imperialism after the Second World War is also in a grave crisis at present. In order to retain their political and economic domination, to ensure the maximum exploitation of the wealth of former colonial countries, to restrain the growth of the liberation movements of the freedom-loving peoples, the imperialists have tried to find and employ new ever more deceptive and sophisticated forms of oppression and enslavement.

By means of the system of credits, loans, aid, and various funds, they have turned these countries into permanent debtors at the mercy of creditors who, in return for the money provided, demand not only their title-deeds, but also their souls. Accompanying the credits and aid, the multi-national companies have established themselves, becoming not only monopoly holders of concessions for the exploitation of the mines, oil, electric power, wholesale trade, communications, etc., but also political centres with which the different groups in power in each country are linked. The big banks with alluring names like the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the European Development Fund, etc., have been transformed into the headquarters of international neo-colonialism for the domination and exploitation of the new countries. They are the financial and political centres which, together with the multi-nationals, organize and inspire coups d'état, topple governments and establish others, and even cause local wars when the interests of big capital require this. These conflicts have been turned into big business for the sale of arms and have been used for conducting tests on live testing grounds.

But besides this savage and all-round exploitation, certain changes of the economic and social structures have occurred in the former colonial countries, which are the result of investments, the introduction of new

technique and technology, the extension of communications, etc., which the imperialists have been obliged to carry out so as to achieve greater and more rapid plunder of the wealth above and below the ground. This has also brought about the creation of new local social strata such as the national bourgeoisie, workers of various categories, and a new intelligentsia necessary to work in the economic, political and administrative sectors.

This development has opened the eyes of many people of these strata, especially among the new intelligentsia, who no longer reconcile themselves to the forms and methods which are used for the oppression and exploitation of their peoples.

National revolutionary consciousness is mounting everywhere. This is clearly apparent in the extension of the movement of various countries and forces which are struggling for the establishment of national sovereignty over their own national assets, re-evaluation of raw materials and sources of energy, for equal exchanges with mutual benefit in international trade, for alteration of the international monetary system established by imperialism, for the restriction and elimination of the monopoly economic power of the multi-national companies, etc. This movement has deepened the existing economic crisis, and especially the energy and raw materials crisis which has gripped the capitalist and revisionist world.

The big capitalist powers have built their industrial empires with the oil they have robbed from other peoples and the raw materials they have bought cheaply. The parasitic and uncontrolled consumption of world resources of energy and raw materials has created the present critical situation in this basic sector of the development of the economy of every country.

Energy and raw materials exist, but they are no longer found at cheap prices. The big imperialist and

capitalist powers are now unable to completely dominate the sources of raw materials and dictate their prices. The producing countries, which have woken up and are defending their interests, which are seeking development, want to make investments in industry, agriculture and other sectors of their national economy, are resisting the pressure for low prices for oil and raw materials.

The resistance and struggle of peoples dominated by neo-colonialism in defence of their rights, assets and national sovereignty is an irresistible process which will increase and develop further in the future.

Imperialism and its system of neo-colonialist oppression and exploitation is profoundly aware of this threat. Therefore, it is making every effort, using demagoguery and deception here and force there, to suppress this movement, to confuse its revolutionary and progressive vanguard, to make it deviate and lead it into a blind alley. On the other hand, in order to deceive the peoples of the oppressed and dependent countries, and to keep the rotten neo-colonialist system in existence at all costs, its defenders try to create the impression among world opinion generally that these countries are completely free and sovereign, that they have the right to their «independent» say in the various international organizations and even to disagree with and oppose the superpowers.

Imperialism stimulated and encouraged the emergence of various movements and theories which created this impression. One of them is the «non-aligned» movement. The basis of it was advocacy of non-participation in political and military blocs and defence of the interests of the economically undeveloped countries against the superpower policy. Now, however, when the rivalry between the superpowers has increased, when the crisis has narrowed the fields for manoeuvre, it is quite apparent

that a large number of «non-aligned» countries are uniting with one or the other superpower. Along with the splitting of the movement and the many conflicts between different so-called non-aligned countries, the demagogic theories so painstakingly concocted by the different leaders, especially the Yugoslavs, who have wanted to become the leaders and ideologists of this group, collapsed, too. Now it has ended up as an ill-defined, fluid and fickle movement which flares up and dies down according to the situations which are created and the interests of the superpowers.

At one time, the Chinese theory of «three worlds» also emerged as a theory in defence of neo-colonialism and especially of the American domination of the world. But it melted away like salt crystals in water. It was played as a trump card, but was very quickly overtrumped. Our Party exposed and attacked this reactionary, counter-revolutionary theory.

In recent years there has been a great deal of propaganda about what is called the «new international economic order» which is supposed to solve the great tangle of problems that are worrying the economically undeveloped countries today, such as those of industrialization, food, the transformation of the structures of production, etc. Around this «new order» various theories have been created, complete schemes and projects have been presented and concrete actions have been undertaken, such as the so-called North-South dialogue, the Conference of the 77, the special meetings of the General Assembly of the United Nations, etc.

However, years have gone by and nothing has been achieved, because the imperialists and the neo-colonialists do not renounce their privileges and dominant positions. The fruitless resolutions of various international meetings

and the decisions to hold new meetings are all that remains from them.

Of course, it is essential that the international economic relations are changed. This is the desire and demand of the peoples who are fighting to break free from the chains of neo-colonialism. But in what way can these be achieved? The revisionists and other opportunists pretend that this can be achieved by means of propaganda, by means of the education of capitalists, and by means of talks. The opinion that a new international economic order can be achieved through moralizing sermons is not only beyond any bounds of reality and possibility, but also an ill-intentioned fraud. The correct course is the struggle of the peoples to defend their rights to the end, resolute opposition to the neo-colonialist plunder, the taking over and the sovereign administration of the national assets. Only thus can the undeveloped countries impose their just demands for equal exchanges in the economic field, collaboration with mutual benefit, etc., on the big imperialist and capitalist powers.

The big imperialist powers, together with those not quite so big, think and theorize that it is they who have the fate of nations and mankind in their hands and act accordingly, and on this basis they seek to subjugate the peoples. These aggressive powers underestimate the strength of the peoples. Their vision is obscured and they do not want to see that every advance of the peoples towards opposing the twofold oppression and enslavement, external and internal, makes a breach which will be widened in the wall of the capitalist and imperialist prison.

American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism make great efforts to appear as two invincible superpowers. True, they have great military and economic potential, influence and interfere in the internal affairs of other peoples and states, but to have weapons, to have dollars

or rubles does not mean that you have invincible power. The imperialist superpowers must be appraised as they really are, neither underestimating nor overestimating them. They are powerful and ferocious, but they are also in decay, they are worm-eaten and degenerate, and their foundations are shaky.

World capital is making great efforts to escape the crisis, to protect itself from the peoples' liberation struggles and from the revolution, this terrible iron grip which has it by the throat and is strangling it. But escape is impossible, because it is the capitalist system itself which creates political, economic and ideological crises and which fuels them and intensifies them to the highest degree. In order to emerge from the chaos which capitalism creates, to escape once and for all capitalist oppression and exploitation, the neo-colonialist yoke of foreigners and the domination of reaction, there is no other course apart from the revolution, the overthrow of imperialism and capitalism.

The struggle of the peoples, the struggle of the proletariat against their enemies will surge ahead. It is an objective historical process which no force can stop.

The complex and difficult situations which have been and are being created in the world face our Party and our socialist state with the duty of maintaining the revolutionary vigilance always at a high level, and taking measures for the all-round strengthening of the economy and defence, and the unity and political consciousness of the people. These situations, likewise, demand that our foreign policy should be active, should ever better serve the defence of the interests of the Homeland and the victories of socialism, the advance of the cause of the revolution, the liberation of the peoples and peace in the world, and the support of all those processes which assist

the emancipation and progress of present-day human society.

Our foreign policy, as the policy of a socialist state, of a truly free society without exploiting classes, is a revolutionary and internationalist policy. It is free from the slightest sign of narrow bourgeois nationalism, chauvinism, national exclusiveness, or of underration of other peoples. The Albanian people have respect for every people and wish all peoples well.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania firmly upholds the principle that each people has the right to choose its own course of development and decide its own fate in a sovereign way.

As a completely free country, socialist Albania says what it thinks openly, without any hesitation and with complete sincerity. It applies a sovereign foreign policy which is not restricted by political pacts, military treaties or closed economic organizations. It does not base its economic and political development, its defence and its future on the credits, loans or aid from other states, but on its own forces.

As a result of this, the voice of Albania has always been a free, realistic and objective voice in a world where the dependence on and subjugation of many states to big imperialist powers restrict and distort any independent thought or action.

During the period since the 7th Congress of the Party, our state, basing itself on the well-known principles of equality, respect for sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and reciprocal benefit, has extended its diplomatic, commercial and cultural relations with an ever greater number of states and has steadily increased its exchanges with them in various fields. Today the People's Socialist Republic of Albania maintains diplomatic relations with 95 states, as against 74 states with which it

maintained relations at the time of the 7th Congress of the Party.

The policy of our Party and our socialist state has been and always will be for the continuous strengthening of 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 imperialists. It is for the development of sincere collaboration with all those countries which wish it well and maintain a correct attitude towards it.

Our Party and country are opposed to all those imperialist and neo-colonialist practices of inequality, discrimination and great-state dictate in international relations. We believe that the relations between states, whether big or small, should be free from any kind of economic, political or military pressure and dictate, and should serve their economic, cultural and social development, the strengthening of friendship between sovereign peoples and states, and the interests of the maintenance and strengthening of peace in the world.

Our socialist state has been and is for the normal and free development of international trade on the basis of equality and reciprocal benefit. Our country is for balanced trade exchanges without discrimination or restrictive measures, therefore it has expressed its opposition to unequal relations in trade exchanges, to the manipulation of prices and in general, to machinations and attempts by any state at all, which aims to exploit trade relations as a means of pressure in order to dictate its own political will and views to the other state.

We do not confuse trade exchanges with receiving of aid and credits. These are two separate, unconnected things.

The way we understand and carry on foreign trade, leaves the Albanian state a free hand to act and decide

for itself, to have its say just as it thinks and to build the country with its own forces as it desires.

Our country has concluded a series of cultural agreements with many countries and carries on regular exchanges in the fields of art, culture, science, sports, etc. These exchanges have served to acquaint our peoples reciprocally with one another's achievements and progress. Our people value and utilize everything good and progressive which other peoples have. Progressive experience and culture are the treasure of all mankind. At the same time, we make efforts to acquaint the other peoples with the values of our culture, too, which is as ancient as it is progressive.

It is the principled and independent internal and foreign policy of our Party and socialist state, their just stands on international issues, their struggle on the side of the peoples and against imperialism, which have strengthened the international position of Albania and raised its prestige.

The word and deed of Albania are listened to and welcomed with respect by the peoples and workers of different countries, because they are in conformity with their own interests and aspirations. That is why the peoples and progressive opinion throughout the world prize and approve this policy, why the countries and states with different social systems follow it with interest and admire it, while reaction and the Soviet, Yugoslav and other modern revisionists attack it.

As is natural and understandable, our Party and Government have devoted special care to relations with neighbouring countries and, in a wider framework, with the European countries. Our stands towards them are known and they do not alter. At all times and in every situation, the aim of the foreign policy of Albania has been to contribute as much as possible to the strengthening of peace and international security on our continent

and to the strengthening of collaboration amongst its peoples. We have said and still say that the participation of the majority of the countries of Europe in the military and the political blocs of the superpowers is the cause of its misfortune. This is where the divisions and splits in Europe, the frequent tensions and confrontations between different countries of this continent, have their source.

That policy which seeks to persuade the European peoples that by sheltering under the atomic umbrellas of the superpowers, their freedom, national independence and the general peace are allegedly guaranteed, is an extremely dangerous policy and a fraud. This policy does not ensure these things, but sacrifices them. The fact is that in the name of future security, present-day security has been sacrificed, sovereignty has been crippled and the freedom of action and independent stands of many Eastern and Western states in the international arena have been restricted.

The Helsinki Declaration has been presented to the European countries as a guarantee of their independence and sovereignty and a means to ensure peace. We have clearly expressed our attitude towards the Helsinki Conference and the so-called European security. Socialist Albania did not take part in it and denounced it as a farce hatched up by the two superpowers with the objective of guaranteeing and strengthening their respective spheres of influence in Europe, of legalizing and perpetuating their domination on this continent. The events that have occurred in Europe and around it since the Helsinki Conference have completely corroborated and justified the stand of Albania. Time has shown that the so-called «Helsinki spirit», «peaceful collaboration», «the free circulation of people and ideas», etc., were nothing but hollow-sounding slogans to deceive the European peoples, to arouse the illusion in them that the danger of war is allegedly

being removed and that the maintenance of the imperialist status quo in Europe is their salvation.

Our view is that only resolute opposition to American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, the liquidation of military blocs and the removal of atomic weapons and foreign troops can ensure the peace in Europe.

The problems of the Balkans are the same as those which are worrying Europe as a whole, but here, because of the strategic position which this peninsula occupies and the old feuds, the conflicts are more acute and the dangers greater.

The situation is made even more complicated by the fact that the superpowers, proceeding from their hegemonic interests and their desire to transform the Balkans «permanently into a powder keg», are trying to arouse chauvinist passions and sentiments, to pit the Balkan peoples and countries against one another, to prevent the relations between them from developing normally and in a positive direction, and to undermine the strengthening of friendship between neighbouring peoples.

The dangers in the Balkans are increased especially due to the participation of some countries of this region in the military and economic blocs of the superpowers, the existence of foreign military bases, and permitting the American and Soviet fleets to enter their territorial waters and stay in their ports, etc.

Such developments create tensions and are fraught with dangers for the Balkan peoples. In every direction and aspect they are in opposition to the sincere efforts and desires of the peoples of the Balkans for the establishment of trust, understanding and genuine collaboration between the countries of our peninsula.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania upholds the view that at present the genuine aspirations of the peoples of the Balkans, peace and stability in this zone,

can be served best by not allowing the imperialist superpowers to interfere in the internal affairs of the countries of our region and by taking concrete and constructive steps for the positive development of relations on the basis of the good neighbour policy. The situation in the Balkans would be greatly improved if the Balkan countries undertake officially not to allow the superpowers to threaten or endanger other neighbouring countries from their territories. In the future, just as in the past, socialist Albania will consistently adhere to this policy and will make every effort to ensure that mutual respect and genuine understanding prevail in its relations with the neighbouring states.

Albania has been guided by these principles and these aims in its relations with Yugoslavia, too. It has been predisposed to and has made all efforts for the normal and correct development of good neighbourly relations, such as those in the field of trade, transport, cultural exchanges and in other fields of mutual interest.

In our relations with Yugoslavia we have always proceeded from the fact that our peoples have been living beside one another for centuries, that frequently in history they have had a common fate, that when foreign invaders have attacked one they have not spared the other. As a result of these things, irrespective of the ideological and political contradictions which have existed and still exist between our two countries and which are already known world wide, irrespective of the ideological polemic which has been and is being developed by the two sides, we always seek to live in peace with Yugoslavia, as good neighbours, without interference in each other's internal affairs and respecting the rights of each.

The policy of socialist Albania towards Yugoslavia has always been constant, unaltered in its foundations and principles. If there have been ups and downs, improve-

ments and deteriorations in Albanian-Yugoslav relations, this has come about not through any fault of ours, but through the fault of the Yugoslav leading circles. The present deterioration in the relations between the PSR of Albania and SFR of Yugoslavia also is a consequence of chauvinist actions of the Belgrade authorities towards the population of Kosova and their incitement of a new campaign of hostility against our country.

As far as the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is concerned, the attitudes and behaviour of Yugoslavs towards it will not make it waver from its principles or make it change course. Its desire is that the state relations in different fields between the two countries should develop normally. However, this will depend on the stand of Yugoslavia towards socialist Albania and on its treatment of the Albanians of Kosova and other parts of Yugoslavia.

The problem of the Albanians who live on their own territories in Yugoslavia is not a problem of a «minority» which has immigrated to or settled somewhere in an «empty» zone as an economic immigration, is not a result of the onslaught of the Ottoman Empire, nor of the natural demographic increase of Albanians, which is worrying the Great-Serb neo-Malthusians. The Albanians in Yugoslavia constitute an ethnos, a people formed centuries ago, who have their own history, language and culture, an autochthonous people who, as is known, were cut up and were separated from their Motherland by the imperialist great powers and annexed to Yugoslavia. This nobody can conceal. Any other interpretation is arbitrary, a flagrant and harmful falsification of history.

The Albanian people did not allow the fascist occupiers or anyone else to determine the Motherland of the Albanian ethnos. The Albanians have fought unceasingly for centuries against many savage enemies, much greater in numbers, in order to defend their national identity and

their very existence. In all these wars, both in defeat and in victory, in the long years of enslavement, throughout their history, the Albanian people have never lost their national identity and national consciousness, their compactness and unity. In all circumstances they have manifested these things with an extraordinary and exemplary vitality.

The empires and the great powers were quite unable to wipe out the compact ethnos of Albanians, nor were they able to assimilate them or to alter their culture, language, habits and customs. The very existence of the Albanian people proves this. History shows that without any support from foreign powers, which have always been opposed to them, the Albanian people have fought successfully for the freedom and compactness of their nation, to defend their independence as a sovereign state, their culture and their own natural and legitimate rights. At all times they have achieved victory only by fighting and shedding their blood for it.

During the Second World War, the Albanian people and the peoples of Yugoslavia fought together and as close comrades-in-arms against the Italian and the German fascist invaders. The Albanians who live in Yugoslavia also fought heroically together with us and all the peoples of Yugoslavia against the same enemies. Not only did they fight together, but our National Liberation Army went to the aid of the Yugoslav partisans and the Kosova brothers, and the blood of the sons and daughters of the Albanian people was shed on their land. We acted as the Communist Party of Albania taught us, with a high level of consciousness and internationalist spirit. We thought that the peoples of our two countries would win freedom in this way, that enslavement would be eliminated and the tragic mistakes of past history would be corrected. We believed that after the victory everything would be

settled in the Marxist-Leninist way. Our communist parties, which led the National Liberation War in the two countries, were a guarantee for this. However, our belief in the «communism and internationalism» of the Yugoslav leaders, our trust in their words, proved to be unjustified. In fact, the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia never took a proper Marxist-Leninist view of the question of the future of the Albanians in Yugoslavia, therefore this question was bound to be settled, as it was settled, in a wrong and distorted fashion, in an utterly anti-Marxist, nationalist and chauvinist way.

The wrong solution of this great issue of principle began at the 2nd Meeting of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council of Yugoslavia, held at Jajce, in November 1943, where the Albanian regions in Yugoslavia were used as a means to adjust the proportions of the territories and populations of the republics of the Federation, and more precisely of Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro. The future of the Albanians in Yugoslavia was decided apriori from above, without the approval and self-determination of the Albanian people of Kosova and the other Albanian regions of Yugoslavia, and without the slightest consultation with the ally of the peoples of Yugoslavia directly interested in this question — people's Albania. Contrary to the «policy of national equality» proclaimed at the 2nd Meeting of the AVNOJ, the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia unjustly violated the will of the Albanians in Yugoslavia, expressed at the meeting of the 1st Founding Conference of the National Liberation Council for Kosova and Metohia, held at Bujan from December 31, 1943 to January 2, 1944, which was completely in conformity with the right of «self-determination up to secession» of the peoples who constituted Yugoslavia, and which had been defined in the fundamental documents of the Com-

unist Party and the National Liberation Movement of Yugoslavia.

In regard to consultation with people's Albania on the settlement of this historical problem, the Yugoslav leadership apriori considered it unnecessary. It was against such consultation, because it knew that a principled Marxist-Leninist friendly discussion between the leaderships of our two countries, taking also into account the free will of the Albanians living on their own land in Yugoslavia, would lead to a just solution and not to an arbitrary chauvinist and nationalist solution, such as that which the Yugoslav leadership adopted.

After the war, in 1946, a delegation from our country, which I headed, paid the first official visit to Yugoslavia. In the talks which were held with Tito on this occasion, he wanted to know what I thought about the solution of the question of Kosova and the other Albanian regions in Yugoslavia. I expressed the opinion of the Albanian side that Kosova and the other regions inhabited by the Albanians belonged to Albania and should be returned to it. The Albanians fought to have a free and sovereign Albania, with which the Albanian regions in Yugoslavia should now be united. President Tito replied: «I agree with your view, but we cannot do this for the time being, because the Serbs would not understand us.» This official promise of Tito's on this great issue of principle was not accompanied with any further action on the part of the Yugoslavs. The whole thing was a fraud on their part.

The fundamental error of a nationalist and chauvinist character of the Yugoslav leadership, which was followed by other equally grave errors in connection with the legitimate and natural rights of Albanians who are now accused by the Great-Serbs of being «chauvinist», «nationalist» and «irredentist», lies in the wrong solution at Jajce, in the dividing up of Albanian territories and in the

denial of the expression of the free will of the Albanians. The recent events in Kosova and the other Albanian regions in Yugoslavia have their source in this very wrong and anti-Leninist solution of the national question in Yugoslavia, and especially in regard to the Albanian entity of about 2 million inhabitants, nearly as many as the total population of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Right from the start, Serbian, Montenegrine and Macedonian chauvinism followed a savage nationalist policy of oppression and discrimination against Albanians in all directions, in education, culture, the economy, etc.

Even in the period when there were good relations between our country and Yugoslavia and between the two parties, the problem of the Albanians in Yugoslavia was a «ball and chain» on the legs of the Yugoslavs. They did not examine the Albanians' demands and causes of complaint, did not settle them politically through understanding, but settled them with violence, with savage administrative measures. The Albanians were accused of nationalism and this was done to cover up the Serbian chauvinism and nationalism. Nothing can cover up or justify the bloody reprisals against the Albanians of Yugoslavia in 1945, 1968 and again in 1981, the discrimination imposed upon them, leaving them in poverty, the national oppression, the denial of their rights and great discrimination in the field of education and culture. The falling into disgrace of the Great-Serb group of Ranković in 1966, and later that of the other Great-Serb group of Nikezić marks the period of the Titoites' political demagoguery towards Kosova and the Kosovars. The need to balance the various forces within the Federation led to a certain formal revision of the status of Kosova which, from a simple region of Serbia, was called an «autonomous» region of Serbia.

Whether the Serbs liked it or not, this new situation gave the Albanians in Yugoslavia, and especially the

Kosovars, possibilities to extend their schooling, to set up the University of Prishtina, to develop their culture, to learn the history of their people, to establish contacts and educational-cultural and economic relations with Albania, on the basis of the laws of the Federation and official agreements between the PSRA and the SFRY. However, the economic base of the Autonomous Socialist Region of Kosova still remained too weak and was neglected. Its assets were still unscrupulously exploited by the other republics of the Federation, especially by Serbia. All the «solutions», which were presented with great clamour during this period, were unavailing, temporary and useful only to Belgrade and Skoplje. According to the occasion, without saying so openly, they were considered either as «opportunistic concessions of Tito's», as occurred among the Serbs, or as «victories achieved thanks to Tito», as they were loudly proclaimed by some Albanian leaders of the Autonomous Socialist Region of Kosova. Meanwhile the masses of Albanians did not nurse many illusions, because what was given them was very little compared with the major rights which they had been denied and robbed of.

The events which have occurred since the death of Tito have shown how wrongly and on what an anti-Marxist course the national question in Yugoslavia, and especially the question of the Albanians, had been settled. A heavy and bloody blow was dealt to their lawful demands, recognized in the Constitution, by the Serbian chauvinist leadership and the whole Yugoslav leadership after the demonstrations which were held in Kosova in March and April this year. Now, apart from the deplorable economic situation, savage national oppression is being imposed on the Kosovars and all the other Albanians in Yugoslavia more than at any other time. A reign of terror has been established over them, the Serbian police and army have been poured in and the jails are packed with young men and

women. The measures which are continually being taken are directed not only towards the elimination of any legitimate rights and those few gains which appeared in the development of education and culture, but also towards the denationalization of the Albanians in Yugoslavia. And this is being done by those who claim that they respect the documents of the Helsinki Conference about freedoms and human rights. World opinion must not remain indifferent, but ought to be alarmed about this tragic situation of the Albanian population in Yugoslavia.

After all, what did the Albanians demand in the mass demonstrations which were held in various towns and villages of Kosova?

The Albanians in Yugoslavia have demanded more than once, through peaceful demonstrations and without demonstrations, that their constitutional, economic and socio-cultural situation should be corrected and put on the right road within the laws of the Federation. They demanded the status of a Republic within the SFRY. They did not demand either secession from the Federation or unification with Albania. However, the just and lawful demands of the students, workers, peasants and intellectuals of Kosova went unheeded. Moreover, as at other times when they had presented such lawful and just demands, they were described as nationalist, were persecuted and bloodily suppressed.

Can these problems be solved in this way in our times? Never. It is impossible to keep a people, whose territory contains great wealth and is plundered by others, in poverty and want. It is impossible to keep a valiant people, like the Albanians, under the threat of tanks and bayonets. It is impossible to distort or eliminate their ancient history and culture. It is impossible to wipe out their patriotic sentiments and love for their Homeland.

If the present Yugoslav leadership proceeds on the

course it has chosen and is pursuing, the opposition of the Albanians will continue, will grow and become even more acute. Only a solution of the national question which is well considered by the two sides without passion, a solution which is accepted and approved by the people of Kosova, can eliminate this very complicated situation which has been created not by the people of Kosova, but by Great-Serb chauvinism. The people of Kosova proposed the fairest and most suitable solution in this situation, which is difficult for Yugoslavia and for themselves. The demand to raise Kosova to the status of a Republic within the Federation is a just demand. It does not threaten the existence of the Federation. Instead of being reasonable, the Serbian and Yugoslav chiefs sent in the tanks, shed the people's blood and now they are going ahead on a wide scale with their famous differentiation, that is, police investigations: who was for and who was against demonstrations. To act in this way, first with terror and then allegedly with «differentiation», means to try to intimidate the masses who cannot be intimidated, to eliminate their patriotism which cannot be eliminated, to have the illusion that you have calmed the situation when you have aroused indignation and anger, to think that you have brought «trustworthy people» into the state power which you have purged of «nationalists», etc., when you have only impelled the whole people to silent resistance, who tomorrow will raise their voices with greater force against the atrocities which are being committed. The Yugoslav leaders do not want to understand this situation.

Because we state these truths openly and demand that the problem of Kosova and all the Albanians in Yugoslavia, which has been settled wrongly, should be re-studied with cool heads, avoiding the use of violence and terror, because we demand an end to the persecutions and the release

from jail of the boys and girls of Kosova, they accuse the PSR of Albania of interfering in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia and even of inciting the disturbances in Kosova and elsewhere! And how is it allegedly inciting these disturbances? By means of official educational and cultural relations. They even go so far as to claim that the PSR of Albania is making common cause with Albanian political reaction in exile, which we have always fought with all our strength.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has never interfered in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. The opposite has occurred. The Yugoslav revisionists plotted to bring about the liquidation of the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania and the incorporation of Albania into the Yugoslav Federation as its 7th republic, aiming in this way, through an annexationist and imperialist course, to resolve the problem of the whole Albanian nation once and for all. However, these plots did not succeed and they will never succeed. Albania is not and never will become a means of regulation to calm the conflicts and contradictions between the Yugoslav clans. It belongs to its people, a people full of vitality, valiant and patriotic, who fear no one.

Albania has never made territorial claims against Yugoslavia, and no demand for border re-adjustments can be found in its documents. While maintaining this stand, however, we have not denied and never will deny the fact that a good part of the Albanian nation and people lives in Yugoslavia. We have defended the legitimate rights of our Albanian brothers across the border and we shall continue to defend them in the future with all our might and in a Marxist-Leninist way, and this is not interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. This is our undeniable right.

The question of Kosova is a tragedy. The Yugoslav

authorities must cease their terror and persecution of the Albanians, eliminate the national oppression, and recognize all the rights due to them. To solve the problems justly, they must talk calmly, without heat and on terms of equality with the Albanian population in Yugoslavia.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has devoted special care to strengthening friendly relations with Greece. In recent years these relations have assumed further development in all fields. Commercial exchanges have been extended and are developing successfully to the advantage of both sides. The collaboration in the field of culture, the coming and going of artistic groups, the reciprocal visits of people of art, education and science, have assisted our peoples to become better acquainted with one another's achievements and progress. They have served to strengthen the ancient and traditional friendship which links our two countries. Convinced that the relations of friendship and understanding between Albania and Greece fully respond to the common interests and aspirations of our peoples, the PSR of Albania will make every effort to extend and develop these relations in the future.

We note with satisfaction that the Greek government and the Greek people also are predisposed to and desire that the relations between our two countries should proceed on the basis of friendship and good neighbourliness. The sentiments of the Albanian people and the Greek people are in accord in many directions. They wish each other well and rejoice at each other's progress, proceeding from the principle that each is master in his own house and his own affairs. The friendship between the Albanian people and the Greek people is a lasting friendship, which will unceasingly be strengthened and flourish in the interests of our peoples and peace and security in the Balkans. Efforts by anyone to break this friendship will

fail. We are convinced that now all the conditions and possibilities have been created, so that through common efforts any obstacle can be removed and broad avenues of development of fruitful relations with mutual benefit can be opened between our two friendly countries.

We are ready to work with Italy for the further development of normal relations in conformity with the aspirations and interests of our two neighbouring peoples. Many links have existed between Albania and Italy in various fields, such as those of trade, transport and cultural exchanges, etc. Our peoples have always wished to live in peace and friendship with one another. Although several times in the course of history they have been divided and set at loggerheads, they have tried to come together, to collaborate and strengthen the atmosphere of mutual trust and understanding.

The possibilities exist for further progress in Albanian-Italian relations. It is our desire that they proceed well, but this depends also on the predisposition and interest of the Italian side to collaborate with Albania in a new spirit, in friendship and complete equality.

The relations of our country with the Republic of Turkey have developed and are developing more and more in the spirit of friendship and collaboration. The growing goodwill and respect between our two peoples and countries create a good basis for the further extension and strengthening of these relations in the future.

During their history, the Albanian people and the Turkish people have had friendly links and affinities with each other. The Turkish people, who have an ancient history and culture, have had great respect for the valiant men of Albania, for the scholars, philosophers, statesmen, architects, writers and poets of Albanian birth or origin, who have made their contribution to the efforts of the Turkish people for progress.

The Albanian people have special admiration and respect for Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, that outstanding personality and statesman, who, with great courage and inspired by democratic progressive ideas, liberated Turkey and its valiant people from the complex of enslaving other peoples, which characterized the Sultans' empire, consolidated the unity and genuine independence of the Turkish nation and set Turkey on the course of democracy and progress.

The Albanian people have been aware of the feelings of goodwill towards Albania held by Kemal Atatürk who opposed King Zog, the tyrant of the Albanian people.

The sincere friendship of the Turkish people towards the Albanian people and the lofty spirit of Atatürk can be seen clearly in their fraternal sheltering of hundreds of thousands of our brothers from Kosova, who were driven from their lands in Yugoslavia. We thank the fraternal Turkish people for this and for their friendship towards the Albanian people, a friendship which is reciprocal.

Positive new steps have been made in our friendly relations with the French Republic. We appreciate the efforts of the ever more numerous well-wishers of Albania in France to strengthen the friendship between our two peoples. The Albanian people, for their part, nurture friendly feelings and have respect for the talented French people, for their revolutionary traditions and their progress.

As in the past, we sincerely desire that the relations of our state with Austria, Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland and Portugal should be further developed and extended in the positive and friendly direction they have taken in recent years.

The post-Second World War British governments have adopted hostile, anti-democratic stands towards new Albania. Apart from this, they seized the Albanian gold plundered by the Hitlerites and to this day are still exploit-

ing it in their own interests, by not returning it to the rightful owner, socialist Albania.

In these circumstances, can there be any talk of diplomatic relations between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and Britain? The British Government must immediately return the gold to Albania together with the interests accrued from the arbitrary exploitation of it. Let no one doubt that socialist Albania will defend its interests and will fight against injustices which have been or are being done to it.

There are no insurmountable difficulties to the establishment of diplomatic relations between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Federal Republic of Germany. We believe that with understanding on the part of both sides over certain questions that remain suspended since the Second World War, this situation can be put in order.

The profound principled ideological and political disagreements of our Party and state with the countries of Eastern Europe are well-known. While not relinquishing the struggle against modern revisionism, we are for the normal development of relations, for trade exchanges on the basis of equality and reciprocal benefit with Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria and Hungary.

A sincere and ancient friendship links the Albanian people with the fraternal Arab peoples. We have supported and will continue to support to the end and energetically the just struggle of the Arab peoples for the liberation of the Arab territories occupied by the Israeli Zionist aggressors and the re-establishment of all the legitimate rights of the martyred Palestinian people. In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and in the Albanian people, the heroic Palestinian people and their lawful representative, the Palestine Liberation Organiza-

tion, have had and will always have sincere friends and resolute defenders of their just national cause.

We note with particular satisfaction the friendly development of the relations of our country with Algeria, Syria, Iraq, Libya, Lebanon, Tunisia, Egypt and other Arab countries. We desire that these relations should find further concretization and development. Likewise, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is for friendly relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran and will spare no efforts for their development and strengthening.

The Albanian people and their government have welcomed and supported the just struggle of the African peoples to eradicate colonialism and racism from the continent of Africa and have supported the efforts of the freedom-loving peoples of African countries to cope with the aggressive, neo-colonialist and predatory policy and activity of imperialism. With Tanzania, Guinea, Mali, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and other friendly countries of Africa, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania maintains friendly relations and is for further development of them.

Our country has good relations also with a number of countries of Asia. With the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, with Laos and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, our relations are developing in a friendly way and we express our desire that they should be further strengthened in the future.

In regard to Cambodia, our Party and state have condemned the bloodthirsty activities of the Pol Pot clique, a tool of the Chinese social-imperialists. We hope that the Cambodian people will surmount the difficulties they are encountering as soon as possible and decide their own fate and future in complete freedom without any «guardian».

Now it is known world-wide that, apart from formal diplomatic relations, there are no other concrete relations

between our country and China. This situation has been created through no fault of ours. It is a consequence of the hostile, anti-Albanian policy and activity of the Chinese leadership.

The establishment of diplomatic relations with Japan also creates the conditions for and opens the way to the development of trade between our two countries.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has normal relations with Mexico, Peru, Argentina, Panama, and other countries of Latin America. It is ready to establish such relations also with other states of this continent which are for a friendly approach and for trade and cultural exchanges with our country.

With the United States of America and the Soviet Union, which are the most ferocious enemies of the freedom and independence of the peoples and of peace and security in the world, our country does not maintain and will not maintain any relations. As in the past, we shall always continue our resolute struggle for the exposure of their aggressive and hegemonic policy and activity.

In the future, too, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania will continue to work for the development of the international relations in the positive direction. In this spirit, it will spare no efforts in the United Nations Organization and other international organizations to make its contribution to the defence of the interests and aspirations of the peoples.

The principled foreign policy followed by our Party and country expresses the aspirations of the Albanian people and enjoys their complete and boundless support and backing. In the future, too, our Party will struggle for the consistent and resolute implementation of this policy, which ensures the freedom, independence and national sovereignty of our people.

V

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST REVISIONISM. THE REVOLUTIONARY AND LIBERATION MOVEMENT AT THE PRESENT STAGE

In the period since the 7th Congress, our Party, standing loyal as ever to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, has continued the struggle against modern revisionism uninterruptedly. The ideological and political criticism against Khrushchevite, Chinese, Yugoslav and West-European revisionism has been made more profound. The historical and socio-economic conditions of the birth and spread of these trends have been brought out more clearly, and the process of degeneration of those communist parties which took the course of revisionism, their mistakes and concessions in strategy and tactics, have been analysed more extensively. The connection of modern revisionism with the strategy which imperialism adopted after the Second World War for the destruction of socialism and the suppression of the revolution and the peoples' liberation movement, has been proved in the light of facts from the past and the present.

These analyses and conclusions have helped the Party to recognize more clearly the dangers which threaten socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country from revisionism and to take most effective and appropriate measures to avert these dangers. They have also helped in the education of the communists and the masses, the enhancement of their theoretical level and

the tempering of their revolutionary consciousness. The more profound knowledge of the strategy and tactics of imperialism and revisionism have made our struggle in defence of the cause of the proletariat and the peoples even more effective.

The correctness of the course which our Party chose right from the start to oppose revisionism and fight it to the end has been and is being proved more and more each day by the political degeneration and the profound ideological crisis of modern revisionism, by the grave economic situation and the impasse in which the revisionist parties and the countries where they are in power have landed.

When our Party began the struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism, the communist parties which made common cause with Khrushchev looked, more or less, like a united bloc with a single line, which was that of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Today, however, 20 years later, they are split and divided into many trends and factions, are fighting and clashing with one another and have been overwhelmed by bourgeois nationalism and social-democratic opportunism. These former communist parties have been transformed either into genuine parties of the new bourgeoisie ruling in the countries where the revisionists are in power, or into component parts of the structures of the bourgeois state, as in the old capitalist countries. The crisis of modern revisionism is a direct expression of the crisis of capitalism and the bourgeois ideology in general.

The revisionist betrayal and the restoration of capitalism in a series of former socialist countries have created great confusion about the problem of socialism, which is the nub of the ideological struggle going on in the world today. The problem is that the revisionists present the capitalist society re-established in their countries as a pure socialist society, as «real socialism», and as «developed»,

or moreover «very highly developed» socialism. The fact that many parties and different political forces, which are far removed from scientific socialism, talk about socialism, as well as the efforts which the bourgeoisie and its propaganda make to distort the true socialist ideals and to alienate the masses from the struggle for the triumph of these ideals add even more to this confusion.

Clarity on this question, the establishment of a clear-cut dividing line between genuine socialism and pseudo-socialism, is of capital importance to waging the struggle of the working class and the working masses successfully. If it does not have a clear concept of socialist society, if it does not abide by its principles and universal laws, the revolution stops half-way. The revolution may indeed be carried out, but when it lacks the genuine socialist perspective it can deviate, and the struggle and sacrifices made for its triumph will be in vain.

The first trend of revisionism in power, which set itself the task of undermining socialism, was Yugoslav revisionism, which emerged at a key moment of the struggle between socialism and imperialism.

The roots of Yugoslav revisionism go back a long way. It did not appear for the first time in 1948, nor did it come about as a reaction against «Stalinism» or as a consequence of actions of the Information Bureau. It is a consequence of bourgeois outlooks which existed much earlier in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and were not eliminated during the National Liberation War.

The new Yugoslavia could not be built without a clear orientation and without political maturity based on the scientific theory of socialism. Only a strong communist party with sound Marxist-Leninist principles could carry out this great work. True, a communist party existed in Yugoslavia, but it did not have all these characteristics and did not develop them during the war. On the contrary,

it lost even those it had after the war, when, because of the circumstances, it was called upon to build the new Yugoslavia on the socialist road.

If you listen to the self-praise of the Titoites and the Yugoslav bourgeoisie you might believe that such a party has existed and still exists. Like the others, we Albanian communists also fell for this euphoric judgement, especially during the time of the war and in the first post-Liberation years. This judgement had its own logic, linked with the heroic fight of the peoples of Yugoslavia, which was led by the Communist Party.

After the liberation of Yugoslavia major deviations from the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism appeared, in theory, in political stands, and in the construction of socialism. Likewise, in its relations with the socialist countries, especially with Albania, grave deviations and an arrogance and conceit alien to a communist party were observed in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

It was clear that this course would eventually lead to a split, as it did, not for any fault of the Information Bureau, or Stalin and «Stalinism», as the Yugoslav revisionists and their friends like to describe Marxism-Leninism. The conflict with the Information Bureau was a result of contradictions between the liberal-opportunist views of the Yugoslav leadership and the Marxist-Leninist views on the construction of the socialist state and socialist society. Tito and his associates gave to their opposition to the Marxist-Leninist theory the colour of opposition, first, towards Stalin, and later, towards the Soviet socialist system.

The Titoites' change, of course, had to be and was made. They took the course towards capitalism by adopting and commencing the building of a «new» socio-economic structure and a new form of state government appropriate to an anti-socialist course, and this was the

system of «workers' selfadministration». In fact this was not a new system. It was neither socialist nor a Yugoslav creation. It originated from Proudhonism, from Bakunin and Kropotkin's anarchism, that Marx in his time, and later Lenin, and still later Stalin, had thoroughly exposed.

Sensational claims were made and unprecedented hosannas shouted about the Yugoslav turn towards capitalism, while glory was heaped upon «Barabbas». The Yugoslav deviation was trumpeted as a «new period», as a «new trail» blazed by Tito for the construction of a «humane», «specific socialism». This turn was supported and financed by imperialism and world capitalism. Pan-Yugoslav megalomania was fanned up and Yugoslavia was presented as a «champion of and example for the peoples of the world in their liberation struggle.»

In the forms and the terminology used in its structure and superstructure, the whole «self-administration system» had to be presented as «Marxist». In fact, however, it was totally opposed to Marx and the theory and practice of Leninism.

The first blow was struck at the state power of people's democracy, which was a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but which was never described as such in Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav revisionists justified this by claiming that the state power of the people's councils, which had been established during the war and existed until 1948, could not be retained as such with all its prerogatives. It had to be replaced with the «workers' councils», because, according to them, the former was allegedly étatist-bureaucratic, which gives birth to «bureaucracy and the stratum of the new bourgeoisie», while the «workers' councils» were a state power closer to Marx's theory. By means of these councils, allegedly «it is the workers themselves who lead and govern directly», without the intervention of the state, which, as it must

result from the logic of the Yugoslav leadership, is not theirs. Thus, the existing Yugoslav state remains merely a «guarantor» that this «new system» is not damaged, does not disintegrate and, to this end, the Federation controls only the army, the UDB, foreign policy and nothing else.

Hence, the «self-administration system» decentralized, liberalized and undermined the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The state was a state of «proletarians» and became a state of «workers», it was a state «which emerged from the war, from the base», while the «new system», which the «dialectical» development allegedly required, was established from above by Tito and Kardelj.

The leading role of the party in this system had to be liquidated and in fact it was vitiated. All that was left to the party was a wishy-washy educational role, without any weight in the whole rigmarole. In appearance the party was not eliminated, but in reality is ceased to exist. It was called the «League of Communists», so as to give it the closest possible resemblance in name to that used by Marx, to remove it as far as possible in fact from the role which Marx and Lenin define for the communist party.

The Titoites present the matter as though, with its «self-administration», Yugoslavia has entered the stage of development approaching communist society. Proceeding from this, they claim that the state is beginning to wither away and the party can no longer have that role and those functions it had in the period of the transition from capitalism to socialism.

Moreover, according to them, «self-administration» has also done away with the class struggle within the party, within Yugoslavia and outside it. In reality Tito, Kardelj and their successors changed the direction of the class struggle. They waged and are waging it to defend

their «self-administration» system against «supporters of the Information Bureau», «Stalinists», «dogmatists», etc. In fact, this is the struggle of capitalist elements against revolutionaries, of the capitalist system against the socialist system, and the bourgeois ideology against Marxism-Leninism.

The Yugoslav theoreticians indulge in gross misrepresentation in connection with the ownership of the means of production. According to them, the socialized ownership of means of production, which exists in the «self-administration» system, constitutes the highest form of socialist ownership, while state ownership constitutes its lowest form. The latter, they claim, can be defined as a kind of state capitalism which gives birth to a new bureaucratic caste, which in fact collectively possesses the right to ownership. Hence, they conclude, even in socialism state ownership does not eliminate the alienation of the worker, which is caused by capital. The capitalist relationship, profit-workers' wages, is replaced with the relationship, state accumulation - workers' wages. In other words, they claim that the worker always remains a wage-slave in both social systems.

This is a well-known Trotskyite thesis which was exposed and refuted long ago. In genuine socialist society, in which the common property is managed by the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the broad, organized and effective participation of the working class and the other working masses, according to the principle of democratic centralism, and in which great differences in the distribution of the social product, which lead to the creation of privileged strata, are not permitted, the worker is not a wage-slave and is not exploited. Proof of this is the reality of socialist Albania, where the working class is the class in power which, under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party, runs the economy and the

whole life of the country in its own interests and in the interests of the whole people.

Yugoslav «self-administration», which allegedly makes the worker the centre of everything, is workers' «self-administration» only in theory, in practice it is anti-worker, anti-socialist. Regardless of the clamour of the Titoites, this system does not permit the working class any right to manage or administrate.

In Yugoslavia each «self-administrative» enterprise is an independent organization in its economic activity, while the policy of administration is in the hands of its leading group, which, just as in any other capitalist country, manipulates the funds of accumulation and makes the decisions on investments, pay, prices and distribution of the product. It is claimed that all this economic-political activity is approved by the workers through their delegates. But this is a deception, a great fraud. These so-called workers' delegates make common cause with the ruling caste of bureaucrats and technocrats to the detriment of the working class and the other working masses. Those who make the law and determine the policy, in the «self-administrative» organization, from the lowest to the highest level in the republic, are the professional administrators. The administrative, socio-economic and political leading role of the workers, of their class, has been reduced to the minimum, if not totally eliminated.

By inciting particularism and localism, on the scale of republic, region and commune, the «self-administration» system has liquidated the unity of the working class, has set worker against worker as individuals by fostering selfishness, and as collectives by fostering competition among enterprises. On this basis, the alliance between the working class and the peasantry has been undermined, too, and the peasantry likewise divided into small private economies and exploited by the new bourgeoisie in power. All this

has created autarky in the economy, anarchy in production, in the distribution of profits and investments; in the market, in prices, it has led to great inflation and unemployment.

The idea that the working class is in the leadership of the system of «workers' self-administration» in Yugoslavia is a false illusion, a Utopian idea. In that system the working class is not in command, is not the leading force. The dictatorship of the proletariat has been liquidated, the leadership of the working class, the communist party or the League of Communists, as it is called in that country, does not run either the state, the economy, cultural or social life.

In that system of general confusion some other force has seized the dominant positions of political leadership. This force is the new caste of political bureaucrats and technocrats from the stratum of the intelligentsia, which has become bourgeois, and the worker aristocracy. It is far removed from any proletarian morality, and no political control is exerted over it.

This new bureaucratic stratum advertises itself as the enemy of étatist bureaucracy, although it is an even more dangerous bureaucracy, which is flourishing and growing stronger in a decentralized economic system which protects and develops private property.

The «workers' self-administration», which is based on the ideology of anarcho-syndicalism, has given birth to republican nationalism which has gone so far as to draft its special laws and regulations to defend its own narrow interests. The economic monopoly of the republics which is comprised of the monopoly of their enterprises and trusts, has turned, in fact, into a political force and into a republican nationalism, which is manifested not only in each republic but in each region, each commune and each enterprise. Everybody, individually and as group and a republic, strives to enrich himself further and more quickly at the expense of the others at all costs.

Bourgeois nationalism has become firmly established in Yugoslavia and the slogan «unity-fraternity», which was correct during the National Liberation War, when they were fighting against the occupiers and local reaction for a new society based on Marxism-Leninism, has remained an empty slogan without any effect in the present-day Yugoslav system which splits and divides everything. The «unity-fraternity» of peoples, nations and nationalities, of republics and regions, can be realized only in a genuine socialist system which is guided by the Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The Yugoslav federal union was not created on Marxist-Leninist foundations, hence, undoubtedly national antagonisms were bound to arise, as they did in fact. The system itself is the bearer of these contradictions and nurtures the separatism of nations and nationalities, republics and regions.

The many credits from world capitalism have also operated in this direction. The use of them to satisfy the bourgeois megalomaniacal tastes and whims of the caste in power, their unequal distribution, without sound criteria, amongst the different republics created economic and social inequalities in the republics and regions, which have further deepened national antagonisms.

The system of «self-administration» would not have lasted long had it not been assisted by two factors: the anti-Sovietism of the Yugoslav leadership, which was nothing but its anti-Marxism and anti-Leninism through which it ensured the political support of the whole of world reaction, and the all-round economic support by means of large credits from capitalist countries. Nevertheless, these two factors could not rescue this anti-socialist system. On the contrary, they further weakened it and have driven it towards economic and political bankruptcy.

Kardelj and Tito laid the blame for the failure of this

system and all the evils to which it gave birth on the «failure to perfect» this system properly, on the consciousness of working people «which was still not up to the proper level», the existence of the bureaucracy, etc. They saw the bankruptcy of their anti-socialist system, but were quite unable to turn back. Hence, all the measures which Tito took when he was alive, providing for the leadership of the Federation and the republics after his death, are palliatives. The euphoria about the «self-administration» system disappeared together with Tito and Kardelj. Tito's successors find themselves in great confusion and perplexity and do not know which way to turn to emerge from the difficulties afflicting their country. Now Titoite Yugoslavia is in the grip of a grave general crisis of its structures and superstructures, an economic and political-moral crisis.

Soviet revisionism has been and still is the most dangerous current of modern revisionism. More than any other variant of revisionism, it retains its socialist disguise and Leninist phraseology in order to cover up the present-day capitalist reality of the Soviet Union and its aggressive imperialist foreign policy. It is a revisionism which has seized power in a state which is a great power and has ample means and possibilities to exert its influence in the world, to operate in many directions and on a large scale.

Like the other revisionist currents, Khrushchevite revisionism also has its own process of birth and development until it reached its present form of total revisionism which distorts all the issues of the Marxist theory and socialist practice. As a social phenomenon, Khrushchevite revisionism also has its own ideological, social and historical roots and causes.

The Party of Labour of Albania has made a profound Marxist analysis of these causes. It has drawn conclusions from this analysis and taken a series of measures to bar the way to the birth of such a regressive phenomenon in

our country. However, we must delve ever deeper into this problem in order to ensure that revisionism will never gain a foothold in Albania.

Right from the start, the Khrushchev group set itself as its main task to liquidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, to undermine the foundations of socialist society, to set the Soviet Union on the capitalist road and turn it into an imperialist superpower. Now we can all see this great counter-revolutionary transformation which has occurred in the Soviet Union. Only the bourgeoisie and imperialism advertise it as a communist country. By presenting the present-day capitalist Soviet Union as a socialist country, they want to discredit Marxism-Leninism and genuine socialism.

Khrushchevite revisionism is the ideology and policy of state capitalism which dominates the whole life of the country. The Soviet Union's return to capitalism could not fail to have its own special features, and the capitalist order there could not fail to assume special forms. These special features and forms are determined by the fact that capitalism in that country was re-established as a result of the overthrow of socialism, as a result of a retrogressive process, unlike the capitalism of the classical type which follows the overthrow of the feudal order, as a progressive process.

The fundamental peculiarity of this type of capitalism is that here many socialist forms of property, organization and management are retained, but their content has changed radically. Today in the Soviet Union the means of production are, in fact, state capitalist, or collective capitalist property, because they are used in the interest of the new bourgeois class which is in power, and because it is precisely this class which appropriates the labour of workers and peasants.

The former laws, traditions and practices have been

replaced with new ones, which allow the state and party bureaucracy a free hand to express and apply their own will without hindrance. The new competences, which they were given on the basis of the economic reforms, were used to secure and extend the incomes and privileges of various leading castes, to preserve their power and defend them from the discontent and revolts of the working class and the working masses.

True, the state ownership remained and the factories were not distributed to private owners, the kolkhozes remained common collective economies and the banks were not handed over to shareholders, but what was changed was the distribution, the destination of the social product.

Although it is claimed that the principle of remuneration according to work is applied, in reality the different groups of the new bourgeoisie appropriate the surplus value created by the workers and peasants. All this robbery is presented as a kind of material stimulus, allegedly to encourage productive activity, scientific work, artistic creativeness, etc. In reality, this is a typical capitalist exploitation.

In order to open the way to the restoration of capitalism, the Khrushchevite revisionists attacked the fundamental theses of the Marxist-Leninist theory about commodity production and the operation of the law of value in socialism. In theory and practice they identified socialist commodity production with capitalist production. On this basis, they reformed the whole economic mechanism. Gradually, the economic enterprises and many institutions as well went over to a greater independence from the state plans. Great powers and rights were given to the directors of various institutions and enterprises to direct and manipulate production and distribution, to employ and dismiss people, to divide the profits, etc. The centralized state financing of the existing enterprises was restricted and

the use of self-financing and credit was gradually extended.

The Soviet revisionists claim that their economy is managed and developed on the basis of plans, allegedly drafted according to the principle of democratic centralism. However, the state plan, as they conceive it in theory and apply it in practice, is not and cannot be in any way a plan of a genuine socialist economy. In the Soviet Union, bureaucratic centralism of the monopolist type coexists with extensive economic liberalism at the base. The image is given of a planned management of the economy, whereas in practice the economic laws and categories of the capitalist mode of production have free fields of action.

Parasitic consumption has assumed unprecedented proportions. On the basis of the nominal pay, the difference in remuneration between workers and the bureaucratic and technocratic administrators of production reaches a ratio of more than one to ten, while together with the incomes from the division of profits, from all kinds of bonuses, and from countless other privileges, the difference in pay reaches even greater figures. These differences in pay and way of life can hardly be distinguished from those which exist between the bourgeois administrators and the workers in the countries of the West.

In the conditions when 35-40 per cent of the pay for the value of labour power is formed in a decentralized way from the division of profits, when the work norms are not unified and are likewise applied in a decentralized way, when the material stimulus in favour of the new bourgeoisie has absolute priority, and when inflation, caused especially by the militarization of the economy, which gobbles up one third of the national income, is constantly rising, in essence, the society has lost real control over the amount of labour and consumption, which are two main keys for a socialist economy.

These and a series of other measures of a capitalist

character, which were trumpeted as a creative development of the Marxist-Leninist economic theory and practice, had as their aim and led to the demolition of the foundations of the socialist economy.

The consequences of this course are apparent in the daily life of the Soviet people. On the market there are shortages of prime necessities; inflation, unemployment and the fluctuation of labour power have increased, declared and undeclared increases in prices of various goods can be seen. The private sector of the economy has extended, the doors have been flung open to foreign monopoly capital, and the black market, speculation, embezzlements, bribery and fraud are rife.

The present-day Soviet reality shows that the process is not moving towards the «elimination of class distinctions» and the «creation of a new social unity», as the Khrushchevite-Brezhnevite revisionists propagate, but towards profound social differentiation between the new bourgeois class, comprised of the stratum of bureaucrats and technocrats, and the broad working masses, who are in the position of a simple producing force. The greater the degree of exploitation of the working people and the more the profits of the bourgeoisie increase, the deeper the gulf between them is growing. The situation has given rise to a whole ideology and policy which justifies and defends this new system of capitalist exploitation.

The Soviet power is no longer of Soviets, of the workers and peasants. It is isolated from them and has become like a force in itself and alien to them. The Khrushchevite revisionists have formally proclaimed the dictatorship of the proletariat liquidated. They have named the state the state of the entire people, in order to hide the reality that it is no longer of the people, but a dictatorship of the new Soviet bourgeoisie. Its capitalist character is clearly apparent from the whole internal and foreign policy which it pursues, a

policy which serves the interests of the bourgeois class in power. The Soviet state, which has the main means of production in its hands and runs the whole economy, has been transformed into a representative and defender of the interests of the ruling class.

In order to preserve their socialist disguise and «to prove» that the Soviet Union is a socialist country, the Soviet revisionists say that there is only one party there, that this party is a communist party, and its leading role has been sanctioned in the Constitution. The fact that there is only one leading party and that its undivided power is recognized by law does not make it a communist party. There are many bourgeois countries where there is only a single ruling party. The position of a political party in the state does not determine its character. The character of a party is determined, first of all, by to which class it belongs and whom it serves, by what ideology it is guided, and what policy it pursues.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union today is the direct representative of the bourgeois class in power, exercises power on its behalf, and serves the development and strengthening of the restored capitalist order. It is communist only in name. The maintenance of the name communist and its use of certain Marxist phrases and socialist slogans have a hypocritical and simply demagogic character. This is part of that deceptive propaganda which wants to keep the masses in the dark and make them believe that they are living in socialism and not in a capitalist society of oppression and exploitation. From tradition, for purposes of disguise, or simply out of inertia, many parties retain such names as «democratic», «popular», «socialist», etc., at a time when they are typically bourgeois and reactionary parties.

The revisionist-capitalist policy, which is applied in the Soviet Union, has revived the old demons of the czarist

empire, such as national oppression, anti-semitism, Slav racism, Orthodox religious mysticism, the cult of military castes, the aristocratism of the intelligentsia, bureaucracy in the old Russian style, etc. The theories of the Soviet revisionists about the alleged creation of a «historic new community», of the «unified Soviet people», have been invented precisely to conceal the reality that the Soviet Union is rent with profound social, class and national contradictions.

It is the strength of the Soviet army which dominates in the Soviet Union today. The stepped-up rate of militarization of the life of the country and the heavy burden of military expenditure, which has reached astronomical proportions and is shaking the Soviet economy more and more profoundly, distort its development and impoverish the people.

The re-establishment of capitalism within the country could not fail to lead, also, to a drastic turn-about in the sphere of international relations and the foreign policy of the communist party and the Soviet state. Khrushchevite revisionism was gradually transformed into the ideology and policy of the new imperialist superpower, which justifies and defends its expansion, aggression and wars for the establishment of world domination. Offspring of this ideology and policy are the notorious theories of «limited sovereignty», the «international division of labour» and the «economic-political and military integration» of the countries of the so-called socialist community, which have bound these countries hand and foot and transformed them into vassal states. At the 26th Congress of the CPSU Brezhnev called these relations «relations between peoples» in order to wipe out any national and state identity in this way.

In order to attain its expansionist, neo-colonialist objectives, Soviet social-imperialism has created a theory ac-

ording to which no country can liberate and defend itself from imperialism and develop in an independent way without Soviet aid and tutelage. It misuses the slogan of «internationalist aid» in order to undertake aggressions and to plunder the wealth of other countries.

The whole aggressive, hegemonic and expansionist foreign policy of the social-imperialist Soviet Union is further proof and evidence that the Soviet order is a capitalist order, because only a capitalist order can pursue such a policy in the international arena. As Lenin said, foreign policy is a continuation of the internal policy, and the two together are a concentrated expression of the economic relations which exist in a country. The socialist and communist disguise, which the Soviet revisionists still try to retain, is being torn from them day by day in the face of their capitalist reality and the social-imperialist policy which they pursue.

As to how long this great deception of the Soviet people, that they are allegedly living in socialism, can be kept up, how long the Soviet working class will continue to live with illusions — this depends on many factors, internal and external. As to what awaits the countries in which Khrushchevite revisionism is ruling, the events in Poland are very significant. The fact is that there the class conflict between the working people and the bourgeois class in power, represented by the revisionist party, has burst out. Irrespective of how it has been manipulated by the forces of the Right, in essence, the revolt of the Polish working class shows that it has become conscious of its positions as an oppressed and exploited class, that the existing state power in Poland belongs to a class antagonistic to it and that socialism has been betrayed. Which will be the next after Poland? The processes of class differentiation are seething, and, class conflicts are building up rapidly in all the revisionist countries. The Soviet Union makes no ex-

ception in this direction, although outwardly it looks as the most stable among them. The wounds which the restoration of capitalism has opened can be healed only with the overthrow of revisionism and the re-establishment of socialism.

Our Party has waged a great, open, principled struggle against Chinese revisionism, the ideology, policy, stands and actions of the Communist Party of China. Chinese revisionism is an opportunist current in the world communist movement, and its foundation — Mao Zedong thought, is an ideology with archaic features, an amalgam of ancient Chinese theories of Confucius and Mencius and new paraphrased theories without any organic structural connection, painted up with a Marxist phraseology. Mao Zedong thought represents a hegemonic ideology of world domination, based on a heterogeneous collection of contradictory and pragmatic theorems and ideas. When China began the construction of the new Chinese state, which emerged from the liberation war, the Chinese ship wallowed confusedly, sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left, in the waters of this ideology. This was the source of those vacillations of China and that lack of definition of the character of its political and economic system.

The theory which guided the new China was not Marxism-Leninism. The Marxist slogans in Chinese characters painted on the facade gave the false impression that some features of scientific socialism existed. They prevented the continual deviations from being clearly discerned.

While the role of the dictatorship of the proletariat was being stressed in China, the dictatorship of rival groups and personalities was concealed and developed under it. While the leading role of the party was stressed, this concealed a chaotic organization and the non-existent leadership of the party. While there was talk about the hegemony of the working class, the leading role, in fact, was left to

the peasantry, because it was its petty-bourgeois ideology which predominated in China. While there was talk about the alteration of class structures, in essence, nothing changed from what it was.

The Chinese economy went on limping badly, lacking any clear directive or perspective, irrespective of the existence of the so-called plan which did not have the remotest resemblance to a scientific plan, let alone a plan based on a centralized system. Indeed, it did not have even the features of a decentralized plan. The Chinese economy carried on by its own momentum.

In this flabby organization and in this ideology with no backbone, the predominant idea was that of the hegemony of the great Chinese state which «had been called upon by history» to represent the new model of socialist society, to represent the «Marxism-Leninism of the new era», which was Mao Zedong thought.

In this development of China we had to discern that under the cloak of «revolution» lurked counter-revolution, that under the cloak of Mao Zedong thought lurked anti-Marxism, a trend of modern revisionism which was seeking political, ideological, organizational and state forms and structures appropriate for the «Chinese continent» and for its capitalist-imperialist aspirations.

The «anti-imperialism», «anti-Sovietism», and «anti-Americanism», which were alternately stressed in Mao Zedong's China, were temporary manoeuvres. They were not ideological convictions, were not principled stands, but were manoeuvres to balance the powerful states of the world, a game on the world chess-board with the imperialist political-military powers for the strengthening of China.

It was with these world outlooks, with these eclectic, opportunist stands, both on the internal plane of China and on the external plane, that the «Proletarian Cultural Revolu-

tion» of the Red Guards was carried out and that the revanchist «revolution» of reactionary old men and all the remnants of the old China is taking place today. These were the foundations on which the ill-fated theory of «three worlds» and of «alliances of these three worlds» was worked out and the big switches were made in Chinese international policy with very dangerous consequences for world peace.

It took our Party a fairly long time to discern this anti-Marxist course of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese state, with which we had good friendly relations. For our Party the theoretical-political essence of this friendship was very important, the question of the struggle to preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the question of socialism and the revolution were important.

At first we waged a principled struggle through debates, as between comrades, but gradually it became embittered because of the anti-Marxist attitude of China. On the part of the Party of Labour of Albania, this was a struggle with no concessions, but also an unequal and difficult struggle. Had not this struggle been waged the construction of socialism in Albania would have been endangered.

The importance of the struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania lies in the fact that it destroyed two myths: that of China as a country in which socialism was being built, and that of Mao Zedong thought as the Marxism-Leninism of our time. In this struggle to defend principles our Party took account of all the economic difficulties which might be created for the country.

Mao Zedong thought, publicized as the «further scientific development of Marxism-Leninism», might have had an influence, as it did in fact on the international communist movement and on certain Marxist-Leninist parties in particular. Because of many circumstances, these parties, being quite unable to make a profound analysis of this re-

visionist ideological trend, thought that in great China and in Mao Zedong they had the leaders of the proletarian revolution, resolute supporters in the struggle against American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, natural defenders of the just national liberation wars of the peoples.

Hence, a principled and determined struggle had to be waged in order to undeceive the deceived. The Party of Labour of Albania undertook this struggle. This is an experience we have lived through and proved, both in the time when Mao Zedong himself was alive and after his death. Socialist Albania did not become isolated in the world on account of this struggle, as the Yugoslav revisionists claim. The opposite occurred. The Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania made their internal and international positions even stronger.

In this struggle to defend Marxism-Leninism and the revolution and to oppose the pseudo-Marxist ideology of Mao Zedong thought, other sister Marxist-Leninist parties, too, fought with wisdom and revolutionary determination and made a valuable contribution.

The exposure of China as a non-socialist country and of Mao Zedong thought as an anti-Marxist theory wiped out a dangerous illusion in the international Marxist-Leninist movement, just as had occurred with Soviet and Yugoslav revisionism and the other reactionary revisionist currents.

Any disguise, any falsification, any deviation from the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism cannot be kept up for long. Sooner or later it is exposed, because it runs counter to the ideals of the working class and the peoples who fight for freedom, for genuine democracy, for socialism, for a society without exploiters and exploited.

The present developments in China, the whole home and foreign policy of the Chinese leadership, prove that the analyses and conclusions of the Party of Labour of

Albania were absolutely accurate and correct. The Chinese leadership left the field free for the development of the capitalist economy, opened the doors to the inflow of enslaving foreign capital, united in close alliance with American imperialism and the blackest international reaction. China came out openly as an aggressive imperialist power with pretensions to world hegemony. It has become one of the main centres of world counter-revolution, which fights with all means to hinder the liberation of peoples and strangle the revolution. Today Chinese revisionism has emerged openly as a reactionary current, has broken off any connection, not only with the revolutionary and liberation movements, but also with any democratic and progressive movement. In every case it takes the side of the most sinister, most obscurantist and fascist forces in the world.

The disorder, corruption, confusion and clashes, which have occurred and are occurring in China, are direct consequences of Mao Zedong thought. The criticism which the Chinese leaders today make of Mao Zedong has nothing at all in common with the Marxist criticism which we make. It has no connection with the content of his ideas which the present Chinese leaders retain and apply in practice. Their criticism is an expression of the struggle for power between different rival Maoist groups. These groups cannot reject Mao Zedong, because all of them find support and justification for their actions in his ideas. Without freeing themselves from Mao Zedong thought the Chinese proletariat and the Chinese people will be unable to find the right road which leads to socialism.

In the future, too, the Party of Labour of Albania will continue its consistent principled struggle for the complete exposure of Chinese revisionism, for the establishment of a clear-cut dividing line between Marxism-Leninism and the anti-Marxist ideas of Mao Zedong. Without denouncing and rejecting Mao Zedong thought, without combating and

eradicating any influence of it in the revolutionary movement, there can be no serious talk about the struggle against Chinese revisionism or against modern revisionism as a whole, the Marxist-Leninist movement cannot be properly consolidated and developed and the cause of the revolution carried forward successfully.

The more the contradictions of capitalism and imperialism deepen, and the closer the wave of the revolution approaches, the more the other revisionist current — Eurocommunism, reveals its anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary features.

Eurocommunism is a product of the degeneration of the communist parties which took the course of revisionism and of the split which occurred in the revisionist camp as a result of the predominance which bourgeois nationalism assumed within this camp.

It is the ideology of the worker aristocracy, fed with crumbs from the profits of the bourgeoisie. Eurocommunism, which is the purest ideology of bourgeois reformism, plays the role of the «fifth column» in the ranks of the workers' movement.

The Eurocommunists, who were the most ardent supporters of the campaign against Stalin, allegedly to return to Lenin, have now united openly with the whole chorus of the bourgeoisie and the social-democrats to attack Lenin and Leninism. The very term «Eurocommunism» is an expression of their departure from Marxism-Leninism, of their denial of the universal laws of the revolution and the construction of socialist society. The Eurocommunists have exhumed from the grave and put into circulation again the old opportunist theories of Lasalle and Bernstein, Kautsky and the 2nd International, which they publicize as the last word in the creative development of Marxism in our days. The open attack from anti-communist positions all along the line against the fundamental teachings of Marxism-

Leninism is the logical end of all modern revisionism and all its trends.

The Eurocommunists' preachings about the supraclass capitalist state, about democracy for all, about the peaceful, parliamentary democratic road to socialism, about structural reforms within the framework of the bourgeois constitution, etc., have only one aim: to sabotage the revolution and defend and perpetuate the capitalist order. When the Italian, French or Spanish revisionists talk about the «historic compromise», the «historic bloc of the left», etc., or when they struggle to get into the bourgeois governments, they do this not in order to wrest power from the bourgeoisie, not to liquidate the capitalist order, but to protect it from the revolution and to take over the management of the affairs of the bourgeoisie themselves. They want to replace social-democracy, which is now compromised and discredited in the eyes of the masses in its role as an open servant of the bourgeoisie.

While they prettify capitalism, the Eurocommunists express open hostility to socialism. According to them, no true socialism exists or ever has existed up till now. For them the «true socialism» is that which they themselves have invented, the so-called «democratic socialism», «pluralist socialism», or the «third road».

The «socialism» envisaged by the Eurocommunists is a socialism without the dictatorship of the proletariat, without the undivided leadership of the communist party, without the Marxist-Leninist theory. In this socialism, state power will belong to all classes, the different parties will come to leadership according to the votes they receive in elections, and the Marxist ideology will coexist with all the other ideologies, bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and religious. Different forms of the economy, the socialized property and private enterprise, imperialist capital and the multi-national

companies, will exist in the socialism of the Eurocommunists.

Hence, in this so-called pluralist society, classes, parties, ideologies, different forms of property, socialist and capitalist elements will combine and coexist in complete peace and harmony in the economy and policy, in the base and superstructure and the whole life of society. However, such a mongrel capitalist-socialist society has never existed and never can exist. It can exist only in the imagination of the Eurocommunists. Socialism and capitalism are two mutually exclusive social orders. The new society advocated by the Eurocommunists is nothing but the present-day capitalist society painted in socialist colours.

The emergence of Eurocommunism was publicized loudly by the bourgeoisie which hoped that its reformist ideology would overshadow the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism. It hoped that Eurocommunism would extend widely and become a banner to unite all the revisionists of the West and the East. But its hopes were completely dashed. In the Eurocommunist parties themselves the factions and splits increased, while between the different Eurocommunist parties the struggle for leadership began. The squabbles and divisions with the other revisionist parties became even greater. Marchais' party abandoned the Eurocommunist camp and is moving closer and closer to the Soviet revisionists. The Communist Party of Spain has split up into different factions, into orthodox and heretic Eurocommunists, into pro-Soviet and anti-Soviet groups. Meanwhile Berlinguer's party is experiencing a grave ideological and political crisis. The most important thing is that Eurocommunist parties have lost much of the influence they had among the masses, and this can be seen in the defeats which they are suffering continually in the election campaigns, which they consider their main battlefield.

The ideas of genuine socialism have been and remain a great force to inspire, mobilize and organize the revolutionary struggle of the masses.

Today there is no need to invent new «socialisms» or to copy the so-called socialisms of the modern revisionists, such as the Soviet, Yugoslav, Chinese and other models, which are socialist only in name.

There is nothing unknown about what socialism is, what it represents and what it brings about, how it is achieved and how socialist society is built. A theory and practice of scientific socialism exists. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin teach us this theory. We find the practice of it in that rich experience of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union in the time of Lenin and Stalin, and we find it today in Albania, where the new society is being built according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

Of course, as Lenin said, socialism will look different and will have its own special features in different countries as a result of the differing socio-economic conditions, the way in which the revolution is carried out, the traditions, the international circumstances, etc. But the basic principles and the universal laws of socialism remain unshakable and are essential for all countries.

The Marxist-Leninists carefully study the revolutionary processes in their own countries, as well as the national and international conditions in which they take place. They are not dogmatic either in theory or in practice. For them, Marxism-Leninism, as a dialectical materialist world outlook, is a living, creative doctrine in ceaseless development.

The Marxist-Leninists are not conservative and fanatical, as the revisionists and the bourgeois charge. On the contrary, they are the most progressive people, resolute fighters against everything outdated and backward. They stand firmly on the positions of the new and fight with

all their might for its victory. The revisionists and all the other opportunists who, as lackeys of the bourgeoisie, defend a lost cause, defend an obsolete order of oppression and exploitation, are conservative and reactionary. It is precisely this reactionary position which has plunged modern revisionism into a profound crisis.

The liberation of the consciousness of the proletariat and the peoples from the inhibiting influence of revisionism, the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism which points out the only correct course for the struggle and victory, is a primary task today in order to carry forward the revolutionary process in each country and on a world scale.

With the upsurge of the revolt and movements of the masses, with the awakening of the national and class consciousness of the peoples and from the fact that the world is facing great socio-economic upheavals, this task becomes even more urgent.

All the enemies are striving to alienate the masses from the revolution. The bourgeoisie, social democracy, the modern revisionists and the opportunists of every hue are doing everything in their power to deceive the working class and the masses, to implant ideological confusion and disruption, to spread pessimism and fatalism, to arouse distrust in the revolution and socialism among the people, and to build up the psychosis that it is impossible to smash and defeat capitalism and imperialism. For these enemies, the only problem is to give capitalism «a more human face», which means that the big capitalists should continue to rule, but should throw a few crumbs to the poor. The bourgeois ideologists, the apologists of Soviet imperialism, the advocates of the theory of «three worlds», of «non-alignment» and the North-South dialogue, the Pope of Rome and the trade-union bosses are all united in this joint chorus.

Great pressure is being exerted on the European

working class. Because of the domination of reformism, the workers' movement in Europe still has not developed into a genuine revolutionary movement. It has not gained full awareness that in order to change its situation the capitalist system must be replaced and socialist society established.

However, the European proletariat will not go on for ever obeying the trade-union bosses and social-democratic and revisionist parties, who prattle that a better future for the working masses will be ensured through the development of the existing bourgeois structures, the parliamentary road, through reforms, or through «United Europe». The oppression, violence, savage exploitation, unemployment, drugs, degeneration and inflation, which have swept the countries of Europe, will not be able to restrain the sound forces of the European peoples from revolting against the rule of capital. «United Europe» is nothing but an ephemeral solution, a reactionary capitalist policy which, sooner or later, will find itself facing countless difficulties of various natures. Hence, the moment will come when the revolt of the working class of Europe will reach the point that it imperatively demands a revolutionary solution.

In these conditions, it is of first-rate importance that the communists and non-communists, progressives and all the masses of the people should clearly understand that their real enemy is capitalism, that it must and can be overthrown through revolutionary struggle. In this way, pessimism will be eliminated, and their courage and confidence in victory will be increased. The science of Marx and Lenin builds up this confidence of the proletariat and the masses and makes it invincible.

The party and the proletariat, that are preparing for the revolution and the seizure of power, try to analyse and thoroughly master the situations, to scientifically determine the character and stages of the revolution in every

concrete instance, and, on this basis, to work out the appropriate strategy and tactics. They study with the greatest care the various people's revolutionary currents which clash with capitalism and its parties, assess their directions, the ratio of forces in the concrete situation, and on this basis, decide and put into practice all those skilful tactics which must be used to lead the popular masses on the correct victorious course, to channel thousands of streams into the great torrent of the revolution, in which the capitalist bourgeoisie will be drowned.

The party and the proletariat do not go into revolution alone. In bourgeois society there are other oppressed strata which hate the capitalist order, there are progressive forces among the peasantry and youth, and there are other democratic and freedom-loving elements who cannot tolerate exploitation. The communists make approaches to all these forces and elements, build joint alliances with them on various issues and for definite objectives. Marxist-Leninists are neither sectarian nor liberal. They are revolutionaries, unwavering in principles, but flexible in tactics. The fronts which the Marxist-Leninist parties construct with other progressive forces in the capitalist countries against the bourgeoisie, against fascism and imperialism, are a component part of the strategy of the revolution. In any alliance or front the party safeguards its own individuality, even when, for objective reasons, it does not lead the front itself.

The unity of the proletariat has been and still is the key problem in the capitalist countries. The bourgeoisie tries to clasp the proletariat in an iron grip, to prevent it from proceeding on the course which history has allocated it for the overthrow of exploiters and the destruction of the power of capital. The trade-unions, which in most instances are subservient to the bourgeoisie, are one of the means of exerting this iron grip. The communists work

to penetrate into and establish firm roots among the working class, and at the same time, struggle to bring about its unity. Today, when the crisis has resulted in tens of millions of workers being thrown out in the street and millions of others rising in strikes and demonstrations for economic and political claims, it is easier to unite and organize the workers in the struggle against capital.

The unity of the working class is achieved in struggle and in concrete revolutionary actions to fulfil the economic and political demands of the proletariat. To this end, the Marxist-Leninists work to ensure that the existing trade-unions break free from the domination of agents of the bourgeoisie, revisionists and social-democrats, and to turn them into instruments of struggle against the exploiting order. Along with this, depending on the conditions and needs, they also create new revolutionary trade-unions.

The youth also are a mighty force who aspire and fight to change the unjust capitalist society, who want what is new and progressive. Only Marxism-Leninism and the revolution open this road to the youth, they alone save the masses of the youth from the political and social degeneration into which the bourgeoisie leads them, open to them the prospect of a new, undefiled and happy life, in which all their inexhaustible energies can burst out and be fully developed in the service of society and progress. The movement of the youth gains strength and can achieve its objectives when it merges with the revolutionary movement of the working class.

The present revolutionary process has made the problem of the stand towards the bourgeois army even more acute, not in order to consider it as the force which will carry out the revolution, but in order to disrupt and disintegrate it, so that it is not capable of opposing the revolution. The communists work to ensure that the masses of soldiers, who are sons of the people, do not obey the officer caste

when the revolution breaks out, but will turn their weapons against the reactionary forces in power and unite with the insurgents, as occurred in Iran.

The revolution is the main task of the working class. But it is prepared in struggle for the solution of the political, economic, social and cultural problems which concern the working masses every day. It is these actions, these daily battles, which enhance the consciousness of the class, which strengthen its organization and unity, which train it and lead it to revolution. By means of these battles, the party links itself with the masses and places itself at the head of them. Genuine parties of the working class are parties of revolutionary action.

In order to intimidate the masses and pave the way for the advent of fascism, big capital is inciting terrorism, which has assumed broad proportions in many countries. By means of terrorism, the bourgeoisie also tries to smear the genuine revolutionary movement and to set various elements, who revolt against the oppression of the bourgeoisie, on a wrong course. The bourgeoisie deliberately identifies the revolutionary struggle with terrorism in order to create the impression among the masses that the communists, patriots and revolutionaries, who fight against national and social oppression, are terrorists and anarchists who murder and rob. Genuine revolutionaries are against terrorism and anarchism, both in theory and in practice.

The working class and the working masses in the capitalist countries are more and more running up against the national problem, which has become very acute in the present time. Social-democracy and the revisionists deny the existence of such a problem in the developed capitalist countries, such as those of Western Europe, Japan, Canada, etc. They do not want to recognize the fact that, as a result of the attack of the multi-national companies behind which stands American imperialism, the extension of supra-

national competences of military blocs and international economic organizations, the extension of American bases and the stationing of American weapons on their territories are more and more restricting the national sovereignty, restricting the independent political action of their countries, and turning them gradually into vassal states.

The working class must take up the defence of the sovereignty and national independence which the bourgeoisie and the social-democratic and revisionist wing have abandoned. The proletariat of Europe and other countries must not be deceived by the propaganda of the United States, the Soviet Union or China, each of which, for its own interests, makes a bogey of the threat to freedom and national independence from the rival superpower. By means of this propaganda they want to rob them of their freedom and independence and to establish the imperialist domination of this or that superpower.

The class and national moments also constitute a major problem in the countries where the revisionists rule. In particular, social liberation in these countries cannot be achieved without opposing and throwing off the yoke of Soviet social-imperialism, which has established its complete economic, political and military domination there.

American imperialism and other Western capitalist powers pose as supporters of the workers' and national movements in these countries, as though they support the liberation aspirations of the peoples there. This is demagogy and a dangerous game intended to deceive the proletarians and the working masses. The imperialist bourgeoisie wants only to separate these countries from the sphere of influence of Soviet social-imperialism and to put them in its own sphere of domination.

The cause of the proletarian revolution is inseparable from the development of the peoples' liberation movement.

An important feature of present-day national liberation struggles is that the political awakening to win and defend complete national freedom and independence is accompanied with a social awakening. The present movements of the oppressed peoples are increasingly aimed not only against foreign imperialism, but also against its agencies within the country. The fact is that, regardless of their socio-economic backwardness, the peoples of the oppressed countries are displaying great vitality and making an important contribution to the anti-imperialist democratic revolution, which opens the way to the proletarian revolution

The people's uprisings of «Islamic inspiration», as the bourgeoisie and revisionists like to describe these movements with the aim of denying their anti-imperialist and revolutionary character, deserve special attention. It is a fact that there are insurgent movements in the Moslem countries, but the interpretations which the bourgeoisie and the revisionists make of them are ill-intentioned and denigrating. They conceal enslaving aims towards the peoples

We Marxist-Leninists have said and still say that religion is opium for the peoples. In no instance do we alter our view in connection with this question. In its content, the Moslem religion, too, is no different from the others.

The broad masses of the Moslem peoples in the different countries have risen and are rising in struggle, not over the question of religion, but for national and social liberation. Belief in religion is relative and does not predominate over politics. The peoples of these countries believe in and respect Islam, but when the vital interests of the people, the freedom and independence of the country are violated, they rise in struggle against the aggressor, even if he is of the same religion. It is not the religious

inspiration which causes the revolts and the revolutionary awakening of peoples, but the social and political conditions, the imperialist oppression and plunder and the poverty and suffering imposed on them.

The Arabs and other Moslem peoples are valiant fighters and boast an ancient culture. The anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-feudal uprisings and wars of these peoples show that they are progressive and love freedom. If this were not so, they could not rise in struggle for freedom and national independence against their double oppression, both internal and external.

In the regions inhabited by the Moslem peoples the imperialists and social-imperialists are in difficulties. Their puppets also are in difficulties. The state of affairs in these regions speaks of a revolutionary situation, of a great social movement of these peoples, regardless of the fact that, at first sight, they have a religious character, or whether the people taking part in them are believers or non-believers.

Revolutionary situations exist or are being created in many countries today, but the socialist revolution does not present itself as an immediate task everywhere. Other movements of a democratic, anti-imperialist, liberation character are developing in the world. All these are component parts of the world revolutionary process, are just struggles which weaken the imperialist front and contribute to the acceleration of the revolutionary processes, strike blows at the capitalist system and lead to its further decay. Therefore, as Lenin teaches us, the working class, as the most progressive class, and its communist party must actively support and assist these struggles and place themselves in the leadership of them. And if initially they have not affirmed their leading positions, still they must stand in the forefront of the fight and sacrifices, because only in this way can they come to the head of the movement and

achieve its objectives, only in this way can the road be opened for the development of the anti-imperialist, people's democratic revolution into the socialist revolution.

In their struggle for national and social liberation the working class and the working masses clash every day with the savage violence of imperialism, the bourgeoisie and the forces of reaction. In these conditions, they are obliged to respond to the reactionary violence with revolutionary violence, the forms of which are and cannot but be different, according to the conditions of each country and the situations in which they occur. In some countries this violence has assumed or may assume the form of the armed insurrection. The Marxist-Leninists take an extremely serious stand on this question. They combat both nihilist stands and petty-bourgeois adventurism, expose and reject both the Maoist preachings about the «encirclement of the city by the countryside», etc., and the pseudo-Marxist theories which deny the decisive role of the popular masses in the struggle and the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist parties.

For our Marxist-Leninist parties the times are revolutionary. The new Marxist-Leninist parties are growing and tempering themselves all over the world. Their role and activity, their links and influence among the working class and masses are increasing. New parties have been created in many different countries and zones. All the conditions exist for them to be created even where there are no genuine revolutionary parties of the working class. This is an imperative fighting task of the most conscious, revolutionary elements of the proletariat.

The favourable objective situation in no way obscures the acute problems and major tasks which face the Marxist-Leninists. True, our forces are mounting continuously and the situation is developing in favour of the revolution, but reaction is active, too. Despite their profound and

irreconcilable contradictions, the bourgeoisie, social-democracy and the various revisionists are united on one thing — they operate jointly in the struggle against Marxism-Leninism and the revolution. They try to implant distrust and fear amongst the masses of the people in order to alienate them from the revolution and socialism, to attack and damage the Marxist-Leninist parties in individual countries and the revolutionary communist movement as a whole.

Earlier, when Mao Zedong thought was exerting its influence in many parties, the imperialists and social-imperialists were more at ease, because they knew that this revisionist current was doing its work of undermining the Marxist-Leninist movement. Now that this current has been exposed, the enemies are trying to sow confusion by spreading all kinds of pseudo-Marxist theories, to split and weaken the parties through factional struggle, to manipulate weak and ill-formed elements in various ways and impel them to revisionist positions.

Today, however, the Marxist-Leninist parties have great experience in the struggle with different anti-Marxist currents and are better armed against the tactics which the bourgeoisie and revisionists employ. This experience helps them to wage the struggle against enemies with success, to increase their vigilance, to continuously raise the ideological and political level of the party members and arm them with the Marxist-Leninist theory. The revolutionary struggle has taught the Marxist-Leninist parties to strengthen their links with the masses, to go amongst the different social strata and organize them, to utilize legal and illegal work, combining them correctly in struggle against manifestations of legalism and bourgeois liberalism, as well as of narrow sectarianism and work in isolation.

In the face of the co-ordinated activity of the imperialists and revisionists against Marxism-Leninism and the

revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the peoples, the further strengthening of the unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement is an imperative need.

The strength of the international Marxist-Leninist communist movement lies in the correctness of the ideas for which it fights and in its unity. In their struggle the Marxist-Leninist parties are guided by the teachings of our great classics, use the rich and all-sided heritage from the Comintern, rely on the experience of their own struggle against the revisionist betrayal and bear in mind the negative experience of the parties which degenerated into revisionism. All these lessons and this experience constitute a very great ideological, political, organizational, theoretical and practical wealth for tempering and strengthening the parties and the Marxist-Leninist movement in every direction.

The meetings and discussions between sister parties make a valuable contribution to strengthening the unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement. In this way they benefit from one another's experience, arrive at common assessments of situations and unity of thought and action. The experience of one party cannot replace the experience of many parties. On the contrary, it is the experience of all the Marxist-Leninist parties which makes the movement invincible.

Standing loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism, the Party of Labour of Albania has always tried and will continue to try to make its own contribution to strengthening the unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement and the collaboration between the sister parties.

It is an honour for our Party of Labour to stand shoulder to shoulder with the other Marxist-Leninist parties, which are equal detachments of the revolutionary movement of the working class, in the great historic struggle for the cause of Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and

socialism. The Albanian communists and our whole people prize very highly the solidarity, the love and trust which the sister Marxist-Leninist parties, the proletariat and the revolutionary and freedom-loving peoples display for the Party of Labour and socialist Albania. This is a powerful support and encouragement for us. In all circumstances and in any situation our Party and people will fight to perform their national and international tasks with honour, to build socialism successfully in Albania, and to ardently defend the revolutionary cause of the proletarians and the peoples.

Report to the 8th Congress
of the PLA

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN THREAT TO ALBANIA

Memoirs

(Excerpts)

Both the imperial governments of Great Britain of past centuries and its royal governments in recent years have always been hostile to the Albanian people. The Tories and the different political currents that kept the Empire going, and the two parties, the Tory Party and the Labour Party, which have taken turns in running the country more recently, have always regarded Albania as a token for barter in their countless deals with the other great powers to maintain the world hegemony of the «British Lion».

Like many other countries, Albania has not been recognized by any of those different British governments which have safeguarded the domination of British capital over the peoples and the world, as a state and a country which, through innumerable efforts and sacrifices through the centuries, have fought against various invaders, to be free and sovereign, but on the contrary, the inhabitants of this «Land of the Eagles» have been considered a savage, barbarous people, without culture, at a time when, despite their small numbers, these people have been indomitable and no less cultured than the people of Scotland or Cornwall.

It took a long time before a few publicists, some occasional amateur scholar or great poet of the romantic era, such as Byron, spread a little light among the British people about Albania and the Albanians, about their culture, their strong and generous character, their hospitality and kindness towards friends, as well as about the stern, unyielding fighting spirit in the face of many savage enemies which has always characterized them.

The enslaving imperialist colonial policy of Britain prevailed over many countries and peoples. Britain engaged in a thousand and one manoeuvres to get the riches of the world into its clutches, in order to fatten the lords and the barons and build up the «glory» and power of the Empire. Britain encroached on other countries, extending its influence like a noxious weed. Under the cloak of science, teams were sent to discover Africa, and wherever they went, the British «scientists» planted the flag of John Bull, and after them came the lords with their soldiers, who put down the mutiny of the Sepoys(1) and occupied India, people like Kitchener(2), who exterminated the Boers with fire and steel. Indeed Lord Beaconsfield (Disraeli) and Gladstone added the title Empress of India to the other titles of Queen Victoria. This was colonialism, which plundered the fabulous riches of India, the rubies and emeralds of Burma and the diamonds of South Africa, looted the gold of those countries and enslaved their peoples spiritually, economically and physically. The inhabitants of the countries which came under its yoke, Britain used as cannon fodder for its own aims.

In the various colonial wars which Britain waged

1 National uprising in India (1857-1859) against the British overlords in which the Indian peasants, craftsmen and especially soldiers (Sepoys), etc. took part.

2 H. Kitchener (1850-1916) — British earl and field-marshal, war minister (1914-1916), savage colonizer of Africa.

against other imperialist powers, it put the Indian detachments, the Bengal Lancers, the Afghans and other oppressed peoples in the front line to absorb the first blow for the benefit of their masters. All these colonial wars were fought so that the fields of England could be turned into golf courses for the lords, so that the food for the British Isles and all the raw materials for industry there would come from these colonies and the entire Empire on which, as Kipling, the ardent supporter of British expansion and colonialism, the bard of this Empire and author of the *Jungle Books* wrote, «the sun never sets.» The law of the jungle was applied in this empire. Everything had to serve it. The British bourgeoisie even used Darwin's scientific theory to justify the monstrous crimes it committed. Distorting this theory, it invented «social Darwinism» to «prove» that a bigger and more powerful people should eliminate or assimilate a smaller people, hence, it supported the reactionary concept that «the big fish eats the small.»

In such conditions and with such methods Britain insinuated herself everywhere by means of its Intelligence Service (SIS), discovered oil fields, captured Persia and other countries, countered the ambitions of Czarist Russia, defended the Ottoman Empire, and when the latter truly became «the Sick Man of the Bosphorus», collaborated with Bismarck's Germany at the Congress of Berlin in 1878, attacked the Peace Treaty of San Stefano for its interests, jealously guarded the strategic positions of the Mediterranean such as the Dardanelles, Suez and Gibraltar, guarded the Persian Gulf and made herself the «Queen of the Seas», the protagonist of the gunboat policy. It provoked the «Fashoda incident»⁽³⁾ and many other such things.

3 In September 1898, the British army, aiming to occupy the whole of the Nile Valley, threatened the French army at Fashoda, the Sudan, and demanded its immediate evacuation of that inhabited centre. In March 1899, the British and French

When Britain had become one of the main colonial powers, when the British dukes were wallowing in gold and the duchesses could barely support the weight of their diamond necklaces, diamond rings and diamond tiaras, what importance would they give to Albania and its heroic struggle for freedom and independence?

At every crucial moment of our history, and especially when the Albanian people were fighting heroically, arms in hand, against the Ottoman Empire, Britain always took the side of Turkey. At the Congress of Berlin, the Prime Minister of Britain, Queen Victoria's favourite, Lord Beaconsfield, who, when he returned to London from Berlin, made the pompous declaration that he had brought «peace with honour», and the Chancellor of Germany, Prince Bismarck, the founder of the Second Reich, did not even deign to listen to the Albanian delegation which the Albanian League of Prizren(4) had sent to Berlin to demand and defend the rights of our people. At those difficult moments, when our long-suffering people had taken up arms in the insurrection against the Turks and the Serbian chauvinist minions in the service of imperialists, to oppose the partitioning of our Homeland amongst the Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks and others, to win their autonomy, Bismarck and Disraeli disdainfully told our glorious forebears: «We are not interested in a few Albanian cottages.»

Later the delegates of our people, Ismail Qemali and

governments reached agreement that Britain would hold the Nile Valley and France the western regions of the Sudan.

4 On the eve of the Congress of Berlin, which was to revise the decisions of the Treaty of San Stefano, delegates from all the Albanian regions gathered in the town of Prizren on June 10, 1878, and decided to form a political and military union which took the name «The Albanian League of Prizren» and fought for self-government, national unity and for the defence of the territorial integrity of Albania which was threatened by the chauvinist ambitions of the neighbouring states.

Isa Boletini, went to London and demanded of the Foreign Secretary, Edward Grey, that Albania should be defended. «We shall not allow you to partition Albania,» our great diplomat Ismail Qemali told him. «We shall take up arms and fight, as we have always done.» The British minister turned a deaf ear.

Later at Versailles, Lloyd George with his henchmen, acting like his predecessors in London, partitioned Albania and so, our parents were, as always, obliged to take up arms to fight the invaders of our country. After the First World War, too, the British took the lead in intriguing against our country, meddling in our affairs and infiltrating the spies of their Intelligence Service into Albania. They were unable to change the direction of the Vlora uprising in 1920 which drove the Italian occupation troops into the sea.

The British Intelligence Service, together with Eyres, the minister of Great Britain in Albania, did everything in its power to weaken the Democratic Government of Fan Noli in 1924 and to secure from it the concession over the oil at Patos, Ardenica and elsewhere.

The self-proclaimed King of the Albanians, Ahmet Zog, who came to power with the aid of imperialists, pursued an «open-door» policy with Great Britain and the United States of America, as with many other countries, and signed treaties and agreements with them. The aims of these two imperialist states were to get possession of our coastline which dominates the Straights of Otranto, to transform Albania into a bridgehead for penetration into the Balkans, to exploit our natural riches, etc. Zog granted these states «most favoured nation» status, and this greatly facilitated the penetration of their capital into Albania. He went even further in this direction by granting the Anglo-Persian Oil Company almost a complete monopoly for the exploitation of oil in Albania and concluding a provisional trade agree-

ment with Britain, which in 1931 was replaced with a navigation and commercial treaty on the basis of «reciprocity» and the «most favoured nation» clause. As to what reciprocity this implied, it is sufficient to mention that in 1932, Albania imported from Britain goods to a value of 1,586,200 gold francs and exported goods worth a sum of only 6,665 gold francs to Britain. The British minister in Albania, Sir Robert Hodgson, who became Zog's intimate adviser in the 30's, faithfully carried out the anti-Albanian policy of his government. Through its officers, Percy, Stirling, Hill, Cripps and others seconded to Zog, British imperialism, together with Zog, kept the club, the prison and the hangman's noose ready to suppress any movement of the Albanian people. With the aid of its friends, as well as through the intervention of the British, when they reached agreement with the Italians over the division of their spheres of influence, Musolini's Italy secured the concession over the Albanian oil which was in the hands of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company.

A similar situation existed in Zog's relations with the United States of America also. He gave legislative endorsement to the letter sent by the Albanian government in June 1922 to the government of the USA through which the USA was granted «most favoured nation» status, hence in practice was given the keys to Albania. This was one of the most disgraceful documents, one of the most dangerous to the independence of our country. For its part, the USA never granted Albania «most favoured nation» rights. Six months after coming to power, Zog leased 51,000 hectares of land to the Standard Oil Company of New York for two years for 30,000 dollars and reduced customs tariffs on American imports.

Apart from this, Zog also opened the doors to agents of the American espionage service who came as missionaries, like Kennedy, as philanthropists and educators, like

Erikson and Harry Fultz. The latter became director of the Technical School in Tirana and was an important cadre in the American intelligence service. All these people and others not only gathered information, but as was proved later with the sabotage in Maliq and Kuçova (today Stalin City), and the trial of the traitor deputies, etc., they had prepared their agents who would work in the future, openly or under cover, against the Albanian people and the people's state power which they would set up.

The Anglo-American imperialists, those savage and determined enemies of the Albanian people, have always used our country as a means of exchange in their international transactions. When the despotic brigand, Zog, was in power, they tried to make Albania directly dependent on them, politically, economically and militarily, but ran up against the competition of other capitalist countries, especially fascist Italy. In the 30's, because of the general crisis in the capitalist world and the division of the spheres of influence amongst the great imperialist powers, and especially as a result of the massive penetration of Italian capital into Albania, the economic links of Albania with Great Britain and the United States were weakened. Zog became a direct tool of Italian fascism and threw the doors wide open for its colonization of Albania which led later to its occupation. However, time was to prove that the Anglo-Americans never relinquished their own ambitions towards our country, although they allowed Italy to operate freely in Albania, naturally for definite aims.

Nevertheless, the British government was pleased to see that Zog was becoming a lackey and agent of Mussolini. Britain wanted Italy to occupy Albania, because it planned to set Italian fascism and German nazism, which it was financing, like dogs to attack the Soviet Union.

Proof that this plan existed can be seen in the indifferent attitude of Chamberlain when Mussolini's Italy attacked

our country on April 7, 1939. Chamberlain, who knew in advance what was going to occur, went fishing that day. This was the same Chamberlain who had approved the «Anschluss», who had signed the Munich Agreement selling out Czechoslovakia, and finally handed over the keys of the defence of the Empire to Churchill.

The statement which the British prime minister made in the House of Commons on April 6, that Great Britain had «no direct interests» in Albania, gave Mussolini a free hand to carry out his plans towards our country. This stand by Britain was greatly in favour of Italy because it gave legal sanction to its special interests in Albania.

On the day of the invasion of Albania by the Italian blackshirts, Mussolini sent a telegram to his colleague in Britain. Chamberlain, in which he wrote that the events in connection with Albania would not affect relations between their two countries and would have no repercussions on the status quo in Europe and the world. This occurred one year after the time when, in the context of their imperialist rivalry, with war imminent, an agreement had been signed between Great Britain and Italy on the maintenance of the status quo in the Mediterranean. But what was the worth of such an agreement between imperialist wolves! History provides many examples which show that agreements and treaties between imperialist powers are expedients, compromises to reconcile them for a certain time, but which are violated as soon as the situation changes and other interests dictate.

Immediately after the aggression against Albania, the British government made a deal with Italy to the detriment of the Albanian people. In return for the withdrawal of Italian troops from Spain and a guarantee of the independence of Greece, Great Britain recognized the fascist occupation of Albania.

It is unnecessary to dwell at length on how the

Second World War developed, but I think it necessary to mention certain key moments to give a better understanding of the activity of the British missions in Albania at the time of the National Liberation War.

It is known that the efforts of Britain under Chamberlain and France under Daladier allegedly to appease Hitler and reduce his appetite for «living space» were in vain. The Munich Conference and the worthless document that emerged from it, which Chamberlain waved before the British people when he came off the aircraft as an «historic document» which allegedly meant «peace in our time», was nothing but the white flag of surrender which Britain waved before the nazi aggressor.

The hopes of the British and French bourgeoisie were that the Hitlerite war machine would be turned against the Soviet Union and they did everything in their power to urge Hitler in this direction.

Britain intended to kill two birds with one stone: both the Soviet Union and the Third Reich. However, things did not turn out as London intended.

Bourgeois France refused the demand of the Soviet Union that Czechoslovakia should be defended with arms according to the existing treaties. Faced with the threat of Hitlerite Germany, Stalin proposed to Britain and France that they should form a joint front, but these two capitalist powers scorned this proposal, which could have saved the situation, because, as I pointed out above, they hoped that Hitler would attack the Soviet Union. This being the case, the Soviet Union signed a non-aggression pact with Germany. This was a necessary pact which gave it time to make further preparations for defence.

Hitler's war took a direction different from what the British and French imperialists intended, because, after the attack on Poland and its occupation, he turned on France which capitulated almost without fight. Germany was pre-

paring to attack Britain, too, which remained alone in the war against Hitlerite Germany. The latter sized up its strength, especially its air and naval forces, and violating the non-aggression pact, turned and launched a furious and perfidious attack on the land of the Soviets.

Under the conditions in which Hitlerite Germany was getting all the capitalist countries of Europe into its clutches and the British Isles themselves were under imminent threat, when the British colonies and the American possessions in the Pacific were falling one after another into the hands of militarist Japan, for fear of the dangerous proportions which the Hitlerite «blitzkrieg» had assumed, for fear that if the Soviet Union were defeated, too, Germany would emerge more powerful and it would become even more difficult to withstand its attacks, the imperialist chiefs considered that the need had arisen to balance forces, therefore, Britain and later the United States of America were obliged to turn to the Soviet Union for a common fight against fascism, but seriously this time. In this way, the anti-fascist Anglo-Soviet-American Coalition was created against the nazi plague, which attacked and occupied Yugoslavia and Greece as well. Meanwhile the Albanian people had risen to fight fascist Italy which had already attacked and occupied our country.

In their Anti-fascist National Liberation War the Albanian people were not alone. Lined up beside them now were the Soviet Union, headed by Stalin, in the first place, and all the peoples of the world who were fighting fascism, including the British and American peoples. We were participants in the great Anti-fascist Coalition, in the alliance between the Soviet Union, the United States of America and Great Britain. We had to consider this alliance useful and necessary, and support it for the destruction of the nazi beast, and therefore we explained its importance to the Party and the people.

In our assessment of this alliance we had to be neither sectarian nor liberal, but while considering it fruitful in the context of the fight against nazism, it was necessary that we should never forget what the governments of the United States of America and Great Britain represented for our people, that we should never forget their savage nature as capitalists and colonialist oppressors, that we should never forget the countless wounds they had inflicted on the body of our Homeland. We had to put our trust in our Party, our people, our rifles, in the Soviet Union and Stalin. We had to fight to win our freedom with sacrifice and bloodshed, and we must never allow foreign enemies to gamble with the fate of our country and our people as in the past.

In one of his speeches Churchill launched the slogan: «Set Europe ablaze.» In launching this slogan, he had two aims: first, German nazism was to be fought by the peoples, «assisted» with arms and military missions, and second, these missions, wherever they were sent, were to organize pro-British reaction and fight the communist parties and the national liberation fronts which were led by these parties. In other words, while he declared «Set Europe ablaze», his real aim was to extinguish the fire that had been kindled and ensure that the missions sent everywhere achieve those objectives which the War Office, the Foreign Office and the Intelligence Service dictated to them. He wanted the peoples and the communists to be weakened by the war and reaction to emerge from it strong, hence, the fig was to ripen and fall into the mouth of the British.

The reader will allow me to present a very short history of the plans which were concocted in London against our National Liberation War before the British missions came to Albania.

In October 1939, with the aim of securing first-hand information about the situation in our country, the British government appointed a consul-general based in Durrës. However, London was not content with this act alone which, in fact, was recognition of the new status of Albania. In the spring of 1940, it asked the people of its secret information service in Belgrade to prepare a report about the development of events in Albania and ordered the creation of an office for Albania under Section D. Julian Amery, who up till that time had been press and propaganda secretary in the British Legation in Yugoslavia, was charged with this task. He prepared this report with the help of Gani and Seit Kryeziu, degenerate elements of the feudal Kryeziu family of Kosova, inveterate spies who had frequently changed their bosses and now placed themselves in the service of the British.

Similar sections for Albania were established in Athens with the long-term British agent, Mrs. Hasluck as adviser, and in Cairo, attached to the Allied Headquarters, with Major Cripps, a former instructor of Zog's gendarmerie, as its chief. Thus, the British Intelligence Service created its network all around Albania and was preparing to send its agents here. The office for Albania, under Section D, made direct contact with various elements, Albanian emigrants, old «friends» of Britain, «monarchists», «republicans», «liberal intellectuals», etc. who lived in Yugoslavia, gathered them round itself and created a kind of organization, the so-called «United Front» with all these elements who dreamed of a repetition of 1924, when external and internal reaction organized Zog's return to Albania.

At this time, after having slunk from one capital of Europe to another, like a thief with his stolen gold, Zog arrived in London with all his suite. The British government regarded him as a valueless card, because he had been discredited, did not enjoy the sympathy of the Albanian

people and had no party in support of him in the country. Its consul-general in Durrës had informed it of this fact. Therefore, it wanted to expel Zog from Britain, but sensing the danger, Zog informed the British government that it was his intention to place himself at the head of the Albanians abroad in the service of the allied military plans. After this, the Foreign Office changed its mind. It allowed him to stay in England on condition that he did not engage in political activity without its permission. Possibly the chests of gold which Zog had with him may have played their part in this change of mind in the Foreign Office. In any case, the British government reserved the right to use Zog as a card to be played if some favourable opportunity presented itself. It considered that Zog might serve as a figure round whom to gather various elements to be used for its own interests if German nazism were defeated and favourable conditions created as in the past.

For the time being, however, the British could not use him. They had to work under cover with someone else to reach the point where he could be used. Apart from the Kryezius, the British had their eyes on Abaz Kupi, who was «against» the Italians and pro-Zog, as a suitable person with whom to manoeuvre. To this end, London ordered Section D in Belgrade, which was now called the Special Operations Executive (SOE), to make contact with him. Amery went to Istanbul and together with Stirling, another former instructor of Zog's gendarmerie, who was now operating in Turkey, met Abaz Kupi. After a little bargaining, Amery left with him for Yugoslavia whence, with many other «patriots» and «politicians», Abaz Kupi was to be smuggled into Albania in order to organize Zog's former officers, *bajraktars** and others, in the «war against the occupiers»!

* Clan chiefs (Alb.).

Meanwhile Zog, afraid that he might be expelled, and not being informed of the plans which were being hatched up, proposed to London, as a proof of his loyalty to the allies, that he should open a fighting front from Salonica. at the head of the Albanians who were in Istanbul. Afraid of a political confrontation with Greece, the British government sought the approval of the Greek government. The Greek prime minister Metaxas refused and torpedoed Zog's plan. Thus, Zog, that servile lackey of Great Britain, remained «in cold storage».

In the SOE of Belgrade matters were proceeding more rapidly than before. Many elements had been gathered around it, including, apart from the Kryeziu brothers and Abaz Kupa, Muharrem Bajraktari, Xhemal Herri and others. Most of them were supporters of Zog. One fine day even the «communist» Mustafa Gjinishi turned up at the SOE and his presence was a matter of great rejoicing for the British. Oakley-Hill, who for eight years on end had been in Albania as organizer of Zog's gendarmerie, was now running the office for Albania under the SOE in Belgrade.

Considering the situation suitable for operations in Albania, Hill entered Albania in April 1941, at the head of a small force comprised of elements which he had gathered together and financed. All this was done allegedly to save Albania from the Italian fascists, but, in fact, was aimed to create the conditions in which our country would enter the sphere of British influence in the future and to avoid the creation of any other resistance centre outside British control, which might fight the occupiers and eliminate the influence of Great Britain. However, in the difficult situation which was created, especially with the German invasion of Yugoslavia, the army of which resisted no more than a week, the plan of Lt.-Col. Hill was foiled. This compelled him to gather together the heads of

the small force with which he had entered Albania for the last time in Tropoja and charge each of them with a special task: Gani Kryeziu was to operate in Kosova, Abaz Kupa was to go to Kruja, close to the government in Tirana, while Mustafa Gjinishi was to enter the ranks of the Albanian communist leaders. For the time being, their task was to fight under the disguise of «ardent patriotism», and as soon as the conditions were ripe, they were to come out in the open like snails after a shower.

While these «patriots», each with a bag of gold sovereigns, dispersed within Albania, the British officer returned to Belgrade where he surrendered «with honour» to the Germans and, through the mediation of the American legation in Yugoslavia, a little while later returned safe and sound to London.

The resistance and armed struggle of our people against the fascist occupiers, which began on April 7, 1939, continued uninterruptedly and was further extended and strengthened, especially after the formation of the Communist Party of Albania on November 8, 1941. After this historic date, the fight of the Albanian people entered a new phase, in which it was fiercer, well organized and becoming devastating for the occupiers, quislings and traitors. This aroused concern in the bourgeois world.

During 1942 the Foreign Office displayed greater interest in the Albanian question. It had heard that the Communist Party of Albania had been formed. At the end of 1942, its interest turned to alarm, especially when it received the news that the Communist Party of Albania had organized the Conference of Peza, was leading the National Liberation Front and that the National Liberation Movement was assuming wide proportions. And all these things had occurred after Churchill's statement that «His Majesty's Governments has the cause of Albania very much at heart». The alarm was sounded. The SOE in Istanbul

proposed that an Albanian government should be created with the aid of the British; the SOE insisted that Gani Bey Kryeziu and Mehmet Konica should be included in this government. A letter was sent to Muharrem Bajraktari through Mihajlović, with whom he collaborated, in which he was told, «It is up to you to lead the war,» and he was assured that Zog was not going to return to Albania.

Events were moving rapidly. In November 1942 the allies landed in North Africa. On December 17, the British foreign secretary made a statement in the House of Commons, which had been approved by the War Cabinet at the beginning of December, in which he spoke of the «desire» of the British government that Albania should be liberated, its independence re-established and the question of its borders examined at the Peace Conference. The Soviet government also made a statement in which it expressed its sincere desire for the liberation of Albania and the re-establishment of its independence and spoke in terms of admiration about our fight against the occupiers. The government of the USA also made a statement on this question. Undoubtedly these statements were moral-political support for our National Liberation War, promised the independence of the country when the war was over and helped to strengthen the international position of Albania at a time when all the peoples had risen to their feet to fight fascism and nazism.

The revolutionary situation in Albania aroused debates among the circles in London which were involved with Albania. However, their hearts were warmed and their hopes raised by the fact that their friends, Abaz Kupa and Mustafa Gjinishi, had managed, in the meantime, to enter the National Liberation Front, while outside this Front, and as a counter-weight to it, an organization had been created which called itself the Balli Kombëtar, at the head

of which were people known to the British Intelligence Service — feudal lords, big landowners and merchants, bajraktars, bourgeois intellectuals, senior clergy and other sworn enemies of the communists.

In these circumstances, Britain decided to dispatch its military missions to Albania. Their purpose would be to sound out the situation on the spot, to give their centre accurate information about which way the wind was blowing, to learn what the National Liberation Movement really was, to establish links with the Balli Kombëtar, to assist the «friends» sent in by the SOE, and most important, to do their utmost to ensure, under the disguise of «aid», that the people's revolution would fail both in Albania and everywhere else.

These were the main aims with which the British missions were sent to Albania, some of them through Greece and others by air.

In these reminiscences of mine I am revealing precisely the underhand struggle which these missions waged, although they had no success, because our Party and people foiled their every action and plan. We could not allow the bitter history of the past to be repeated, and it was not repeated.

Our Party and people defeated the Italian fascists and the German nazis with the rifle, while defeating Anglo-American imperialism with heroic resistance and resolute and intelligent diplomacy, which was inspired by Marxism-Leninism and based on the great experience of the people and their great leaders through the ages.

Our war against the German occupiers and the local reactionaries who collaborated with them was raging fiercely and had assumed wide proportions. At this time, the spring of 1944, generally speaking, the operational initiative had passed in the hands of our National Liberation

Army. (5) It had emerged from the fierce fighting and countless privations of the winter 1943-1944 toughened and better prepared for stern battles against the occupiers and their tools in Albania. On the order of the General Staff it had launched the general offensive which is known as the «Spring Offensive». Besides the battalions and *çetas*, shock brigades — powerful commands, had been formed and their operations against the enemy were always crowned with victory. In all the liberated zones national liberation councils, which operated vigorously as organs of the people's state power, had been formed. In the occupied zones, too, and even in the cities, underground national liberation councils had been created as fighting organs which united all the anti-fascist popular forces and assisted the National Liberation War.

The quisling governments fell one after the other like autumn leaves. The place of people who had compromised themselves with the Italians was taken by those who had worked under cover, the chiefs of the Balli Kombëtar and other reactionary trends, who took part in the Regency, the government and other top quisling organs set up by the occupiers, and hence became open quislings.

Hitlerite Germany knew that it had lost the war. It had to protect the forces which it had in Albania from our ceaseless attacks. Likewise, it had to withdraw the forces it had in Greece, and hence to keep open the roads

5 In the weekly report dated March 8, 1944, on the situation in Albania it was reported to the Foreign Office:

«9. The partisan revival is a tribute to the flexibility and resilience of the L.N.C. brigades, the majority of which were reported a month ago to be either dispersed by GERMAN drives or faced with immediate starvation. The strength of the Partisans seems to lie in their discipline, energy and clarity of aims, qualities singularly lacking in their nationalist opponents.» (FO 371/43550-3372. PRO. Taken from the photocopy of the original in the AIH, Tirana.)

for their withdrawal, which were under attack by our brigades and divisions. For this reason the Germans launched partial and general offensives against us, spreading terror and devastating whole regions. The occupiers had the support of the Albanian reaction: the Ballists, the Zogites, the bajraktars, the quislings — formerly pro-Italian, now pro-German, with whom they had reached agreement to join forces and wipe out the communists and the National Liberation Army. Reaction assisted its ally — Germany, the nazi army, and at the same time tried to prepare for the «future», that is, to seize power when the German forces departed.

While waging unrelenting war on the enemy we kept vigilant watch on the manoeuvres of the quislings, the Balli Kombëtar and the Zogites; we replied to their actions with arms, with armed counter-attacks, and defeated their plans through intensive propaganda among the people, in opposition to the German propaganda which loudly proclaimed that Germany had always been and always would be a friend of the Albanian people, that the German army was only here in transit and that all of its actions were undertaken to strengthen the freedom and independence of Albania! This demagogy was accompanied with allegedly «Albanian» measures — with the «National Assembly», with the organization of the «Albanian gendarmerie», because the «Albanian fascist militia was not Albanian», etc., etc.

This British had suffered defeats in their intrigues. Seeing that their plans were being consistently discovered and foiled, they thought they could improve the situation by dropping us a few more weapons. But we did not fall for their trickery. I advised the commissars and the commanders: «You must cherish no illusion, no hopes, and no belief that the British are going to drop us weapons. We must have faith in ourselves, in the Party, in the

people and in our National Liberation War. We must attack the enemy, smash it and capture arms, ammunition, clothing and food. This is the only way that we will ensure stores of arms. We expect nothing from heaven. We will continue to demand weapons from the British as our allies, but all they drop us count for nothing in our great war.» In meetings I explained to the commissars: «While the British and the Americans are our allies in this war, because they are fighting the Germans, we must never think that they sincerely support our war. They do not want to arm us, because they know that by doing so they are digging the grave for their real friends. They want us to fold our arms, to stop fighting and be weak, so that they can thoroughly enslave us tomorrow.» Therefore I issued the call for fighting, relentless fighting, correct policy, revolutionary diplomacy and vigilance, vigilance!

Two or three months after General Davies (6) was taken prisoner, Britain sought permission to send another representative to our General Staff, a Major Palmer, who was promoted a little later to Lt.-Colonel. I authorized this and in April 1944 he was dropped by parachute in the region of Korça, if I'm not mistaken. He was accompanied by his chief of staff, a radio operator and some other officer.

As we saw later from the attitude Palmer adopted, he had been instructed to present a «more sympathetic» appearance, that is, to avoid appearing as cunning and arrogant as McLean,(7) or allegedly the plain soldier like the General, who proved to be not at all the soldier he

6 Edmund Davies — chief of the British mission the British War Office sent in October 1943 to the General Staff of the Albanian National Liberation Army, (See Enver Hoxha, *The Anglo-American Threat to Albania*, «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1982, pp. 80-172, Eng. ed.)

7 Neil McLean — British liaison officer. In April 1943 he came to Albania as representative of the Allied Mediterranean Command to the National Liberation General Council.

claimed to be up till the moment he surrendered to the Germans.

Palmer was all smiles when he met me. He was a man about 40, fit-looking, with clear-cut features, and intelligent smiling eyes. After we exchanged greetings, he told me that he had come to replace General Davies at the Supreme Staff of the Partisan Army and to contribute his maximum to the strengthening of the friendship between our two countries and armies which were allies against the same enemy, Hitlerite Germany, and other such high-flown but worthless words. I replied in general terms, too. I also asked him if the British intended to assist us with weapons and clothing, which was a very important issue for us, but which, I told Palmer, «you forgot to mention.» I also gave him a short account of the small amount of aid which they had given us.

«Your Shakespeare,» I told him, «wrote a comedy called *Much Ado About Nothing*. However, this performance that is going on today to the detriment of a people thirsting for freedom goes beyond the bounds of comedy or drama and is a terrible tragedy. A small people, like ours, are fighting and sacrificing everything for victory in this war. The only aid we ask from you is in weapons, nothing else, while all you do is talk about it and in fact we see very very little, almost nothing of this aid.»

Palmer laughed, although he had been smiling the whole time. It seemed they had deliberately selected this cheerful type in order to avoid any further worsening of relations with us.

In autumn of the same year he left for London and in April 1944 returned to Albania. He was attached to the reactionary forces in order to help their war against the national liberation forces. (See Enver Hoxha, *The Anglo-American Threat to Albania*, «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1982, pp. 29-67, 278-296, Eng. ed.)

«With our landing in Italy, I believe we'll adjust this matter better. You must Understand our difficulties,» Palmer tried to explain.

In his attitude, conduct and way of speaking, he was much more mature, cautious, serious, and sympathetic than all the other British officers I met during the war. He posed as if he sympathized with our war, although certainly he approved neither of our war, nor of our political stand. However there was nothing he could do about them and he did not display this openly like McLean, nor tell flagrant lies like General Davies.

On many occasions I had arguments with Palmer, and even spoke angrily to him about the stand of other British missions, the Allied Mediterranean Command and General Wilson, but Palmer always maintained his typical English aplomb, took notes, thought carefully before he spoke and replied to me tactfully and diplomatically.

Naturally the question of weapons was always a source of discord between us. In fact, we had never pinned any hopes on getting arms from them and did not really expect that they would drop them to us, but we insisted on this question in order to bring out the sabotage and other activities which they tried to carry out against us.

The contradictions that we had with the British over the inadequate supply of arms became very acute. At long last Palmer came to me with a proposal of the Mediterranean Headquarters on this problem. As he put it, in order to solve the problem of arms supplies from the allies properly and quickly, the Mediterranean Headquarters proposed that we should send a military delegation to Bari and present our requirements there. The comrades and I examined and discussed this proposal at length.

I sent for Palmer and told him of our decision. He rejoiced at having achieved this «success» and said with satisfaction, «Now I believe that everything will be settled.»

I was convinced that nothing would be done. And in fact, it turned out just as we had foreseen. Our delegation came back with nothing but promises and empty hands.

Palmer often felt himself hard-pressed and could hardly wait for the occasion when half a dozen rifles were dropped in some region so that he could come to me all smiles to bring the good news.

The Germans were receiving mortal blows on the Soviet front, which was the main front of the war and sealed the total defeat of Hitlerite Germany. The Red Army had advanced into the Balkans and was driving towards the West. The Anglo-Americans had landed in Italy. The German forces found themselves in difficulties in the Apennine Peninsula, while the allies advanced very slowly. Kesselring's armies were making a fighting retreat and apparently wanted to turn the Alps into an impassable defence line. It had become virtually impossible for the forces of the German army deployed in Greece to remain there any longer. The only possible routes for their withdrawal were through Macedonia and Albania to link up in Montenegro, Bosnia, Sandjak, Serbia, Croatia, and Slovenia to reach Austria where they would unite with Kesselring's forces withdrawing towards the Alps.

Making a thorough analysis of the general war situation and foreseeing the situations that would be created, our General Staff set the National Liberation Army the important task of stepping up its military attacks on the German-Ballist forces. It also set the task that our shock brigades must be further toughened and better armed, that bigger military units, divisions and eventually army corps, must be created, because we anticipated fierce battles with the German nazis, who, fighting desperately during their retreat, would launch savage offensives to weaken us and wipe us out, in order to keep the routes open for their withdrawal.

At the same time, the Party foresaw that the day of victory was not far off, therefore preliminary preparations had to be made for the liberation of the Homeland which was costing us so much blood, tears and sacrifice. The national liberation councils had to be strengthened everywhere. It had also become imperative to hold a major congress at which important political, organizational and military decisions, in connection with the internal situation and foreign policy, would be taken. The congress had to determine the legal form of the people's state power, to set up the new state of people's democracy and consolidate its leadership. Any attempt outside the country to form some so-called Albanian government in exile, etc., had to be blocked legally through the unanimous decision of a great assembly (the first people's assembly) elected democratically.

We put these and other current problems before the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party which met in the middle of May in Helmës of Skrapar and which took the respective decisions and laid down the guidelines for the future. These guidelines had to do with continuing the National Liberation War against the enemy occupier and traitors more fiercely in order to drive ahead on all fronts till their complete defeat, till the liberation of the whole of Albania and the setting up and consolidation of the state, administrative and legislative political power, that is, the establishment of the state power of people's democracy throughout the whole country. These things were also put forward and discussed in the Congress of Përmet(8) and were embodied in the decisions which it took.

These were major tasks. Of course we knew and the Party had made clear to all the partisans and the people that the road was not strewn with rose petals, that even

8 It was held from 24-28 May 1944 in the town of Përmet.

more blood would be shed, and we would have to overcome many difficulties and make still more sacrifices. We would achieve all these things by fighting and the victory would come from the barrel of the gun and the correct, principled, Marxist-Leninist policy of the Party.

We were locked in a life-and-death struggle with the Hitlerite army and reaction, the two main enemies, whom we had to totally defeat and liquidate together, once and for all. As I explained earlier, the reactionaries, the quislings, the Ballists, the Zogites, the bajraktars and the pseudo-democrats were fighting us with arms together with the Germans, with the aim that, when we had driven the latter out of the country, reaction would be organized and able to seize state power. These were moments when our National Liberation Army had become very strong. Reaction could see clearly that we were putting an end to the occupying forces and could feel the ground slipping from under its feet. We were not only driving the enemy out of our Homeland, but following it in hot pursuit, carrying the fight beyond our state borders.

The more the nazis suffered defeat and the stronger the National Liberation War grew in our country and other countries, the more dangerous Anglo-American imperialism became. This was a ferocious enemy. It was disguised with democratic slogans and called itself «anti-fascist», but in fact it was perfidious, operated powerfully, always in disguise, and sought to turn the situation to its advantage to establish its hegemony over the peoples of the world. There were many who forgot this, who underestimated it, while the Communist Party of Albania and its leadership never slackened their vigilance towards it. We were wide awake at every moment to foil its plans and we did foil them, one after the other. The British stepped up their pressure on us, while we struck back at them harder.

They had heard of the preparations which the Party was making to organize the Congress of Përmet and were striving feverishly to hinder it, therefore they sent their senior officer, Lt.-Col. Leake, as their emissary, to meet their agent, Mustafa Gjinishi, and give him directives to sabotage the Congress. (I have written about this episode of the secret war of the British against us in that part of the memoirs in which I speak about Mustafa Gjinishi, hence I shall not dwell on it here.)⁽⁹⁾

The pressure, blackmail and brutal interference of the Anglo-Americans against our National Liberation Movement became more intense in the summer and especially the autumn of 1944. There were reasons for this. The decisions of the Congress of Përmet, especially those prohibiting Zog's return to Albania, on the non-recognition of any other government within the country or in exile, the cancelling of all agreements concluded with them by Zog to the detriment of the interests of our people, etc., hurt them badly. But what made the Anglo-Americans most furious was, on the one hand, the gratitude the delegates expressed to the Soviet Union and the Red Army of Stalin, which had torn the Hitlerite army to pieces and was advancing triumphantly towards Germany, and on the other hand, the public condemnation of the efforts of the Anglo-American allies to poke their noses into the internal affairs of our country.

The great momentum of our war, the general offensive of our National Liberation Army and the successful development of this offensive in the North alarmed the leading circles in London and Washington. While things were going the way they wanted with Tito's Yugoslavia

⁹ See Enver Hoxha, *The Anglo-American Threat to Albania*, «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1982, pp. 173-224, Eng. ed.

and with Greece, through Santos and other agents of theirs in the Greek Communist Party, nothing was going right for them with little Albania, which they had considered a push-over. It was slipping from their grip. Faced with this fact, they were obliged to sit down and work out even more sophisticated plans.

Meanwhile in the North, the partisan forces were launching furious attacks on the occupiers and reactionaries. Our brigades had clashed with the German and Ballist troops in the regions of Dibra and Kukës. The command of the 1st Shock Division informed us that their ammunition was running out. More than ten days had passed since the date when Palmer had promised me that armaments would be delivered.

I summoned the head of the British mission to come to the centre of our Staff at night. Quietly, but in cold and clear terms I told him:

«Mr. Palmer, two weeks or so ago I presented to you a request for weapons, ammunition and mortar shells. You are well aware why we need these materials urgently, because I also told you the purpose of them. I also told you where we intended to operate so that, as we agreed, the weapons would be dropped at the place and on the date we set together. You welcomed my request with a smile and told me that you would immediately inform the Allied Mediterranean Headquarters and General Wilson about this. Four days later you came and told me that the request had been accepted and that the weapons would be dropped by parachute at the time and the place set. On the basis of your promise we took immediate measures, gave orders for our forces to go into action and they are involved in fighting at present. You are not keeping your word and you are causing our National Liberation Army great damage. If you do not take immediate measures to drop us the promised arms, we shall consider this a hostile

gesture which is damaging and causing losses to an allied army. If the weapons are not sent immediately, not only shall we make you responsible for this before world anti-fascist opinion, but we shall take severe measures against all the British missions on our side.»

Palmer frowned, which was something rare for him, but with his English imperturbability, quickly assumed a smile and said in self-defence, as if to calm me:

«Mr Hoxha, you are displaying hot temper...»

I could tolerate no more and cut him short:

«What do you expect, should I laugh, should I not be indignant, not be hot-tempered when my comrades are being killed in the fighting?»

«I understand the difficult situation, both for your forces and for us, but I believe, and I am sure of this, that our Mediterranean Headquarters does not lack the will to assist you, but it must be the weather conditions which are hindering us. Nevertheless, Mr Hoxha, it is my duty to report once again what you have told me, and for my part I shall insist that the munitions are sent,» said Palmer.

This was an ultimatum which I gave the head of the British mission. I would avoid meeting him until he came to inform me whether or not the arms had been sent and that is what I did. We had decided that if they did not drop us the weapons, we would expel the British mission from our Staff. Such a thing was not in their interest and they were afraid we might do this, because they had begun to understand the way we thought. No more than three or four days went by when I was informed that Palmer had sought a meeting. From the comrades I had received the news that the arms had been dropped (after we had smashed the German and Ballist forces). The Lt.-Colonel came and, smiling as usual, told me:

«Mr Hoxha, the desire of both of us has been fulfilled, the arms have been dropped.»

«The comrades told me,» I said. «Thank you, in particular, for your efforts. You who are here know the situation better than those who are in Italy,» I added. This pleased Palmer greatly and after he had drunk the tea and eaten the fruit which I offered him, he went off rejoicing.

The Anglo-American imperialists were still holding two or three cards to be used at the appropriate moment. At this time the card which seemed to them to have the most chance was that of Gani Kryeziu, the feudal lord of Kosova, who, it was whispered, was preparing to form a «government», at least for Northern Albania. We very quickly made this card worthless.

We were in Odrigan of Përmet. The main forces of our army were engaged in successful actions in Central and Northern Albania. On September 20, 1944, I received an urgent radiogram in which Comrade Manush Myftiu reported that the forces of the 5th Brigade had surrounded Gani Kryeziu's *çeta*, had captured Seit Kryeziu, Llazar Fundo, alias Zai Fundo, and the British officer attached to them, Simcox, and were holding them under arrest, awaiting our instructions as to what to do with them. One day later, Gani Kryeziu was also captured.

Of course this was good news for us. At last these enemies of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, the Communist Party of Albania and international communism, would render account. As I read the radiogram I could see in my mind's eye, as on a cinema screen, all the evil deeds and hostile activity of these individuals during their lives, and I recalled everything that I had seen and heard about them.

Zai Fundo was the son of a merchant from Korça, from a family which posed as «gentry». As a young democrat he had been a member of the progressive association *Bashkimi* and at the beginning of the 20's had taken part in the anti-feudal movement.

Zai was caught up in the wave of political activity and it seemed as if he had taken a different road from that of his family, as if «he had taken the side of democracy against the feudal lords.»

When Zog returned to Tirana with the aid of foreign powers, the main supporters of the Fan Noli government emigrated abroad. Zai Fundo went, too. Eventually he ended up in the Soviet Union with a group of Albanians, amongst whom were Ali Kelmendi, Koço Tashko and others.

Some years later we heard from Ali Kelmendi that Zai Fundo had betrayed communism, hence had become a renegade — a dangerous and very cunning Trotskyite, but had escaped the purge of the Trotskyites, Bukharinites, and other renegades, because when his Trotskyite activity and views were discovered, he was not in the Soviet Union. Now he was to be found sometimes in Switzerland, sometimes in France, or elsewhere, working furiously and openly against communism, against Stalin and against the Soviet Union, as a leading figure in the ranks of the Trotskyite 4th International, and had placed himself in the service of who knows which of the imperialist states which were organizing the sabotage and the fight against the Soviet Union. Therefore, we were not surprised when he was found in the service of the British. On the eve of the fascist occupation he returned to Albania with the permission of the Zog government, after having given assurances that he would not engage in politics. Zai Fundo did not come without ulterior motives. He was not an economic emigrant, nor any ordinary political emigrant, but «renowned» as an anti-Zogite and anti-feudal and especially as a «communist».

The resistance of our people against the despotic regime of Zog was building up, the communist groups were extending their ranks and activity, fascist Italy had got our Homeland into its clutches and was preparing for its occupation.

The situation in Europe was disturbed. The tramp of the jackboots and the clash of the bayonets of German nazism and Italian fascism were becoming loud and ominous. The wars of plunder had begun.

Precisely in these troubled times, like a wolf seeking cover in the fog, Zai Fundo returned to Albania, undoubtedly sent by foreign agencies to prepare the terrain for the enemy, to sabotage the creation of the Communist Party of Albania and the armed resistance of the Albanian people.

We understood the danger of this renegade, hence we took the necessary measures to fight him to the finish. I undertook to unmask him among the teachers, professors and students and at the same time to discover his manoeuvres and methods of work, where he would create his bases and how he would extend his network. The other comrades undertook the task to make clear to workers and the peasant element who this traitor was. Right from the start we watched the activity of this notorious individual among the merchant bourgeoisie and liberal and «democratic» intelligentsia of Korça. It would be difficult for him to penetrate amongst the workers of Korça because they had long known what he was, whereas if he were to attempt to establish links with the countryside, he would do this through the «liberal» beys and aghas. This is how we began the work against him, with the old guard of the Communist Group of Korça in the forefront.

Zai Fundo set to work systematically. He made contact with all those about whom the prefect and his agents had not the slightest trace of doubt, hence he was legalizing his activity according to the «promises» made before his return to Albania.

He established links with the leaders of the merchant bourgeoisie of Korça who were linked with the Moslem beys and aghas, who were more in contact with the country-

side and among the most trusted supporters of Zog and his henchmen. He linked up, also, with those who formed the opinion of the «Moslem élite» of Korça, who became his closest friends. Certain intellectuals of Korça, especially the pro-fascist ones, also became supporters of Zai Fundo. We discovered these things very quickly because we kept his meetings out in the town and his frequent visits to individual families under careful surveillance.

It was difficult for us to learn what he talked about with these people, but sometimes we heard of it through their boasting. Zai preened himself as an «able politician», as a «man of great culture». He told them that «he was for reforms, but in a moderate way, because it was not time yet for far-reaching reforms», that «the country was backward from the aspect of education», etc., etc., but he never went deeply into what should be done. He spoke «fine words about the youth», avoided talking directly about the Soviet Union and Stalin and said: «I am a communist, as the whole world, including the prefect, knows, and there is no way I can hide this.»(!)

We met from time to time, reported on his activity and, after discussion, took decisions to expose him further as an enemy of the workers, as an enemy of the genuine land reform which would be the salvation of the peasantry, etc. Naturally, Zai and his friends did not like this struggle which the Bolsheviks, as they called us, waged against him. Koço Tashko, who posed as «the head» of our group, did not like it either. He, too, tried to force us not to struggle against Zai Fundo, because he allegedly had «anti-fascist sentiments»! However, we carried on with our work.

Zai Fundo expressed «his anti-fascist sentiments» to me one time when he stopped me in the street in Korça. There I seized the opportunity and poured out everything I had against him. What did I not call him! Every epithet that fitted him: Trotskyite, enemy of socialism and Stalin,

enemy of the Albanian people, etc. From that day on I never set eyes on him again.

Soon after the Italian occupation he disappeared from sight. Nothing was heard about where he was, what he was doing, whether he was legal or illegal. Could he have been allocated some secret mission by the occupier, or some «nationalist» or Trotskyite group? We had to find out.

Finally the news reached us that Zai Fundo was «underground» in Kosova where he had linked up with the chiefs of reaction in Kosova, the brothers of Ceno Bey Kryeziu from Gjakova, Gani and Seit Kryeziu. They had formed a çeta and, according to our information, there was a British mission with them. This mission was not subordinate to the British missions located in other zones of Albania, or if it was subordinate to them, this they kept very secret.

As is known, during the Italian occupation the territories of Kosova came under the domination of the Italians and, for purposes of demagogy, «Greater Albania», or «Ethnic Albania» was created in this way. It was clear to us that fascism was not thinking of the benefit of Albania and the Albanians, but of its own interests. This was an incitement to Albanian reaction to serve their Italian fascist patrons better and to draw greater economic gains, and in fact, the Albanian quislings, in collaboration with the fascist reaction in Kosova, organized the systematic plunder of Kosova under the direction of the Italians. However, through the slogan «in the end Kosova has been united with Albania», the Italian fascists, like the German nazis later, reckoned to deceive the Albanian people and the Albanians of Kosova by telling them that their dreams had been realized and that only Italian fascism had brought this about, therefore «they should not fight against Italy, but against the communists». We and the people of Kosova with the exception of some chiefs whose hearts were not

bleeding for Albania, fought this demagoguery of fascism. The Albanian people were never taken in by this vile and very dangerous demagoguery. Our Party and the National Liberation Front adopted clear and correct stands on this problem. The people understood us and followed us, while reaction and its chiefs fought us to the end.

The Kryeziu family of Kosova came within this latter category, that is, among the chiefs of reaction. The Kryezius were notorious in Kosova as reactionary feudal lords, oppressors and exploiters of the peasants and opponents of the powerful liberation movements of the people of Kosova against the Turks and the Great-Serbs. The Kryezius, Dragas and others were always not just in opposition, not just in secret struggle, but in open struggle against the revolutionary efforts and struggles of Isa Boletini, Bajram Curri, Hasan Prishtina, Azem and Shote Galica, and others for the liberation of Albania.

Ceno Bey Kryeziu, the oldest of the brothers and chief of the clan, was a friend and agent of the Great-Serbs, of the King of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, who ruled in Kosova, too, a friend and agent of Pašić, at that time the Yugoslav prime minister. He served his Serbian patrons well to the detriment of Albania. He was one of the main assistants and intermediaries of Ahmet Zog, who was another agent of the Serbs at that time. Zog, driven from Albania by the revolution of June 1924, did not waste his time in Yugoslavia. With the approval and direct assistance of Pašić and King Alexander, he returned to Albania together with Ceno Bey. In return for this, Zog gave the Serbs the Albanian territories of Vermosh and Shën Naum, as I said earlier, while he gave Ceno Bey Kryeziu one of his sisters as his wife.

Thus, with the return of Ahmet Zog, Ceno Bey, the agent of the Serbs, also entered Albania and Zog's family as an honoured son-in-law to keep an eye on the political

moves of his «outstanding» brother-in-law and to keep him under the control of the Serbs. However, there were no bounds to the perfidy of the future carnival king. He was changing the trough he fed from. Compared with the «brilliant» perspectives, which the talks with fascist Italy offered him, Serbia no longer served his purposes. Indeed, it became an obstacle, as did the agent of the Serbs, Ceno Bey, the «beloved» brother-in-law who went in and out of Zog's palace with such self-assurance. Therefore, one morning in Prague, Ceno Bey was assassinated by unknown persons. Zog was very «grieved» and his «court» went into mourning! However no one was taken in by this farce, least of all the Serbs and the Kryezius. After the murder, Ceno's place was taken by Gani Bey, another agent of the Serbs, an anti-Albanian feudal lord, ready to serve every *Kralj*,* or whoever would pay him most.

In the time of the German occupation, one fine day Gani Bey Kryeziu, posing as a patriot, «took to the mountains with his çeta against the occupiers», who were only imaginary occupiers, «in principle», to him, because in fact his «çeta» never fired a shot against them. However, what astonished us was that the BBC and the newspaper *Mundimi* (10) of Bari had a great deal to say about the imaginary «fighting» of this «çeta» and its commander. He had two «commissars» with him: the British officer Simcox, an agent of the Intelligence Service, and the Trotskyite of the 4th International, Zai Fundo. Thus, Gani, Zai and Simcox comprised a trio of the Intelligence Service. There was also Gani's brother, Seit, who posed as a social democrat and was bound hand and foot to the British agency. When things seemed to be going badly for them in

* Serbian for king.

10 Published by the Anglo-Americans in Albanian. It engaged in propaganda by distorting the facts and events in their interest. It was dropped into Albania from the air.

Kosova, Gani Kryeziu's çeta crossed into the districts of Tropoja and Kukës.

The task of Gani, Zai and the British was to fight against the partisans, to sabotage our Anti-fascist National Liberation War and establish and strengthen connections with Muharrem Bajraktari, Cen Elezi, Fiqri Dine and other reactionary chiefs in Northern Albania. Together with them they prepared the terrain for the future, so that, with the defeat of Germany, they would take power. Of course they pinned their hopes on Britain, because they nurtured the belief that it would intervene in the Balkans with its army and, since the partisan forces would be «exhausted» from fighting the Germans, they «would be easily liquidated». According to them, history would repeat itself. They would also create a «government» and, in the end, the feudal lords would rule our country and people again. «Therefore,» they thought, «we must hold back, conserve our strength, must not involve ourselves in fighting and be fresh and vigorous when the day comes to take power.» This was the idea and plan of reaction and the British. However, their reckoning was astray. Our Party foiled their plans.

Gani Kryeziu's çeta could not operate freely, undetected by our forces, which were continually pursuing and attacking the Germans and the chiefs of internal reaction.

We discovered that Gani and Zai with a small çeta and with the British officer attached to them, equipped with a radio transmitter, were trying to create a movement against our Party and the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, by means of the reactionaries of Kosova and the bajraktars of Northern Albania. We gave our forces orders to track them down, pursue them, capture them and defeat their activity before it had really got going. Gani Kryeziu operated underground, hidden from us and, when he was hard-pressed by our partisans, crossed over to Kosova where he had his bases. We were unable to move freely in Kosova

on account of the intrigues of the Yugoslavs and of Vukmanović Tempo, in particular, and were obliged to watch for when the Kryeziu's çeta returned within our borders. Therefore, we had issued special top secret orders to our forces to follow their movements carefully and to capture them as soon as they entered Albanian territory.

The order had been carried out and the traitors were captured. Zai Fundo, Seit Kryeziu and the British Major Simcox were captured in the Dobrej Mountain, while Gani Bey at the Bytyçi Flat, where the tents brought from England for the «war headquarters» had been put up. I learned the history of his capture later, but this is not the place to describe it.

Meanwhile, Colonel Velimir Stojnić, accompanied by a major called Nijaz Dizdarevič, and one or two others of lower rank, had come to our country. They came to the CC of our Party and the General Staff as delegates of Tito, the CC of CPY and the Yugoslav General Staff, as a «liaison group» in order to «give us their experience and exchange experience with us» on the war and the party.

At that time we considered them friends, because they posed as communists and had still not been exposed and come out as renegades from Marxism-Leninism. Nevertheless, in their activities, we noticed certain indications that they were not in order. Indeed, we had had contradictions with them over matters of principle, but it had never crossed our minds that they had gone so far and fallen so low as to collaborate with the British behind the scenes to our detriment.

We had our first meeting with them in Helmës. They informed us about the situation in Yugoslavia and we likewise spoke about the situation in our country. The impressions, which I and Miladin Popović, whom we called Ali, formed at the first meeting and after a series of talks with them, were not particularly favourable.

«It seems to me that they did not tell us much,» I said to Ali, «everything they told us we know and have put into practice.»

«Not only that,» replied Miladin, «but the authoritative air, arrogance and conceit of Velo (Stojnić) did not please me one bit. He pretends to know everything and seems as if he wants to say that he has to feed us on the bottle. But we don't swallow that, therefore they have to treat us as comrades.»

«It seems to me that the other one (meaning Nijaz Dizdarević) is cleverer and more cunning,» I told Ali.

«You are not mistaken,» he said, «but we shall see.»

«Keep your head,» I advised Miladin, «because you will have the opportunity to talk with them all the time, therefore, when you feel that you are hard-pressed, break off the conversation and say that 'Enver must decide and not we'.»

This was the agreement we reached with Miladin Popović, that genuine communist and beloved Yugoslav comrade, who nurtured an ardent and pure love for our Party and people. However, there is a long history to our relations with Velimir Stojnić. For the moment I shall deal only with what occurred between us in connection with the question of Gani and Seit Kryeziu, Zai Fundo and the British officer.

As soon as we received the radiogram which the comrades sent us about their capture, we met, discussed the question and took our decision. The facts were flagrant for all to see. We sent a radiogram to the comrades in the North in which we instructed them to try Zai and the Kryezius before a military court which they should set up. They were to disarm their çeta and, after doing political work with the members of it, they were to send them home, as for Major Simcox, they were to hand him over to some British mission in our territory. Ali went to the house where

Velimir Stojnić was staying to inform him about what had occurred and our decision.

I waited for hours on end for Ali to come back for lunch and when he finally arrived, he was fuming with anger.

«What's wrong with you?» I asked him.

«What's wrong with me!» he said. «They are rotters! They don't agree with the decision and said if it is not rescinded, they will break off relations with us, pack their bags and return to Yugoslavia.»

«How is it possible for them to do such a thing over a renegade and these traitor feudal lords?» I asked him.

«It's possible all right.» said Miladin, «I couldn't come to agreement with them in any way and left telling them: 'This is a problem that is up to the Albanians, come and talk with Enver and convince him.' So they are going to come and talk with you.»

«All right,» I said.

Velimir Stojnić and Nijaz Dizdarević came at the appointed time. Miladin and I were there. We greeted them, shook hands, and offered them cigarettes. Velo smoked but Dizdarević did not. We were calm and they tried to appear calm.

I opened the conversation by saying that Ali had informed me about their views in connection with the prisoners captured in the North.

«This astonished me.» I told them. «because the interests of our two parties and our common war require that these enemies should get the severe punishment they deserve.»

I remember as if it were today that Velimir Stojnić, who had a pale face and looked even paler from the powder he used, flushed with anger and rose to his feet with his eyes looking savage and said to me:

«We Yugoslavs, the representatives of Tito and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, do not permit them to be shot.»

«You astonish me greatly,» I said, «that you defend these enemies. Excuse me, but perhaps you do not really know who they are. We shall hand them over to the military court and leave it to the court to decide. Such people deserve a bullet,» and I began to speak about their biography. Velimir Stojnić interrupted me saying:

«There is no need for you to tell us about them, because we know who they are, and if you give the order for them to be put on trial and shot, we shall break off relations with you and leave for Yugoslavia.»

«You are making a big mistake in putting our fraternal and communist relations in the balance against our stand towards these enemies, who are feudal lords who have sucked the blood of the people of Kosova, and a renegade from the Communist International, a Trotskyite, an enemy of the Soviet Union and Stalin, an enemy of our people and our Party,» I told Velimir Stojnić.

«I'm not discussing who they are,» said Velimir Stojnić, «but hand them over to us because they are Kosovars, hence this is an issue of principle. We have our party, our front, our laws and our courts. They must be handed over to us and we shall do what we think fit with them. Otherwise, we shall leave.»

«We are not breaking off relations with the peoples of Yugoslavia who are fighting against the nazis,» I said, «but you are wrong when you say that they are Kosovars, Only Gani and Seit Kryeziu are from Kosova and since you are apparently so fond of these notorious beys of Kosova, take them, let them be yours, while Zai Fundo, who is not a Yugoslav citizen, nor resident in Yugoslavia, nor of Yugoslav origin, but is from Korça, does not belong to you, according to your own thesis,» I told Velimir Stojnić.

«They are together,» said Velimir Stojnić, «and have their centre in Kosova.»

«But you see, we captured them operating against our

Party and our Front in Albanian territory! According to your thesis,» I replied, «if we capture the quisling Xhafer Deva, since he is a Kosovar, we should hand him over to you to be tried for the crimes he has committed in Albania! Such reasoning won't hold water. However,» I continued speaking to Velimir Stojnić, «I do not think that the CP of Yugoslavia and Tito (at that time we had no suspicions about him, on the contrary) will think as you do, but since you weigh our fraternal relations against the stand which should be adopted towards traitors and feudal lords, we shall hand them over to you and I shall give the order for this immediately. Zai Fundo, the enemy of the Communist Party of Albania and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia will be tried and if the partisan court sentences him to death, he will be shot immediately.»

Velimir Stojnić left the house of old Mehmet, where I had put up, having saved the feudal lords Gani and Seit Kryeziu, agents of the Serbian chauvinists and the British and enemies of our war, from death.

After him Palmer (11) came to me. Apparently, the delegates of Tito and the British Empire had come to agreement with each other. Palmer, too, although in more moderate terms, asked me to release the Kryeziu, Fundo and Simcox. In order to persuade me he added:

«Release them, General, and we shall assist you with arms.»

11 The headquarters of the SOE in Bari, Italy, on October 8, 1944, sent its mission Consensus II in Albania the following message:

«...Lazar Fundo was captured with Simcox and Said... He may therefore be in grave danger and strongly recommend you should do utmost secure his liberation and evacuation to Italy. Convinced Fundo sincerely pro-British and believe that his intimate knowledge of Balkans and Central EUROPE and Communist Party organization might make him most valuable to I.S.L.D. (Signals from SOE Headquarters in Bari, Italy, to Mission Consensus II, May-Oct. 1944, No. 60, pp. 122-123.)

«As for your 'aid',» I replied, «we have long been aware that it is nothing but words. You personally have informed me several times on end that the British aircraft are to drop war materials at Staravecka and elsewhere. In fact, the aircraft have flown over our country not to taring us aid, however, but for other purposes. We see them cross our borders from Korça en route to Greece.»

«Yes, but they have run into resistance and have been forced to change course,» he said in justification.

«I understand clearly why they have changed course,» I said, «but nevertheless, we are fed up with such tales. You were speaking about those that we have captured in the North. On the question of the two traitors from Kosova, I have given the Yugoslav representative my reply. As for Zai Fundo, what we shall do with him is our business, while as to your officer, I have issued the order to hand him over to you. I believe the matter is now clear to you. That is all I have to say,» I said and stood up to let him know I had no further time to waste with him.

I was astonished over this «coincidence». We did not know that Tito had long been linked with Churchill. We knew that Churchill's son had been attached to Tito and also knew about Tito's links with Subašić, as well as about his visit to Italy and that he had held talks with British personalities, but we did not know what he had cooked up and was cooking up with the British.

Thus, this question ended in disgrace for the Yugoslavs and the British. I issued the order for the comrades to hand over Gani and Seit to the Yugoslav partisan forces, and this was done, while they were to put Zai Fundo on trial and punish him severely, and this was done.

This was only one aspect of all that hostile work which the Yugoslavs were to carry on against our Party, against the People's Republic of Albania and against socialism in

Albania, both on the eve of the liberation of our country and later. This same Velimir Stojnić and his associate, Nijaz Dizdarević, who had been entrusted by Tito with carrying out their hostile activity, were to carry it further at Berat, but that is another long story which will be dealt with in a separate book. (12)

However, let us return briefly to the question of the Kryezius, because there was a sequel to it.

When we went to Berat to hold the important meeting of the 2nd Plenum of the CC of the Party, at a time when Velimir Stojnić and Nijaz Dizdarević, together with Nako Spiru, Koçi Xoxe, Sejfulla Malëshova, Pandi Kristo and others, in a conspiracy behind the scenes, were preparing the attack on the correct line of the Party, Velimir Stojnić came to me in my office, together with Seit Kryeziu.

Velimir introduced him to me.

«I knew Seit Kryeziu when I was a student in Paris,» I said. «I don't know whether he remembers me.»

«Yes,» replied Seit, «I remember you.»

Then Velimir Stojnić told me:

«Seit has come here on the recommendation of Tito who asks you to assist him to get to Bari in Italy, because he has been entrusted with the task of securing weapons for Kosova from the allies (obviously from the British).» The thing was clear. Gani Kryeziu and the British were wasting no time. They left one Kryeziu with Tito and were taking the other abroad, perhaps to London.

«How is he going to travel, what help do you want from us?» I asked. «We have no connection with Bari.»

«Everything has been arranged by the General Staff of the Yugoslav army and the Allied Mediterranean Headquarters,» Stojnić replied.

12 See Enver Hoxha, *The Titoites* (Historical notes), «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1982, pp. 182-222, Eng. ed.

«Very well,» I told Tito's representative, «since this business has apparently been arranged, there is nothing for it but we must help him reach the Coast.»

This whole business became clearer later, when it came out what a dangerous enemy and active agency of imperialism Yugoslav Titoism was. However, we had sensed and detected their savage hostility towards us long before this through their actions, which went from bad to worse.

There were many who were not aware of the fierce struggle which we were waging against the British, against their secret war and underhand plans against us, therefore great determination and keen vigilance were required and there must be no hesitation on the part of our Party in its actions. Our Party carried out its difficult but glorious mission with honour and success and overcame the numerous dangers with which it was confronted. Following the «ultimatum» which General Wilson sent me and the reply that I gave him, (13) we were awaiting their reaction, therefore we were wide awake, ready to take counter-measures.

It was not long before the British made a move. They began to exert other pressures, even more dangerous, to the independence of our country. As everyone knows, the Western allies had promised that they would open the second front in Europe in 1942. However, they did not do this in 1942 nor in 1943, but only in June 1944, when Hitlerite Germany was on its last legs. Under the pretext

13 In July 1944 general Wilson, head of the Allied Mediterranean Command, sent the General Commander of the ANLA, General-Colonel Enver Hoxha, an ultimatum demanding the cessation of fighting activities against the reactionary armed bands in the north of Albania and reconciliation with them. Comrade Enver Hoxha rejected the ultimatum and the forces of the ANLA carried their fighting on to the north of the country, too.

of opening this front, they wanted to land in Albania, too. To this end they began their attempts to land an army.

Our Party understood that their attempts to land an army were not for the purpose of fighting the Germans in Albania, because this was being done successfully by the Albanian National Liberation Army, which was completely capable of liberating its own country without the aid of the armed forces of the «friends», but for the purpose of getting Albania into their clutches. Our Party did not permit this, and as I shall describe below, refused and rejected their repeated proposals to land «allied» troops in our country where, when and in the numbers and with the means they wanted. This was a terrible danger which threatened our country.

Our clear decision was that we must resist this danger resolutely, even if this meant becoming involved in armed clashes with our «sincere» allies. Our Party could not permit a repetition of April 7, 1939, or the massacre of martyred Borova. «No foreign army, whether allied or not, will be permitted to do what it likes in our country,» was our decision. Now the people, with their Party at the head and their own National Liberation Army, were the masters of the country. The situation was changing day by day. The German nazis were living their last moments. Our armed forces were attacking them everywhere. Reaction did not know where to go for shelter. Every night Tirana was under attack by our forces and the only escape route for the Germans was through Shkodra. It was also the escape route for the reactionaries, but a very dangerous route for them.

The first attempt. As I have pointed out, the British suffered a defeat with the reply of our General Staff to the pressures they exerted and in the ultimatum which they sent us about not attacking their friends in Albania. Next

they thought they would bring troops to the vicinity of Tirana on the eve of its liberation. By this means the British, together with the reactionaries, aimed to impose themselves on us in order to realize their major purpose. If this proved impossible, at least they might be able to take the traitor chiefs Lumo Skëndo, Abaz Kupa and others, together with their forces, to some of our ports from which they could be withdrawn to Italy and elsewhere.

To this end, Palmer came to me at our base in Odrigan and, with his usual smile, began to tell me that the «Huns» (the British frequently called the Germans this) were on their last legs, that the allied front was extending and so on and so forth. I waited for him to get round to the main point, because I realized that all this was leading up to something, therefore I simply listened and said nothing. At last he got around to his theme:

«Mr. Hoxha,» he said, «up till now there has been good collaboration between us. Of course we've had some disagreements, but such things occur even between friends, nevertheless we are allies for a great cause and our two sides have been fighting for years on the same front against the same enemy. Both we and you have fought hard and have assisted each other in this war. We have tried to assist you with our weapons and ammunition, although of course this aid has been insufficient. Our Headquarters thinks,» he continued, «that from now on it should give you greater assistance and proposes, apart from aid with weapons, to send you aid with *tommies*, whom, with your permission, we could drop as commando forces in the region of Peza, Ishëm and Darsia. In this way, our two allied armies will join together like brothers to attack this plague and put an end to it more quickly. With this aid which we propose, what we have in mind is to assist you and your friends and ours, the Yugoslavs, because in this way fewer Germans will pass through their territory.»

Palmer had come to the end of his speech. His face was set in that perpetual smile of which I was heartily sick and which seemed to imply: «Look what wonderful tidings I'm bringing you?!»

I lit a cigarette as I thought: Acceptance of his proposal would lead to the initial form of a British invasion. Nevertheless, I had to reply to him in the same coin: smile for smile.

«Thank you very much,» I said smiling at him, «I thank your Headquarters and you for bringing me this proposal of concrete aid, even with *tommies* whom you want to drop by parachute around Tirana. It is true that we have been and are allies in a great common cause. It is likewise true that Britain is fighting, and I agree with you on this, but the Albanian people are fighting, too, and they began the war against the Axis powers before Great Britain, indeed they began it and are continuing it alone. When Italy invaded us Britain turned a deaf ear. We fought on barefooted, ragged and hungry, but unyielding. The enemy has destroyed villages, towns and whole regions, has killed many people, but we, too, have wreaked havoc on the enemy. We fought the Italians tooth and nail and brought them to their knees. We are doing the same thing with the nazis, too. You and our other allies have fought on other fronts, too. We know this. **But here,**» and I raised my voice, «**on our soil, only the Albanian people have fought and only they will fight till the end.** You did not believe us when we told you that the people were with the National Liberation Front, that they were and are with us because we are their true sons. But you see what is occurring now? The whole people have risen to their feet. In the course of battles, we built up a powerful, invincible army, and now that we are beginning to call the tune, you propose to bring an army into our territory! It is a bit late in the day for this. No, Mr. Palmer, we do not

accept your proposal, because there is no reason for you to drop troops here. You can see with your own eyes what proportions our war has assumed, that we have long since gone beyond the phase of isolated actions and are now on the offensive against the nazis and their collaborators on all fronts. Is this not so?»

«It is so, but...»

He wanted to say something, but I continued and did not let him speak.

«We have ample forces in Peza, Darsia, Ishëm and everywhere else and we have no need for aid in men, in commandos, therefore we do not allow you to drop them. The missions you have here are sufficient. We have never concealed from you any information about our fighting or anything in connection with the enemy. Therefore, please transmit my thanks to your Headquarters and our categorical refusal of the proposal you made to us.»

Palmer left without another word.

I immediately notified Peza that if they discovered paratroops being dropped, they should open fire on them and wipe them out. This diabolical plan of the British was linked with the proposal which Mustafa Gjinishi had made to me earlier, that he should be allowed to form brigades in Peqin, Darsia and elsewhere outside the orders and command of Myslim Peza. I rejected this proposal. The pieces of the puzzle were falling into place. These forces of Gjinishi would have collaborated with the British paratroops.

The second attempt. Some time later, Palmer came back again with the proposal to make a small symbolic landing with a commando force, this time on the Coast, at Spile of Himara.

«Why do you want to make this landing?» I asked him.

«For two reasons,» he said. «To show our collaboration

with you and to wipe out the German garrison at Spile of Himara, which has no military importance but observes the movements of our ships.»

«I know that the garrison is unimportant,» I told Palmer, «however, I shall give you my reply in two or three days' time, when I have more detailed information on the situation.»

I discussed the matter with the comrades and we decided that this time we would give the British a satisfaction which entailed no danger for us. I ordered our forces on the Coast to take up positions at Pilur, Nivica-Bubar, Llogara and to go to the aid of the British troops if they ran into any danger during their attack on the German garrison.

I sent for Palmer and informed him that we accepted his proposal. I also warned him that the German garrison must be the only objective of the operation and, after it was wiped out, the British forces must re-embark in their boats and go away. They would not be permitted to linger and settle in here. This was a categorical order.

«Let us carry out this action jointly,» I proposed to Palmer.

«Thank you,» he said, «but we shall do it ourselves.»

«Nevertheless,» I told him. «our men will take up surrounding positions and will guard the roads to ensure that none of the nazis escapes from the trap and we wipe them out like rats. We shall be there to protect your landing and your withdrawal after the action,» I added to let him know that he must take our orders very seriously, because we were not joking.

The action was carried out. The Germans captured 9 British prisoners and were on the point of completely liquidating the British commando. However, our 12th Brigade intervened, routed the German garrison, liberated Himara and freed the prisoners. What remained of the Bri-

tish commando climbed back into their boats and withdrew to the place they had sailed from.

It was only later, with their next attempt, with the operation to land British commandos at Kakome, Saranda, that we were to understand why the British undertook this action, which was of no interest to them and without any strategic importance.

The third attempt. The same old refrain this time, too. Palmer came, launched into his introduction and then made the proposal. I asked him:

«What is the interest that impels you to propose such a thing? The small German force in Saranda is doomed to be wiped out, its only escape route is by sea, and we plan to throw them into the sea very soon, thus liberating the whole of the South.»

«Precisely,» said Palmer. «Therefore you should agree to carry out this action jointly, because in this way we block the road for the defeated German forces which might enter from Greece.»

This attempt, too, was to end like that in Spile.

As soon as we took the decision in the General Staff, we informed comrades Kahreman Ylli and Gafur Çuçi, giving them clear orders on how to enter into discussion with the British, what to say to them and how to act. We instructed them that in the talks, they must present our army as it was, a regular army. «Do not allow the British to make any advance outside these orders,» was the instruction we gave them.

After this, I sent for Palmer.

«We agree that we should attack the German garrison in Saranda together,» I told him, «but we shall attack from the land and you from the sea, and once the action is over, your forces must withdraw immediately.»

He nodded his head. He seemed dissatisfied, but never-

theless considered it a «success» that we had agreed that this action should be carried out jointly.

And that is what was done. Partisan forces of the 14th, 12th and 19th Brigades of our army launched a furious assault on the enemy. After three days of fierce fighting, they wiped out the Germans and Saranda was liberated. More than 150 Germans were taken prisoner, including the colonel who commanded them. The British commandos, whose «fighting» amounted merely to firing some salvos of artillery at the Lëkurës fortress and the Butrint Monastery, also entered the liberated town as «victors». Nevertheless, since most of the British landed from the sea, they had many casualties, while we had few.

However, after the operation was completed, our command in Saranda reported to me that the command of the British troops had asked for the German colonel to be handed over to them to be sent to Italy, alleging that in this way «more publicity would be given to the fight for the liberation of Saranda»; our command also reported that the British soldiers were behaving badly, breaking shop windows, stealing the goods and taking them to their ships and that there was a danger of armed clashes between the British and the partisans. The British command had wanted to continue the «attack» in land to Delvina and Gjirokastra so that the British soldiers could parade as «liberators» before the people there! However, our comrades had told them that these towns had been liberated and now the British must leave. After this the British command had proposed to the partisan command that they should make a joint attack on Corfu.

These were very serious and dangerous matters. We notified our command to order the partisans to keep their tempers and protect the town, to consolidate their positions at Qafa e Gjashtës, Butrint and Bogaza, to keep the artillery on the hills above Saranda and at the Butrint monastery

in readiness, to be vigilant and keep movement on the sea under close observation and to inform us immediately if other British ships appeared and, if they moved towards the shore, to await orders from us and to fire artillery shots to warn them off. I ordered them to send the German colonel under escort to Berat.

On the other hand, I summoned Palmer urgently and made an energetic protest about the requests of the British command, as well as about the unpleasant behaviour of the British soldiers. I told him that the joint task had been carried out, Saranda had been liberated and, in the terms of the decision, the British forces must be withdrawn as quickly as possible.

Palmer pretended to be indignant about the bad behaviour of the British soldiers and told me that he would report that the forces must be withdrawn immediately.

We waited for the British to withdraw, but nothing was being done. They postponed their departure from day to day. Apparently, their aim was to remain there and have Saranda as their base on the Coast and in the territory of Albania. (14) Mussolini also had liked this pearl of our country so much that he had named it «Porto Edda», after his own daughter. But the times had changed. The pearl had an owner.

Several times I sent for Palmer to protest to him and he assured me that he would notify his centre to order the withdrawal. In the end, the cup was full. Our patience was at an end. I issued him an ultimatum, instructing him to

14 Immediately after the landing of the British commandos in the Saranda zone, on September 29, 1944, Bari reported to the Foreign Office amongst other things:

«2. Subsequent development of the operation depends upon a number of factors which cannot at present be assessed. But it is possible that if everything goes well we may be able to maintain a permanent footing on Albanian soil as well as in Corfu.» (Telegram No 722. FO 371/43572-3584. PRO: From the photocopy of the original in the A1H, Tirana.)

transmit it immediately to the Allied Mediterranean Headquarters. «If the British commandos are not withdrawn from Saranda by the given date, then war will break out between the partisans and the British,» I informed him.

I instructed our forces there to be in readiness, awaiting an order to attack the British with arms and to let them know that we had taken all measures and were determined to throw them into the sea. At this they began to panic.

Palmer arrived and proposed to me:

«Our forces are ready to withdraw, but we ask your permission to withdraw, not by sea, but through Delvina, Muzina, Dropull and Pogon.»

The diabolical plan of the British was obvious. They wanted to show themselves off as liberators, to create disturbances among the minority people, to link up with the forces of Zerva, to roam at will through our free zones, etc.

«In no way will we permit your brigade to go by this route,» I told him. «It must go back where it came from, immediately, by sea. It is my duty to inform you: make no attempt to go past our fortified places otherwise you will be attacked. If this occurs, you must bear the responsibility. We are determined to defend ourselves and to defend the sovereignty of our country. We have considered you friends and we want you to continue to be friends. Therefore, you must carry out immediately the decision which we took jointly.»

Eventually the British climbed into their boats and... we were rid of them. Just at this time, in October, they landed in Greece, where the situation was similar to that in our country — the eve of liberation. They entered that country freely, under the agreement signed at Caserta, which was the death warrant for the victory of the Greek CP, the EAM and the freedom of the Greek people.

Because of the vigilance and determination of our

glorious Party, all the plans to land troops in our country failed one after the other.

Although they failed in these attempts, the British did not give up their efforts to intervene in our country. After the formation of the Democratic Government of Albania on October 22, 1944. we stayed in Berat for a brief period. The allied missions were there, too. The houses where the Anglo-American missions were quartered had been turned into hornets' nests. All sorts of people went in and out their doors. Secret information was given and received. New plans were concocted.

«The British officer came to see me,» Comrade Spiro Moisiu informed me.

«What did he say? Did he have any news about the recognition of our Government?» I asked. It was several days since we had handed the foreign missions our request to their governments for recognition of our Democratic Government. (15) But this had fallen on deaf ears.

«No,» replied General Moisiu, «he did not touch on that problem, but told me that we should repair the airfield at Kuçova. because they are going to order aircraft to bring aid for the people!»

«What did you say to him?» I asked.

«We can't repair it at the moment,» I told him, «because we have other more urgent problems. 'We shall help

15 The letter which the British ambassador to Moscow Archibald Clark Kerr sent to Molotov on October 30, 1944, says:

«Dear Mr. Molotov,

1. I have been instructed by my government to inform the Soviet Government that in the present confused situation in Albania they do not propose to recognise the 'Provisional Government' set up there by the F.N.C. party

2. My government hope that the Soviet Government will concur in this course.

3. A similar communication is being addressed to the Government of the United States.» (FO 371/43564-3530. No. 2179: PRO. Taken from photocopy of the original in the A1H, Tirana.)

you,' the Englishman said, and the matter was left for me to discuss with you.»

«I agree,» I said, «but we must take a good look at what their aim is. As for what he told you about bringing us 'aid', we know very well how much they worry about the interests of our people. It's more likely they're worried about our oil. Apparently they think they will give us a few pounds and consider that they have bought the oil-field.»

This danger existed. At one time Kuçova had been held as a concession by the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, which had sold it to the Italian company AIPA. with rights to exploit it for 99 years. Now that Italy had been reduced to such a feeble condition, they might think that the time had come to take it back, this time for nothing.

Comrade Spiro came back again, very angry, and told me:

«It turned out just as you said. Comrade Enver. The British officer met me and said without a blush: 'Here is our aid, 40 pounds. Inform us when you finish repairing the field so that the aircraft can come!」»

«Don't distress yourself, Comrade Spiro,» I said, «we know exactly what they are and we are sick and tired of their 'aid'.»

«I told the Englishman: 'This isn't enough to feed the people who will work there for two days, so put it back in your pocket.'» continued Spiro. «We shall repair the airfield when we need it and when it suits us.'»

With this parting shot, he bid the British «philanthropist» good-bye.

We still did not know that Lt.-Col. Palmer, through Tarasconi, the manager of AIPA in Kuçova. had got control of the oil. This act, too, would be discovered and dealt with later.

The British also sought the assistance of the United States of America as an ally to achieve their predatory aims.

We had information that an American military mission was staying with Skënder Muço, a leader of the Balli Kombëtar, in Dukat of Vlora. Skënder Muço posed as a «patriot» and it was rumoured that he was going to create a «social-democratic party» which never came to anything. He was a two-faced individual. He had placed himself in the service of both the Anglo-Americans and the Germans. The latter became aware of this and killed him.

About the end of April or the beginning of May 1944, I don't remember clearly, Thomas Stefani, with two others, presented himself to our Staff at Helmës. He was about 30 years of age, a short, thick-set man. Sometimes he spoke English, sometimes Albanian. But he spoke neither of them well and with an accent as though he had a mouthful of porridge. He had plenty to say but not with much sense.

«I've been sent to the Albanian partisans by Air Force Headquarters as liaison officer,» this American lieutenant told us at the first meeting we had with him.

«When were you sent?» we asked him.

«It's wartime, gentlemen,» he said. «We set out some time ago, but we were obliged to spend several months, first at Karaburun of Dukat and later as guests of Mr. Muço, but he...».

«We knew he was bound to come to a bad end,» we told him. «Several times we appealed to him to join the National Liberation Movement but he didn't want to and... he was shot like a stray dog...»

«We three are of Albanian origin,» Thomas Stefani hastened to say, to get off the subject of Skënder Muço, «we are from Korça.»

«That is good to hear. As Albanians we shall get on well,» I said.

«First, I am an American, then an Albanian, gentlemen. Such is my duty.»

«But what is your duty?» I asked.

«As liaison officer, I shall ensure communications between you and my Headquarters and will report from time to time as the need arises. I have special instructions from General Stawell to gather intelligence information on the enemy, especially number-plates and other information which will help support the actions of your military forces against the occupier.»

This was the «duty» of this degenerate Albanian, who so foolishly boasted to us that he was «first an American». However, we knew that he had been sent to throw dust in the eyes of the Albanian families of economic emigrants in America in order to say to them: «You see, we too, have come to help the Albanian people.» He had come to prepare the ground and the premises for the notorious Mr Fultz, who was to organize plots and blackmail against our people's state power from the first months of the liberation of Albania.

He was an ex-policeman whom the Americans later promoted to captain and became the guide of the «pupils» and «boys» of Fultz, who had opened an office of the American OSS (**16**) for Albania in Bari in Italy.

The British and Americans thought that everything would go smoothly for them and they acted. However, the Party countered their plans, fought them blow for blow and foiled them one after the other. The Party worked to ensure that everything would go completely in favour of the Albanian people and of the freedom, independence and sovereignty of our beloved Homeland.

With the liberation of Albania, the missions of Palmer and Thomas Stefani disappeared, along with the heads of reaction. Their place was taken by the missions of the British General Hodgson and the Americans Jacobs and

Fultz, Anglo-American missions which had as their objective to organize the political opposition, economic interference through UNRRA and sabotage of the reconstruction of our country.

The story of how we dealt with this long, continuous chain of hostile activities, which were carried out by external enemies in collaboration with Albanian reaction, and which I have done my best to outline briefly here, constitutes only a fragment of the militant history of our heroic Party. The struggle against and triumph over this activity retain their value as great lessons, both about the period in which the events which I mention took place, and about the subsequent course of the Party to defend our freedom and independence, the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism in Albania.

The bitter lessons of history have always added to our vigilance, and that is why we have been able to detect, to unmask and to defeat the diabolical plans of false friends.

The consistently correct revolutionary stand of the CPA during the war and in the first post—Liberation years, towards the hostile anti-Albanian policy and interference of the Anglo-Americans and towards every other problem played its vital role in the achievement and consolidation of the complete independence of our country. Later, the experience of this stand was to serve us in determining and pursuing a correct principled open and consistent policy towards friends and enemies of every type. When it placed itself at the head of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War our Party was young, newly formed. It grew bigger and stronger, tempered itself in battle, gained a wealth of experience and assimilated the science of Marxism-Leninism. This made it invincible, able to discover and cope successfully with the dangers which threatened it in all stages of the revolution. If it had gone to sleep, if it had

rested on its laurels, neither the Party nor socialist Albania would be in existence today.

The National Liberation War is one of the most glorious chapters in the history of our people, but it is also one of the greatest proofs of the political and ideological maturity of our Party and of the correctness of its Marxist-Leninist line. The Party inspired the working masses of town and countryside and made them conscious that they must unite, take up arms against the nazi-fascist occupiers and the local traitors and triumph over them. After countless sacrifices our people, under the leadership of the Party, drove out the foreign occupiers, discovered and unmasked the behind-the-scenes manoeuvres and raised insurmountable barriers to the secret plans of «allies» and their friends, overthrew the reactionary classes and established their own power for the first time in history. That which is won through blood, sweat and sacrifice is cherished dearly, and so we have beautified and strengthened the poverty-stricken and battered Albania of the past, have made it honoured throughout the world, an unconquerable fortress of socialism and communism on the shores of the Adriatic. Its invincible strength has been and is based on the just cause it champions. Our Party took up this cause and has proved to have the ability and foresight to defend it. This is a cause of a people who are living and building their own life and freedom.

Our country does not interfere with any other country, but it has never permitted and never will permit anyone to interfere and meddle in our internal affairs and to damage the free and happy life which we are building and enjoy. There are hundreds of millions of people who admire, respect and support socialist Albania, because it defends and adheres to such a policy. However, there are some, the imperialists and their lackeys, who say that we have isolated ourselves from the «civilized world». These gentlemen are mistaken.

Both the bitter history of our own country in the past and the reality of the «world» which they advertize, have convinced us that it is by no means a «civilized world», but a world in which the bigger and the stronger oppress and skin the smaller and the weaker, in which money and corruption make the law, and injustice, perfidy and backstabbing triumph.

The transformations in socialist Albania are very profound, the victories are magnificent, our strength is invincible, but we must never forget the lessons of history. Our Party and people must always bear in mind the hostile activity from abroad or from within — this they must never forget. They must never nurture the slightest illusion that the imperialists and the capitalists change their nature, become reasonable, peaceful and relinquish their aims. There must never be any idea that the class struggle between us and the external and internal enemies can be toned down in the least.

We have suffered at the hands of invaders, we have suffered at the hands of false friends, but this has not made and does not make us isolate ourselves, as they accuse us. We are vigilant and take strong defence measures against external and internal enemies. We have been disillusioned by false friends, too, but we have confidence in the hundreds of thousands of friends and well-wishers of socialist Albania. We have always had many friends and well-wishers all over the world. The long and irreconcilable struggle with perfidious friends, their savage activity and subversive aims, have never caused us to lose our trust in true friends. At all times our friends have experienced the strength of the Albanians' given word, while the enemies have experienced their boundless anger and merciless fight.

We are fully convinced that with a courageous revolutionary stand, in unity of thought and deed with the

genuine Marxist-Leninists, in friendship with the oppressed and exploited peoples and with the honest and progressive folk throughout the world, we shall be able to cope with blockades and storms wherever they may come from. Right is on our side, the future belongs to us. This gives us courage and strength to speak the truth openly and sincerely, to reply resolutely to whoever smiles at us hypocritically, to whoever conceals the dagger and has venom in his heart. Our policy is consistent. It does not swing to the changing breezes of international events. Its basis is not the secret diplomacy of faceless men, not bargains struck behind the scenes, not the ruble or the dollar. It is not a policy of opening the doors to friends and enemies indiscriminately. We have not allowed and will not allow the wolf to get into our sheepfold. We have disposed of the wolf with the bullet and we shall continue to do so, although they accuse us of isolating ourselves from the «civilized world». A people and a party who are building socialism, who are defending a cause which is the cause of all the peoples of the world, cannot be isolated simply because they do not allow anyone to damage the freedom and independence won at the cost of their own blood.

The people, with the Party of the working class at the head, are and must be vigilant at every moment, must never be deceived by some «sweet» word from reaction, must never think that the enemies «are toning down the struggle» against us, must never be deceived by the temporary changes in international circumstances, but must take and judge them for nothing other than what they are, we must take advantage of them and will continue to do so without making any concession to enemies, to reactionary bourgeois-revisionist circles, so that our correct revolutionary Marxist-Leninist stand is never «liberalized».

While putting enemies of every kind in their place, at

the same time, we must always love, honour and assist the friends of socialist Albania and we should do this with unerring Marxist-Leninist judgement, with iron logic, and never simply because «they are our friends.» In life there are friends and friends, therefore we must know how to distinguish between them. Albania is a small state, like a ship sailing in an ocean with mighty waves, therefore we must have it tight and trim, must steer it well, must not lose our bearings, otherwise we shall founder in the savage waves of this furious ocean.

The working class and its Party must rely on their own strength first of all, must never forget the interests of the people, must always rely on the people's creative abilities and judgement, must always consult the people's opinion, but never as a mere formality.

The guarantees for our present and future, to make socialist Albania unconquerable and impassable to our enemies, are the continuous strengthening of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the extension and consolidation of our socialist democracy, and all-round and unceasing economic and social development. The creation of a strong independent economy, capable of solving all the complicated problems of socialist and communist construction with its own forces, capable of successfully withstanding the imperialist and revisionist pressures and blockades and keeping itself undamaged by the death-dealing crisis which has seized the capitalist and revisionist world, is indispensable in order to have a free and independent socialist Albania.

Our strength is based on the correct revolutionary line of the Party, on the unbreakable Party-people unity, which is based on our revolutionary doctrine, Marxism-Leninism. Against this strength all the plots and attacks of enemies will be defeated and all the disguises will be torn from false friends of Albania. Our people must always be realistic

in everything, in policy, in the economy, in investments and in expenditure. They must always keep in mind that in order to cope with this danger measures must be taken in advance so that we are not taken by surprise. And one is not taken by surprise when he fights against euphoria, self-satisfaction and unfounded optimism.

Let the enemies «bemoan» the fact that our people are always in struggle! Life itself is struggle, and when this struggle is won life becomes beautiful and prosperous, when it is defended with struggle it never becomes gloomy and it is worthwhile living. This is a great lesson from our history. This is also my unshakeable belief which the Party with its ideology, Marxism-Leninism, has imbued in me and which has been implanted in me by my people, whom I have served and will continue to serve, sparing nothing, during my whole life, by fighting as their loyal soldier, arms in hand, with revolutionary fire in my heart, with the Marxist-Leninist ideology in my head, against every type of external and internal enemy of the Party, the working class, the people, socialism and communism.

I am fully confident that the Party, the working class and the people will always be on the alert, always vigilant, always on the revolutionary offensive to overcome the difficulties of growth and to avert and overcome the possible dangers.

In this way their present and future will be unshakeable and brilliant.

Taken from «The Anglo-American, Threat to Albania», Albanian edition, Tirana 1982

ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Panorama

February 1982

From the present international situation we must draw some conclusions which will help us to keep up to date and, at the same time, to take measures when and where necessary.

At its 8th Congress, the Party analysed the international situation, correctly forecasting the ways in which it would develop, and the consequences of and the reasons for these developments. Life, the events which are occurring, vindicate the correctness of this analysis, and the correct, principled political stands of the Party of Labour on the world problems and the foreign policy of our state.

The diplomatic information, the many different, and we may say, favourable articles of the world press, etc., show that the proceedings of our Congress have been received with great interest everywhere by friends, progressive people and the working masses, but also by enemies who have read the report of the Central Committee. This is a great opportunity and advantage to further consolidate the international positions of our Party and country. The external world is seeing once again that, like it or not, the policy of our state in every situation is an unwavering resolute, principled policy. The world appreciates that the People's Socialist Republic of Albania

is an independent country which pursues an independent policy, uninfluenced by others, is the only country in the world that does not accept credits from any state and is building socialism with its own forces, that on this course it has achieved successes in all fields and is always prepared to defend itself from any aggression. In other words, the foreign policy of our Party and state has had positive repercussions throughout the world, is considered a serious policy, and therefore it arouses respect among the people. We must further consolidate this favourable positive position through our correct political stands, our penetrating Marxist-Leninist view of events which occur in the world, our correct socialist stands in relations with other states, etc.

The great economic crisis, and consequently, the political crisis, too, are growing deeper with each passing day, engulfing all the continents and states of the world. The only exception is Albania. For us this is something real and not at all surprising, while for others it is an astonishing, unbelievable phenomenon. Nevertheless, there are small states and progressive people in the world who know and understand the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and want to take it as an example.

The present situation in the world is explosive and fraught with grave dangers for various peoples and states. The two superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, are in a deep political and economic crisis. In this situation each of them is striving to gain supremacy over the other in vital fields, such as armaments, but also trying to avoid a war between them. At the same time they have never ceased their preparations for the outbreak of a new world war. These feverish preparations which cost them colossal investments and further deepen the economic crisis in those two countries, among their allies and other states, maintain the psychosis

of war and intimidate their respective allies, a thing which assists the two superpowers to impose their policy on them and others.

At present the United States of America and the Soviet Union are struggling to retain and extend their spheres of influence, to strengthen neo-colonialism. Local wars, which are incited by these two superpowers and their allies, are on the agenda today. Now there are many such hotbeds of local wars all over the world: in Africa, Asia, Central and Latin America, the Middle East and elsewhere.

Another reality of our days is the fact that, while the superpowers and world capitalism really are mercilessly exploiting and plotting against the peoples, occupying them military and in other forms, they do not feel themselves secure and do not have the profits they want to have, are not managing to create the situations they want to create. Through armed struggle, political and economic strikes, or through open or undeclared hostile stands, the peoples in all parts of the world are creating troubles for world capitalism. Seen as a whole, this unrelenting resistance in a variety of forms of activity is a mounting force against neo-colonialism and imperialist-revisionist aggressive forces. Hence, not only are the rear areas of the United States of America and the Soviet Union insecure, but their military-economic alliances, too, are in deep crisis.

The grave international situation, the innumerable crises and dangers in the world, have aroused vigilance, the sentiment of self-defence and resistance among the peoples and increased their ceaseless demands against those who govern, oppress and exploit them. Therefore, the capitalist-revisionist world today is faced with a great steadily mounting pressure from the working masses. This situation is reflected in the political moments in which

we are living. Neither the United States of America, nor the Soviet Union can establish its world hegemony. At present both are trying to escape from the crisis by means which cannot eliminate it. On the contrary, these means are deepening and aggravating the crisis and may lead to the outbreak of a world conflict.

It is characteristic that these two superpowers are doing their utmost to shift the burden of the grave economic crisis which has their countries in its grip on to other states, regardless of whether or not they are their allies, members of the Warsaw Treaty or NATO. Such an action destabilizes the alliances themselves, creates deep contradictions within each alliance and causes political, economic and military disequilibrium within them and between these two aggressive alliances, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty.

The economic crisis has also brought political and military crisis to the two opposing camps. Today we are witnessing the well-known, natural phenomenon of capitalism that the stronger tries to impose its will and laws on the weaker, the smaller, on the rest. Concretely we see that in this unstable situation the Soviet Union is striving to establish its complete hegemony over the Warsaw Treaty countries, while the United States of America is doing the same thing in NATO. It is difficult for either of them to realize its objective, but less so for the Soviet Union and more so for the United States of America.

There are profound economic, political and military disagreements between the United States of America and its European partners. These disagreements exist, both in the joint framework of «United Europe» over economic issues and in NATO over military issues. But disagreements exist also with the individual European partners and allies. Therefore, it is understandable why the Reagan administration, in order to intimidate them, almost openly

threatens the countries of Western Europe with the danger which the Soviet military superiority presents to them. Under this slogan the United States of America is demanding the deployment of «Pershing-2» and «Cruise» nuclear missiles in Europe, and that the European member countries of NATO undertake more military expenditure. West Germany, which is a state with very great, if not the most important, economic and military potential in NATO, is not submitting either to the will or to the policy of Reagan.

On the other hand, the Bonn government in particular, in opposition to the American policy, is saying openly that it is not the Polish question, but the high interest rates of the United States of America that are causing the present crisis. Therefore, although it has a hand in this question, Bonn does not accept and is not participating in the economic sanctions taken by Reagan against either Poland or the Soviet Union. These contradictions between Bonn and Washington are serious and have consequences in the policy of the European Common Market, which is being eroded by the crisis and the disagreements between European states. Such opposition also has its profound consequences within NATO.

In its relations with the United States of America, «United Europe» has profound political, economic and monetary contradictions. At present it is developing into a capitalist grouping, naturally with the contradictions that exist between the participating states, in opposition to the United States of America. In view of this situation, the United States of America has urged Italy to propose a kind of political-economic treaty between the European Common Market and the United States of America. But following the recent talks held between Haig and Colombo, no more has been heard about this Italian proposal.

This means that the disagreements between «United Europe» and the United States of America are deep.

In fact, the American policy in Europe, in the Middle East and Latin and Central America is not properly in tune with that of the West-European allies, who have their own aims, separate from those of the United States of America. The European allies are clinging to NATO as a counterweight to the military-political pressure of the Warsaw Treaty and also maintaining their economic relations in the complicated tangle of the great crisis of the capitalist economy and the multinational companies, but at the same time they have pronounced differences with the United States of America.

The Polish problem, created by the political-economic bankruptcy of the Polish revisionist state, by the oppressive Soviet policy and the crisis in Comecon and the Warsaw Treaty, created a field of operation for the United States of America, the Western states and for all the reactionary forces in the world and, first of all, for the Vatican and the Polish catholic church. On this problem we may draw the following conclusions: by means of the Polish church and «Solidarity», the Polish problem developed into an acute crisis which brought the establishment of martial law in that country, the temporary silencing of «Solidarity» and to some extent limited the omnipotence and openly hosile activity of the church; the Pope of Rome became a foreign minister of the cause of the Polish church and world reaction; the efforts of the Americans to incite the Soviet Union to intervene *manu militari* in Poland, as it did in Czechoslovakia, so that the Soviet Union would be discredited and involve itself in military and political adventures, failed. On the basis of the Warsaw Treaty, the Soviet army was in Poland, but the Soviets hid their hand and it was the Polish army that showed its fist. The propaganda and big strikes

in Poland, the daily homilies of the Pope, the threats and sanctions of Reagan, did not bring the desired result, and the countries of Western Europe avoided committing themselves totally to the American policy in Europe and refused to take the concrete measures demanded by the United States of America. They stuck to their policy of talks and not breaking off relations with the revisionist countries of the East, and maintained and even increased their economic relations with them and the Soviet Union. The countries of Western Europe and, in the first place, the Federal Republic of Germany have made heavy investments in those countries, advancing large credits and loans to them, therefore they do not want to lose either their profits or the influence they exert there by means of the investments, loans and credits which they have provided.

One wing of the American extreme right tried to intimidate the «disobedient» Europeans by threatening them with the «Monroe Doctrine». But American isolationism is nonsensical in today's complicated relations of world capital. In the consumer society of today American isolationism would mean certain death for the United States of America and for its partners.

Very great and incurable contradictions exist within Comecon also. Its total collapse is prevented only by the presence of the Soviet military force, which makes the law in the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty. The Soviet Union and its allies are up to their necks in debt to the United States of America, the Federal Republic of Germany and other capitalist countries. The economy of the Comecon countries is utterly bankrupt and in deep crisis. There, too, as in the West, inflation and unemployment are increasing, prices are going sky-high, and there are not enough consumer goods to meet minimal daily needs. Both NATO and the Warsaw Treaty are shaken

internally. In the former the instability is more evident, in the latter it is silent for fear of the Soviet sword of Damocles.

The treaties and agreements are falling apart because of the circumstances created by the clash of the two superpowers and their partners. The truth about the Helsinki meeting has become clear to all and life is proving that those of us who condemned it long ago were right. Like the recent meeting of Madrid, the theory of Tito and the Yugoslavs about the «non-aligned world», etc., that meeting proved a disgraceful fiasco. As our Party has said, everything is being manipulated by the two superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, as well as by world capitalism, with the aim of suppressing the revolution. Interventions and the military occupations by the superpowers, such as that of the Soviets in Afghanistan and Angola, the American occupation of El Salvador, Israel, the Iran-Iraq conflict, the Polish crisis, the guerilla war in Northern Ireland, the political-economic catastrophe of Titoite Yugoslavia and the coming to power of socialist parties in several European countries, speak of the decay of world capitalism, of the confusion which reigns in the international situation which is seething with revolution. The measures which world capitalism is taking, the terror it employs, the manoeuvres and manipulations undertaken by the parties of the bourgeoisie, including the revisionist parties, which have turned into mere second-rank social-democratic parties, do not reduce the anger of the masses who are counter-acting every day with more and more force, up to the use of weapons.

In particular it must be pointed out that Titoite Yugoslavia is completely engulfed in a catastrophe and not on the brink of it. The political and national clashes between clans in that country are obvious and will become even more so. The economic crisis has reached the phase

of desperation. Yugoslavia is up to its neck in debts and cannot repay them with more loans. In that country there is immense unemployment, inflation is galloping, prices are going up every day beyond the reach of ordinary working people.

The Great-Serb clan is powerful, but for tactical reasons is obliged to surrender the leadership to the Croat-Slovene clan in order to stabilize the situation through a more complete opening up to the West. At present the West is greatly concerned to see the advances the Great-Serbs are making to the Soviet Union.

The savage oppression of the people of Kosova and other Albanians who inhabit their ancestral territories in Yugoslavia continues. However, the resistance of the Albanians is continuing, and increasing, too. They are defending themselves very well and putting up great opposition to the injustices and terror imposed on them by the Great-Serbs, Macedonians and Montenegrins. Their just resistance has turned the problem of Kosova into a disturbing international problem unfavorable to Yugoslavia. But the terror and the efforts being made there to denationalize the Albanians are continuing. Nevertheless, the Serbs will never succeed in this.

The fairest solution to the problem of Kosova and that of the other Albanians who inhabit their own territories in Yugoslavia is the one that the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania put forward. The Great-Serbs and the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia attacked this solution, while world opinion approved it and considered it correct. The Yugoslavs were denounced both within their country and abroad for their actions against the people of Kosova and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. They brought great discredit upon themselves with their slanders and the hostility they displayed towards the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

We emerged triumphant, because we defended a just cause. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the policy of our Party emerged full of dignity on the international arena and our positions were further strengthened. Today the voice of Albania is listened to with sympathy and attention is paid to its policy.

It is very important to us to have sound international opinion on our side; we must strengthen respect for the correct Marxist-Leninist policy of our government among the governments of the various countries of the world with which we have diplomatic relations, and this, too, is very important to us.

The progressive world admires and respects us for our determination, courage, independence, and correctness in our relations with others, for our honesty and for the Marxist-Leninist course which our people and Party pursue in the construction of socialism in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Therefore, the Party and we, its leadership, must maintain and strengthen this victory, which as the 8th Congress reiterated, is continually consolidated by safeguarding the purity of the line of our Marxist-Leninist Party. Hence, we must work with all our might, intelligently, and with great care, to further strengthen the situation of our country internally and abroad.

«The Superpowers»

**WE MUST NOT SEPARATE THE INTENSIFICATION
WITH PRIORITY IN THE ALLOCATED LOWLAND ZONE
FROM THE INTENSIFICATION OF AGRICULTURE
OVER THE WHOLE COUNTRY**

*Contribution at the meeting of the Political Bureau
of the CC of the PLA (1)*

April 24, 1982

The directive of the 8th Congress of the Party about the priority intensification of the main part of the plains of the coastal zone of the country requires that we study the matter much more profoundly, especially now that we are concretizing this directive and putting it into practice. Inspired by the decisions of the Congress, the working people of agriculture all over the country have gone into action to attain the targets of the 7th Five-year Plan. In the zone about which we are talking, too, the orientations of the Party about the priority intensification of agriculture are being reaffirmed and concretized.

Nevertheless the study which we are examining today leads us to the conclusion that we have launched the

1 This meeting discussed the report of the Ministry of Agriculture, presented by the council of Ministers, «On the work done and the measures for the application of the directive of the 8th Congress of the Party about the priority intensification of agricultural and livestock production in the allocated lowland zones».

ideas about intensification, but not all the issues have been properly understood, and that is why we are proceeding in fits and starts on this matter, in the allocation of the means which must be added for this purpose as well as on many other problems. After the contributions which have been made here I want to make clear once again the orientation on how the intensification in this zone should be understood and, in connection with this, how this material should be restudied and discussed by the rank and file, so that the measures which must be taken can be discussed and decided unequivocally at a future meeting of the Political Bureau...

In the first place it must be clear to the state and economic organs that the Party's orientation about priority intensification of the plains of the coastal zone does not mean that now the problem of intensification is presented for this zone alone. If the idea of intensification is conceived in this way, this is not only politically incorrect, but will not give the desired economic results either. From the political aspect it will create an undesirable situation in the mentality of the cooperativist peasantry of the other zones. The peasants might think: «Why are the cooperativists of this zone favoured, while no measures are being taken in our favour?» This will be one of the consequences if we concentrate all our attention on this zone and weaken our attention in the least to the rest of agriculture. Likewise, from the economic aspect we cannot achieve the objectives set for the increase of the agricultural and livestock products by concentrating only on the plains of the coastal zone, which cover about 100 thousand hectares, when we have 600-700 thousand hectares of arable land in other parts of the country, on which the overwhelming bulk of the cooperativist peasantry live and work...

We must look at the distribution of the material-

technical base with this eye, too. According to the material presented you intend to allocate another 970 tractors and 266 header harvesters to the zone with the highest intensification, while to the other zone which, as we said, covers an area 6-7 times greater you intend to allocate less, only 316 tractors and 174 header harvesters, that is, about a third of those which are to go to the zone of highest intensification, which even today is more heavily mechanized. Therefore I think we should be very careful in this direction and not think «the sky is the limit», and since this zone is being intensified let us give it 3 times more machinery than the other zones, to which we have allocated no small tasks to increase production. We must take proper account of this, because we have a bad habit that we get carried away by a new idea and sometimes it happens, as for example when we get new tractors and trucks, that everybody wants to abandon the old ones and take new ones. The idea of the priority intensification of the plains seems to have been worked out more or less in this way, too.

The monetary and material means for the development of agriculture during this five-year plan have been allocated. The zone about which we are speaking is included in the overall five-year plan for the development of agriculture according to the orientations given by the Congress and occupies an important part within this plan, which must be accomplished without fail, indeed, efforts must be made to overfulfil it over the entire country...

Intensification in itself is a very progressive idea of extreme importance, but it is also quite complicated. Do we have the means necessary to accomplish such a great and important idea all at once? Calculations will show that we have only some of them. Therefore, if we do not examine this progressive idea thoroughly, if we do not think about

how these means must be supplemented and where they should be found, which of them can be produced in the country and other such matters, the intensification could be hindered or might make some progress, but would fail to achieve the objectives set at the proper time, because there are inhibiting factors.

In order to carry out the advanced idea for the priority intensification of about 100 thousand hectares of land, amongst other things, excavators and other machines are needed to dig canals. Now the question arises: where will those machines be found and can they be produced in the country? Apart from this, pipes, cement, gravel, rock, and trucks for transport are required, that is. an extensive material base is necessary. Then it will be necessary to open motor roads, etc. Therefore the Ministry of Agriculture must understand the problem thoroughly and should present to the government a plan for the intensification of 100 thousand hectares, which must be done without fail, a plan detailed for each successive year and for all the material means required, which the Ministry will seek to include in the plan. The thing is that, besides the interested branches and sectors, the Central Committee and the government must think about how the orientations and directives which are issued and the targets which we set are going to be accomplished, with the aim of assisting the base and ensuring that these orientations and directives find concrete application.

Let us take for example the question of cement. It is used everywhere and is in demand not only within the country, but also for export. So, some of the cement produced is allocated for export, and this is right, because if we don't export we cannot buy, since there are no imports without first exporting. But here the problem arises that, if the quantity of cement which is exported were used in agriculture for drainage, canals, etc., the

economic benefit would be very great. Hence the question: What must be done to ensure that both the internal needs and the exports of cement are fulfilled? Certainly we must consider increasing the capacity of the cement factory at Vlora, for example. In order to achieve this, that is, to increase the productive capacity of that factory, we need new kilns, etc., etc. I took the problem of cement only as an example, because we have possibilities to do similar things in many other sectors in order to respond in the proper way to the intensification of agriculture over the whole country.

Another fundamental problem which it seems to me is not being understood correctly is that we should not treat the zone of the coastal plains as a block, in a uniform way, from the standpoint of the material base needed, but should study it concretely, proceeding from the yields which have been achieved in each agricultural economy. This will lead us to the correct conclusion that the material base which we have planned, or which is necessary for this zone, should not be shared out evenly over the whole zone, but in different proportions, giving more to those economies and sectors which are more backward in their yields and which have the necessary conditions to rise to the level of the yields which are projected for this zone, or which advanced economies, sectors, or brigades are already getting...

Hence, from the whole zone of about 100 thousand hectares which we are intensifying with priority, in the distribution of the material base which we are increasing, for the 7th Five-year Plan we can leave out, say, 35-40 thousand hectares, because we have already achieved the intensification we are seeking with the means we have today in the area. We should use the additional means to accelerate the intensification of the rest, so that they reach the level of that area which is at a higher level of in-

tensification at present. Of course there is no limit to intensification, but we must make our calculations in the way we are discussing, otherwise the results will not be satisfactory.

In the zone of priority intensification of about 100 thousand hectares there are certain measures which we must certainly take in all the economies, regardless of which has taken high yields and which has not. What are these measures? The installation of permanent drainage. We must continue to do this except, perhaps, in the economies in which we have already done it and which have taken in high yields. But it must be done without fail in the other economies where it has not been done. We must decide this. The irrigation of land depends on our economic and material potential. If we have the possibilities to irrigate the entire intensified zone to a satisfactory level, it seems to me that this should be done. In regard to the use of fertilizers, machines, tractors combines or other complex farming machines, in all these directions there must be differentiation.

Now we come more concretely, on a broad scale, to the slogan we have employed: «We must catch up with the advanced». In order to catch up with the advanced, first of all the consciousness of the cooperativists plays a major role, but the means, seeds, water, etc., also play an important role. Therefore, although the will for further development may exist in all those economies which have achieved high yields in a given area or cooperative, we must take measures to favour the other areas and cooperatives. Where there is an economy which has achieved high yields we must allow it to go on getting yields of 70 quintals of maize per hectare for some time and be content that this economy, with the experience it has gained and the base which it has, consolidates its stability and gets just a little more.

In specific areas of the zone of priority intensification we have managed to get very good yields with the means which have been allocated. If we take, and we must take certain measures for the intensification of specific parts of this zone, the intensification of which is being done not in one year but in five years, and if the aid in materials is not provided evenly, but differentiated according to the requirements of specific parts of the zone, then we will have the result that one part of the zone will achieve the yields set at the end of the five-year period, another at the end of the fourth year or the third year of the five-year period, and in the end the whole zone will achieve the yields we set. Let us be quite clear about what I am saying. When defining the areas which are not intensified yet in the zone which we are going to intensify, this will be done in proportion with the possibilities which we provide. Within that zone different conditions prevail: some parts have a number of favourable conditions, some average conditions and other parts less favourable conditions. We will begin with those that have less favourable conditions, then we will come to those with average conditions and we will reach the highest level at the end of the five-year period. Thus the whole zone will be intensified to a higher level.

Hence this is not a job to be done by guess work, but on the basis of careful study. In order to accomplish it, the specialists of the base must be concretely involved in it, because their participation is decisive. It is essential that they must be listened to and their opinions be carefully discussed. Only in this way will we, the leadership of the Party, be sure what our possibilities are and, as the people say: «we must cut our coat according to our cloth». We must be certain about how much «cloth» we have, because we are going through a difficult international situation, so we cannot proceed by making promises and

then fail to fulfil them. The possibilities are great, but some people still have reservations. We must clearly understand the international situation and the great hostility with which Albania is threatened. We must be very rigorous, precise and revolutionary about the accomplishment of tasks, otherwise we cannot advance. Tomorrow the enemies might commit a provocation against us, therefore we must have reserves now. Hence, we must think about the times of danger.

All our work in agriculture, which is very complicated and wide-ranging, must be understood as a whole. When we take measures to add something, we must be truly conscious that the addition must be as much as necessary and we should not work it out on the average! If we set the targets in this way, the average will be much higher. If the average remains what it is, there is no need to use supplementary forces and means, because we need to use them elsewhere. We are not living in plenty, you must bear this in mind. We make sacrifices in one direction in order to fulfil another need, which must be fulfilled, especially the needs of agriculture which is the basis of our economy.

Therefore, in the resolution that will be presented to the Political Bureau, this question must be set out concisely on the basis of studies, so that we know in time how many hectares of land will be intensified within this zone and how many are intensified already. These things must be clearly defined. Likewise, the amount of production that will be taken in a given number of hectares in the intensified zone as well as the yields which will be achieved from them in the third, fourth and fifth years of the five-year plan must be set out. That is to say, the resolution must make certain definitions, which will be kept in mind while carrying out this task, because the work to accomplish the objectives will be done on the basis of the

decision. When the yields are set, this must be done not as average yields (2) for the whole Republic, but yields for the zones which will be intensified. This is a special decision which we are taking for this zone...

I repeat once again that the problem of agriculture must be seen as a whole. The plans which are set must be fulfilled and overfulfilled, because there are many possibilities and reserves. We must be conscious that these reserves must be drawn on, irrespective of the decision which we shall take. What we are doing is an addition. These things must be done without depriving the hills and all the other zones which are not being intensified, but, on the contrary, by assisting and intensifying them, too.

The intensification has begun on a good serious course and now it must be continued. Therefore we must not content ourselves with those yields we get in wheat and hybrid maize, but still more work must be done in bread grain and other crops and, especially, in livestock raising. I want to emphasize that for the intensification of livestock raising it is essential to continue the work in forage crops and to secure them not only for this zone, but for the whole of Albania. We must accomplish the plan in livestock raising with the productivity we have set, and in order to achieve this the fodder base must be intensified without fail. If it is necessary to take measures to intensify the production of fodder base in some other districts where we have concentrated livestock raising, this must be done. In Lezha, for example, we have set targets for increased numbers of livestock, therefore we must think about the intensification of the fodder base for the livestock in that district. But where is that base to be secured? Is that which is secured in the plains or hills of

2 In 1985 the average yields of wheat for the whole Republic was 30.6 quintals per hectare.

Lezha sufficient? No, it is not. Then we must take measures.

This problem is not separated from the other problems of intensification. A part of the plains which are intensified should be allocated to forage crops, and the same must be done for vegetables, too. Vegetables are very important for man, and they lead to economy in the consumption of bread. We must guarantee the production of bread, must increase grain production, but should also save grain by eating more vegetables, fruit and animal products. If we are to consume more vegetables, we must produce ample quantities of them, and to do this we must take measures to secure more than 400 quintals of tomatoes per hectare. To achieve this yield we must make investments. We have made investments for dairy cows, too. but some we have kept well and some we have allowed to degenerate. Seeds degenerate in a similar way because they have their own cycle. We must go over to the production of first-quality seeds, hybrid seeds, in the quantities and with the quality which we need for ourselves and export, for the internal market, for the production of preserved fruit and vegetables, etc. This, too, is intensification.

As a conclusion, basing ourselves on this five-year plan, to accomplish which efforts should be made, we must take measures for the intensification of the plains in a number of zones so that they, too, achieve the level of the most advanced zones and not only for such crops as maize, wheat, cotton and beans, which are mentioned in the study presented to us, but also for forage crops and vegetables. In connection with the means we have allocated for the intensification of vegetables, we must bear in mind that they require not only practice, but also more mechanized means, therefore in this complex of mechanisms, besides combines and tractors, we must include

other light means which are used in planting, hoeing, harvesting and transporting vegetables.

Now we come to fruit. We agreed long ago that some small factories should be set up in a number of centres as close as possible to large-scale production of fruit and vegetables, because in this way we avoid unnecessary transport. Therefore this question should be restudied and concrete proposals be made quickly.

See how many problems there are in agriculture. Mehmet Shehu, who posed as the complete expert, thought it was roughly one big issue, but he was wrong.

There are numerous problems and despite our desires we cannot solve them all immediately. Therefore, in our studies and decisions, we need firm order...

I think that we must understand agriculture and the needs of the people as interlinked. **It is important that we create plenty and we must create more suitable conditions so as to achieve this in scientific ways, through the concentration and circulation of production according to science and the soil.** The concentration and specialization of crops which will be widely extended in this zone bring changes in the development of the economy, and as the advanced experience of the Plasa agricultural cooperative has shown, they are also bringing changes in concepts. The new concepts of large-scale socialist production are gradually taking the place of old concepts. In this way we also combat the old concepts of autarchy, in the sense that it is often demanded that all the crops should be produced within the one economy and, indeed, years ago this was more pronounced and reflected even in brigades. The struggle which has been waged against the «mosaic» of crops within small areas must now be waged against manifestations of autarchy in larger areas.

Of course our economy and our socialist agriculture are run on the basis of the unified state plan. In order to

sabotage the experience of Plasa, the enemies of the Party, Mehmet Shehu and company, went so far as to say: «Either the structure of crops according to the plan, or Plasa with its own rotation of crops.» However, when he was about at the end of his tether and could see that the roots of his evil work were being exposed, Mehmet came to me and said, «We shall make the whole of Albania like Plasa»...

The problem of the wide extension of the experience of Plasa, of course, could not be solved with a stroke of the pen, but we have said at other times, too, that we have delayed in applying this experience. In order to apply it, a number of manoeuvres must be made in the planting of various crops. A particular crop may be removed from one economy and given to another economy according to the need for rotation. That is how we can manoeuvre between the two economies, especially when, in the zone for which we are speaking, we have territorial continuity. As the specialists tell us, in this case schemes of rotation can be drawn up covering two economies, irrespective of the fact that they may be different from the organizational aspect. There are greater possibilities to do this with certain crops which improve the soil, such as lucerne, etc., especially by increasing the humus and the content of nutritive elements.

I think these manoeuvres are partial and can be carried out within the objectives of the plan on a district scale and even more so on the scale of the whole country. Each agricultural economy is required to engage in this work better. But the districts and the Ministry of Agriculture, in cooperation with the State Planning Commission, must play a special role.

I think that the implementation of scientific schemes of rotation of agricultural production and the struggle against autarchy should be conceived on a broader scale.

Let us take onions, for example. We say that we should produce as many onions as possible. «But why are we to produce so many onions?» asks the cooperativist. «I want bread.» «Very well,» he should be told, -onions which are grown, packaged, and preserved properly can be exported and used to buy another food-stuff. Or, if the conditions permit, lucerne should be planted on this land and with this you will get more meat, milk, hides, etc.» What I am saying is that we should not consume everything we produce at home, but export some things and import those which we do not produce ourselves. Of course this must not place in jeopardy the production of bread and other main products within the country. But, if by exploiting the conditions better we may export meat, than we have something in our hands to import what we are short of. I think that we will not have shortages if we proceed scientifically at such a rate and with such courage. We will produce the things we need within the country and also have some for export. Thus we will have in our hands a great economic force to manoeuvre abroad and to further develop industry, agriculture and other branches of the economy.

In regard to the advance of our agriculture on the road of socialism, **another important measure has been the creation of the higher-type cooperatives.** Now when we are in the phase of higher intensification, this must be studied so that we know where these cooperatives should be classified, are we to consider them intensified or not? Will we continue to give them state aid as before, or will this aid be now given to other cooperatives, so that they, too, reach the level of the former? Already the higher-type cooperatives have achieved a good level of development, indeed some of them have achieved the level of state farms, others a little less, but others still have outstripped the state farms. In the higher-type cooperatives where the

investments which the state has made up till now and the investments of the cooperatives themselves have served to raise the level required for the intensified zone, the state should no longer make investments at that level which it has done up till now. Therefore the funds that we have foreseen for investments should be divided in a differentiated way, according to needs. The funds which the state has provided for the higher-type cooperatives have been a support for them, the direct participation of the state in their development has given results. Now part of these funds will no longer be provided, but the state does not demand repayment of them. Since those funds have been well utilized and those cooperatives have achieved a high level of development and the well-being of the members has been raised, they must allocate for accumulation a percentage different from that of the other cooperatives and cover more investments with their own funds. The state can and must give more assistance to the other cooperatives.

Therefore, when the funds are shared out and the aid which the state will provide is allocated, it should be taken into account that, in regard to the raising of their level, the scale of the development and the yields they have achieved, the higher-type cooperatives are close to the yields and the incomes of state farms of the zones of intensification or which are considered as intensified. This must be understood correctly and profoundly, because the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat does not work only for the higher-type cooperatives, in order to enable them only to improve the living standard of the members. Our state also thinks about the other cooperatives. But the higher-type cooperatives must maintain the level achieved and raise it further, because they have all the possibilities.

The intensification with priority of the lowland zone

must not upset the existing regime of agricultural cooperatives. What do I mean by this? It is intended that the plain of Ndroq, for instance, should be intensified. So investments will be made there for this purpose. But the mountainous zone of this cooperative, too, will continue to be developed with the aid which the state has provided and will continue to provide. Hence we will proceed towards the intensification of production in this zone, too. The division of income per workday and the formation of various funds will be done on the basis of the rules which exist in the Constitution of Cooperatives. This is a problem of great importance in the field of the relations of production.

The problem of the production of agricultural machinery and equipment within the country was raised here, too. When speaking about intensification, it should be born in mind that this means that in maize, for example, we must get 60-70 quintals per hectare on an area from 10-20 thousand hectares, to which thousands more hectares will be added in the near future, when more maize will be needed to increase the number of livestock. Such huge areas of maize cannot be harvested with those means we use today. Likewise it is not possible for us to import from abroad all those machines to harvest the maize and the wheat, to pick fruit, etc., etc., which are needed. Then what must we do? We must begin to build harvesting machines, etc., in the country. Apart from the motors (although this, too, should be examined, because there are a number of electrical engineering plants which could produce them), it is quite possible for us to do this. There are many other questions like this which are connected with agriculture and which have not been studied in their own time, so they must be studied now. I say this because better late than never and because in the coming years an even more favourable situation will be created in

agriculture, although other problems will emerge, since we will need not only more harvesters, but also more tractors.

Apart from the autotractor combine in Tirana, which has very important tasks for agriculture, we must study the possibilities to take measures to strengthen the agricultural machinery plants. Besides the agricultural machinery plant in Durrës, perhaps the others should be strengthened, too. But how much thought has been given to this and to what extent the possibilities are being created for such a step? It seems to me that the idea raised here that a good part of the capacity of agricultural machinery plants in the districts is employed in producing spare parts and equipment for industry, is not correct. If this comes about simply because these plants are under the Ministry of Industry and Mines, then we should examine the question of whether they should be under the Ministry of Industry, or the Ministry of Agriculture.

In the context of intensification, with the increase of agricultural and livestock products everywhere in Albania, **the shortage of transport will be a great problem.** We continue to read in the papers about mass road transport parallel with the railway, about unnecessary shuttling of goods back and forth. Therefore the rational utilization of the means we have is a great reserve for agriculture, too.

Likewise it is necessary to produce more carts and trailers. However this work has been left to the workshop in Shijak or some local initiative, which cannot fulfil all the needs of the country for this kind of transport, therefore the production of it must be increased especially in those districts which have timber.

Apart from carts, motor transport is necessary, too. and as you say, some trucks can be imported from abroad. But there is one thing which should be born in mind: we are struggling to save land and to avoid losing it.

In fact, however, a part of the land will be withdrawn from production because the products must be transported on this land where they are produced, hence roads will be needed and this requires land. Here we have to make careful calculations, that is, we must ensure that the quantity of products which are lost from the part of the land which is allocated for the building of roads is compensated for through the increase in yields. We agree to the opening of these roads, because the transport of agricultural products by truck is quicker and causes fewer losses.

I have another matter which is and which is not solved. **I am referring to the contracts between interested ministries and the cooperatives.** The organs of the Ministry of Internal Trade and those of the Ministry of the Light and Foodstuffs Industry do sign a kind of contract with the agricultural cooperatives, but not with a strict regime and penalties which are usually included in contracts between state enterprises. As a result, it is noticed that some agricultural products, especially vegetables, fruit, etc., are sometimes collected and sometimes not by the subsidiary organs of ministries. It seems to me that this matter must be looked at more carefully and should not continue as it is. Indeed, I think that the cooperatives should have a branch or sector engaged in the distribution and trading of the products, the signing of contracts, and the following up of the obligations which result from the implementation of contracts.

If there were such a sector or position in the management of the cooperative, it would be in a position to deal with the organs of the Ministry of the Internal Trade or the Ministry of the Light and Foodstuffs Industry and require them to sign contracts on the quantities of various agricultural and livestock products which they will take and these contracts should include severe mutual penalties. If the goods produced are not collected, the

party in fault will pay the damage just as the cooperative must pay for the damage if the products are not delivered at the time and in the conditions stipulated in the contract. It seems to me that such a thing does not exist at present. If the organs of trade require that the cooperative should deliver the goods at their depot, they must pay for the transport from the field to the depot when the means for this purpose, the carts, trailers, etc., belong to the cooperative. All these things should be envisaged in the contract. If they act in this way production will be encouraged, otherwise, when products are not collected and are damaged, the cooperative is liable to say that it is a waste of time to produce them.

Then, there is another matter which must be examined: the question of standards of the goods. It can and does happen that some of the products may not be up to the requirements for export or the standards for internal trade, because they may have been damaged. This does not mean that the goods referred to should be rejected, but measures should be taken to process them industrially, or they should be bought by the trade organs at a lower price, actually protecting the interests of the state, but not to the detriment of the peasant. And these goods can be sold at prices at which the people will buy them.

I pointed out some of these problems not because they should all be brought under the study which will be redone of the lowland zone of priority intensification. We shall decide in the Political Bureau about the more fundamental problems which we took up this time. The government and the state and economic organs must decide and take concrete measures on the other questions in order to support this great program for the intensification of agriculture, as the 8th Congress of the Party decided.

«About the 7th Five-year Plan»

MARXISM-LENINISM IS A NECESSITY, LIKE THE AIR WE BREATHE AND THE FOOD WE EAT

*From a contribution at the meeting of the Secretariat
of the CC of the PLA (1)*

April 26, 1982

At first Comrade Enver Hoxha inquired what opinion the comrades of the Party School had about the programs, the lectures, the seminars, the students, the teachers and about raising their pedagogic-scientific level. After he was given the answers to these questions and was informed about the influence the activity of the enemy Fiqret Shehu (2) had on the method of work of the Party School, Comrade Enver Hoxha said:

In order to make the Party School a truly revolutionary institution, and this we must do without fail, we must think hard about how to revolutionize it, how to smash certain prejudices and methods which have become obsolete. The teaching staff of the school can see to this best. In regard to the measures which you will take for the revolutionization of the school, Comrade Jorgji,(3) you must certainly

1 This meeting discussed the report «We must raise the level of the work for the Marxist-Leninist education in the 'V. I. Lenin' Party School, in the Party courses and the education forms».

2 See p. 568 of this volume.

3 Jorgji Sota, at that time vice-director of the «V. I. Lenin» Party School.

consult with and ask not only Comrades Ramiz [Alia] or Foto [Çami], but first of all, the students of the Party School, who are Party cadres and workers.

The voice of the Party is decisive. The student of the Party School who comes from the base and knows it, will give the most correct solution to a problem of the theory he is taught there, so he should say openly: «Comrade teacher, the lecture which you are delivering to us, goes in this ear and out the other! The method of work must be changed, because I go back to the base and forget all these things you tell me, the theory which I am learning here is not properly linked with the work in the terrain,» and so on.

Therefore the work in the Party School up till now has not been done properly from the organizational, pedagogic and other aspects. I am not saying that you have been idle and done nothing, but we must look rather more closely into these shortcomings which exist there!

I have given orders that a control team should go to the «V. I. Lenin» Party School to see what was being done there by Fiqret Shehu who treated the school as «her untouchable zone» and, in fact, when the comrades of the team from the Central Committee apparatus went to the Party School, the enemy Fiqret Shehu tried to shut the door to them. But Comrade Foto Çami insisted saying: «I am sent here by the Central Committee of the Party.»

«But why, is there anything wrong with us here?» she asked.

«Whatever there is,» replied Comrade Foto, «the Central Committee is going to check up on you.» So, the comrades of the Central Committee went there for this purpose, while you kept silent, you did not raise the problems as you should have done.

It was said here that the programs of the school must

be revised. But in what directions must they be revised? There was talk, also, about scholasticism. But what do you mean by scholasticism and what must you do to liquidate this spirit? As emerged here, after hearing lectures, the students make summaries from their study of the literature and, of course, they spend some time on them, but it may also happen that these summaries are made by one of them and the others take them from him. If this is done, those who get things ready made from others do not work, but, in a way, sleep!

For the teachers to be able to activate the students in seminars and encourage debate, they themselves must have more extensive knowledge of the work of the Party and a more thorough understanding of its life, so as to avoid scholasticism in lectures and seminars. Scholasticism manifests itself for some reasons. A teacher, for example, has prepared a lecture on a theoretical question of Marxism-Leninism, which he reads once a week or a year, according to the program. During the school year he may have to prepare about 20 lectures which constitute a complete cycle. Certainly, for this he must study, but in order to liquidate scholasticism and stimulate debate among his students in seminars, he must be in close touch with the life of the Party and in his lectures must deal with problems that one comes up against in practice. This is how he will avoid scholasticism. Therefore teachers must know life. What prevents them from doing this? Here it was said that the teachers of the Party School take part in the meetings of the forums of district party committees, in plenums, meetings of activists, etc., and after returning to School they discuss the experience they bring along. Have you had any assistance from the apparatus of the Central Committee of the Party? If it has not been given, why? What has been lacking? Was there lack of interest, or willingness on the part of the various sectors of the

apparatus of the Central Committee, have they underrated the work with the Party School and the whole system of Marxist-Leninist education, or is there any other reason?

Regarding the teaching practice of the students of the Party School in the districts, you said that you have reached some conclusions. This is all very well, but be careful, because in the course of this practice it is not your duty to seize on the shortcomings you notice in the work of the Party in the districts and report them to the Central Committee, as you have done until now. No, that is not the role of the Party School. It is a different matter if you see that the Party line about a particular question is violated, or notice that your graduates are not applying in practice what you have taught them. You may inform the apparatus about this, and that would be of interest to us.

The practice course during which your students are sent for one month to the districts, according to the program, has other aims. In the first place, it helps students not to lose touch with life, to link up better with the base and production, and not to lose the feeling of Party work in practice. In short, they see the application in practice of the Marxist-Leninist theory given through the directives of the Party, which reach the base not through the Party School, but through Party channels. In this sense, we say that the students who come to the Party School from production have applied the directives of the Party even before that, that is, they have advanced on the road of Marxism-Leninism, have a theoretical and practical basis, and in the Party School they perfect and extend this knowledge further. While carrying out their practice, they are students and teachers at the same time. That is how it must be understood. I believe it is clear.

I want to raise another question. In the question we are examining in this meeting about raising the level of

the work for the Marxist-Leninist education of cadres in the «V. I. Lenin» Party School, in Party courses and in forms of education, the Party School is the main factor. In fact, Party courses and the forms of education do not concern you, teachers of the Party School, because they are directed by the party committees of the districts and of the army, hence, this is not your duty. But the participants in these courses and forms of education may come to attend your School later, so I ask the questions: Have you ever thought, when you go to the base, to supervise the practice of your students, to check up a little also on the work for the Marxist-Leninist education which is done in the Party courses and the forms of education in the districts? Have you an idea about how they are conducted? Are their teaching programs suitable or not? Does the party committee of the district or of the army follow up properly the work which is done in them? Whenever you do this, as I said, you must not consider it your permanent task, but only as a means of information. I think you need this kind of interest and information, because the students coming to the Party School have already gone through these party courses and forms of education.

I think the Party should attach extremely great importance to these courses and forms, because, together with practical matters, theoretical knowledge is also given in them. In the forms of education there is debate of a truly revolutionary character and we must work to encourage it so that it always retains this character. When we say that it should have a revolutionary character, we mean that it must be carried out on the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party. The participants in the three-month courses perfect their theoretical knowledge further.

Hence, as I said before, you must have an idea of the work done in these courses for the Marxist-Leninist education of communists, and perhaps, demand to examine

those parts of the program which you judge must be examined. Shkodra, for instance, is an industrial city, but in this district which is also a border district, there is a specific situation. Shkodra, also, is a district in which the Catholic clergy exercised strong influence. Actually this influence does not exist today, religion is no longer practised, but we must not forget that religious influence and prejudices still linger on. Therefore, not only the sector of education of the Party Committee of this district, which must especially check up on, must be informed and take measures about these questions, but you, too, as the Party School, must work in this direction, because cadres from this district, also, come to you. In this manner you will be informed about how three-month Party courses are working in Shkodra, what themes are treated in them and in the forms of education. Knowing these, you are in a position to tell the Shkodra comrades where, on what problems of the Marxist-Leninist education, they should concentrate most, because the duty for conducting these courses devolves on the party committees of the districts. Indeed, you may even go to the Party Committee of the district and raise these problems with them. Have you done these things? If you have, it's very good!

The great need for the Marxist-Leninist education has impelled us to find such forms of work, assistance and control. That is what the Marxist-Leninist theory teaches us, too. Since you have practised these forms of work, you can go on to do so, certainly, by making them still more perfect.

In my opinion, in the Party School we train neither *chinovniki** nor office workers, nor Party workers. To the «V. I. Lenin» Party School, and Party courses and

* State employees (Russ. in the original).

forms of education in the Party we send cadres of the Party and its levers, so that they acquire knowledge of our Marxist-Leninist theory, which will serve them as a guiding compass to find their bearings in the work the Party assigns them to do.

As for the Party workers, as well as all the instructors, they are appointed, that is, they are office workers, whereas all the secretaries of the basic organizations of the Party are elected. These are secretaries today, tomorrow they may not be re-elected, or one of them may become director of a plant, etc., so another comrade is elected party secretary in his place. He may not have gone through the Party School, but the party committee of the district or the Central Committee deems it reasonable that he should be made the first secretary of the party committee of the district, because he has the required qualities and can lead the Party work in the district. So, neither the «V. I. Lenin» Party School, nor the Party courses train Party workers. It is a different matter for those who are appointed as such. However, these, too, whether or not they have finished the Party School, can go over to sectors in which there is need for them, and we may bring other people in their places. The Party assigns them to their respective working places. Only a small percentage of the whole number of instructors and Party workers are sent to the Party School. That is how attending the Party School and Party courses must be understood.

When I proposed that there should be no marks in the Party School, I meant that both to this School and to Party courses we send carefully selected people who understand the importance of Marxist-Leninist education, hence, marks have no importance for us and differentiation by means of marks should not exist there. Of course, there must be greater involvement on the part of the teachers so that all

those who are sent to the «V. I. Lenin» Party School, or to courses organized by the Party, the trade-unions or the youth, should assimilate what is envisaged in the program. So, they need not be given marks, as is done at state schools. In the Party School they will acquire knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, and all these people will work on many different fronts to carry out the tasks the Party sets them. True, the Party sends selected people there, but they will justify the trust of the Party only if they are disciplined and have a sound understanding of education, of the need for mastering the knowledge given at the School. As for the work the Party will assign them to later, this is decided by the plenum, the bureau of the party committee of the district, the Political Bureau or the other organs, in which they figure as cadres.

But how is this decided by these organs? According to what criteria? For what I know, they base their decisions on the reference which the Party School issues for each student. This reference should be the fruit of the collective thinking of all the teachers of the Party School, and not as the enemy Fiqret Shehu did, nor should it be a reference issued by one teacher alone. Therefore, I think that each teacher should write a reference for each one of his students, and then, on the basis of the opinions of all the teachers, a general reference of the student should eventually be written and signed by the School director.

Hence, the aim is the Marxist-Leninist education of the communists by all forms and in all ways. We may say that with the programs approved by the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Party we have defined what we should teach these people, and we have done it well. Now we are making some additions. In my opinion the additions we are making are good, provided what all the comrades said should be carried out, so as to link the School more closely with life, with practice. It seems to me

that two years, perhaps not even three lifetimes, which we cannot have because our life expectancy is 68 years, (4) are not enough to master Karl Marx and Lenin at school. What am I referring to? I am referring to the care which should be devoted to the materials recommended for the students of the Party School. The program of the School includes a great number of subjects, and if the student of the School is told to study the whole of the *Anti-Dühring* of Engels, or the whole of *Materialism and Empiriocriticism* of Lenin, and other works of the classics, we must be realistic enough to know that he will not be able to do this properly.

Of course studies in the Party School will be based on the works of the classics, otherwise it would not be a Party School. But if there is overburdening, something must be left out and only those materials of the classics, of our great teachers, which have a bearing on the theme and which are considered sufficient should remain for study.

As is known, Lenin has waged a relentless struggle against a lot of idealist ideologists and philosophers, as well as factionalists and opportunists, imbued with all kinds of wrong and anti-Marxist ideas and views. He wrote whole books in the course of his controversy with them, in which he has uncovered and argued the mistakes of their ideas and theories. We all know about this great struggle of Lenin against various opportunist currents. Now the question is asked: Is it necessary to recommend the students to get into all these details? These works of Lenin contain great lessons for us, because we can use them to draw analogies, but in the short time available for them the students cannot assimilate all the ideas reflected in Lenin's works. Therefore we should give the students those parts

4 In 1987 the life expectancy in Albania reached to over 71 years.

which are connected with the themes we have selected and insist that they assimilate them thoroughly, because these will stand them in good stead in life. So, what I am driving at here is that we must ask the students to work on those materials of the classics which illustrate the themes they study, so that he who finishes the Party School and has some experience of work should be able to draw an analogy readily in the struggle against the opponents of our ideology today. Also, we must not forget that those who come to the Party School are not ignorant of these questions.

First, because they live in a socialist country and since their childhood they have been educated with the communist ethics and morality, and have received a Marxist-Leninist education.

Second, before they come to the Party School, they attend various state schools, the programs of which are built on the basis of Party orientations, on our theory which orientates the students towards the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party. Both at the University and at all the other higher schools, all studies are based on science and Marxism-Leninism.

Third, they have participated in the forms of education for the mass organizations: the organization of the LYUA, the TUA and the WUA, which in practice not only have a revolutionary life as such, but also organize Marxist-Leninist educational courses.

Fourth, the press, the radio and television and all other mass media, which play a powerful role in the education of people, exert their influence on them, too. The students who are sent to the Party School are people who live in our socialist country, surrounded by our Marxist-Leninist propaganda and agitation. At the Party School they deepen their Marxist-Leninist education further.

In the material presented to the Secretariat of the

Central Committee of the Party the aim of the proposals made is not clear. Why do you propose that in the Party School there should be parallel classes, one for cadres with higher education and another for cadres with secondary education? No, I do not agree that we should create a separate class for cadres with higher education, or that these should study only two years at the Party School. I am not telling you that we should not send cadres with higher education to the «V. I. Lenin» Party School, either, because we also have one-year courses of political economy and philosophy there. If we must open again a one-year course for some cadres with higher education, we can do this, too.

In my opinion, this category of cadres who have finished higher school should not go through the same program of the Party School as those with secondary education, but should study Marxism-Leninism more profoundly and advance it further. Why should cadres, who have experience of, say, five, ten or twelve years of work, waste two years? If we need philosophers or economists, we may send cadres with higher schooling to one-year courses of philosophy and political economy, while we may open another parallel class for the other cadres with higher schooling, who we think should be sent to study together with the cadres with secondary education. But it seems to me that it is wrong for the cadres with higher education to do two years of Party School after having finished the state school. Let us calculate roughly the time of schooling for a cadre with higher education. This cadre finishes the secondary school and then the University, which makes a total of eight or nine years at school, without reckoning the time for the 8-year school. If we send him for another two years in the Party School, then he will have to spend eighteen years of his life at school, the time for the 8-year school included. It seems to me this is not right, is not rational.

Here there was talk also about curtailing the duration

of courses at the Party School. This has an advantage, because the students who attend them are cultured people and, if you put superfluous phrases in your materials, they can see the redundancies, and may tell you: «Give us the essence here, whatever will help us to proceed on the right road.»

Both from the material presented to us and the contributions of the comrades, I have come to the conclusion that the aim here is to have as many people with higher education attend the Party School. I am not opposed to sending cadres with higher education to the Party School, but I think that to this School we should send more workers with secondary education, but not those with 8-year schooling only. Today we have many workers with secondary education.

Why do I say that more workers with secondary education should come to the Party School? I say so because through this School we give the working class a strong Marxist-Leninist education. The workers should predominate in the Party School, and we should not consider them to be below understanding the Marxist-Leninist theory. If we think so we are making mistakes. The workers understand Marxism-Leninism very well, indeed, they understand it better than those who have finished the general secondary school and have never worked in production. We must send to the Party School those workers who have done eight or more years in difficult sectors of production, such as forges, factories, mines and saw-mills. We do not intend to make them Party workers, but by sending them to the Party School we raise the ideological level of the working class. This must not be done only at the Party School, but also at Party courses in the districts and in the army; the same orientation applies to them, too, whereas it is obvious that in the forms of education we include everybody.

The fact that a cadre with higher education stands at a higher level than the other workers who attend the same three-month courses, should make him understand that he plays an educative role, an encouraging role, and prompt him to take a more active part in discussion, because by so doing he helps the workers rise to a higher ideological level. If one of these workers who attends three-month courses should be sent to the Party School, then his case must be looked at.

Proceeding from the aim that we should give them all the best possible Marxist-Leninist education, the question arises: Why should we exclude cadres with secondary education from attending correspondence courses of the Party School and admit only those with higher education? I raise this problem because the material presented to us reads: «...as a rule, only cadres with higher education are admitted to correspondence courses.» The question is not that the cadre with higher education masters the subject better because he has more efficient methods of assimilating lessons, but that the cadres with secondary education, also, should study Marxism-Leninism.

The cadres of the youth may attend the courses for the youth, provided that the Party has this work under its control. People who study in the courses of the youth, if they are intended to work among the youth, should continue this work for some years, because the time comes when they must leave this organization on account of age limit. The one-year course on work among the youth when they must leave this organization on account of not be an obstacle to sending them to the Party School again.

We can open other courses of a shorter period of three, four or five months, depending on their importance, at the Party School. These may be full-time or correspondence courses.

We have been working and have made all these achievements, but, as I have stressed on other occasions, the question is that the work of the Party, is very beautiful, but it is also a scientific and very strictly organized activity. I am not speaking here about the spirit of initiative, which the communists should have and about other questions, but about it that the leading organs of the Party must necessarily be informed about the life of the Party and supervise it, otherwise, they cannot know the situation. We must not consider supervision only the work done by control teams. I think that this form of work is good, because control teams, when they come back, discuss and report to the Secretariat of the Central Committee or the Political Bureau. In their reports there are some general problems, but there are also specific, positive or negative questions characteristic of the district. But this is not everything. In the daily life of the Party there are many things which the Party must explore, activate and enliven.

In regard to this, the method of work and activity of the instructors and sectors in the apparatus of the Central Committee of the Party should be further perfected, because just as they report and are prepared to say everything about economic and political problems, so must they be just as ready, not to say readier, to report about the life of the Party.

In its reports to the Central Committee, the party committee of the district may round things out. If we take up questions in general, this will not give us a complete picture of the situation. But should we have details brought here to the Secretariat? What I am demanding is not this, but that the people at the grassroots should be active. He who drafts the report should call together all the instructors, those who have checked up on the basic organizations, both through the protocols of their meetings and in their practical life and activity. Basing himself on such inform-

ation, he should come out with his own conclusions before the bureau of the party committee of the district. If the Party, then its instructors should propose to the bureau about presenting a report to the Central Committee of the Party, then its instructors should propose to the bureau of the Party Committee that they make an analysis of the zone of Roskovec or that of Mallakastra, for instance, to examine the situation of the Party life there. If it appears to be weak, then the reasons should be stated why it is weak, and in what the weakness consists. If the situation is strong, then the good work done should be pointed out. The report should be based on this analysis and be drafted after securing all-round information from many sources, and not from the member of the plenum only, because he, too, may be subjective, whereas instructors should base themselves on the Party work.

Protocols of meetings have to be kept carefully in each basic organization. In the basic organizations of the Party we have now communists with schooling who are able to keep the protocols of meetings of the organization properly. There are communists with little schooling, too, but there are also those with more schooling, indeed we have now intellectuals, such as agronomists, teachers, etc., even in the basic organizations of the village.

The instructor of the party committee must have it in his work plan to follow up some basic organizations, to check up on their Party life through them, but even if he has not this particular item in his plan, he should look into the Party life of the organizations to which he goes. But does he really go to the grassroots? I am not implying that he should go there every day, though I do not agree to it that the instructor should go to an organization only once a month, because in this case he would not do his job properly.

The instructor must go to ten or fifteen basic organiza-

tions and attend their meetings at least once a month; or he may first read the protocol of the meeting a particular organization has held the month before, draw some characteristic questions from it and tell them how to proceed in the future. The instructor of the apparatus of the Central Committee of the Party, when he comes back here, to the Central Committee, must also bring along his notes about the organization in which he has been. Both the instructor of the Central Committee and that of the party committee of the district must be in a position to report instantly about the party organizations of the zones where they have been, at any moment that the Political Bureau or the bureau of the Party Committee of the district may ask information about what is happening in this zone or that. They may be asked to bring along the protocols, too, but I think that they know the situation even without the protocols, because they have taken the necessary notes from the protocols which they have read at the grassroots.

Is this how they do it or not? Should this be done in this way or not? And if it should, then should the instructors have their particular zones, or should they not? Division into zones does not imply that an instructor should not go to the zone covered by another instructor, and vice versa. No, it implies only that the instructor of a given zone should feel his responsibility for the zone which is assigned to him. Just as cadres working in agriculture hold themselves responsible for the work they have been appointed to, so is the instructor of the apparatus of the party committee assigned to work in a particular zone. He can take part in control teams, too. Perhaps, this work is going on well in some district, but it is not so everywhere, therefore I think that we must review these questions. The more so, as someone said here that we have abandoned the distribution of instructors to particular

zones. This problem seems to be of an organizational character, whereas I think that it is also a political and ideological problem whose solution assists in the all-round education of the communists.

I have another question. We have taken a decision to the effect that the first secretary of the party committee of the district should every month call the secretaries of the basic organizations of the Party, if not all of them at once, at least in individual groups, and inform them about the internal and the international situation. In this meeting the secretary of the party committee of the district should speak about current problems of the economy, the degree of mobilization of the workers in the enterprises and of the members of agricultural cooperatives of the district, assessing the good work done by this or that secretary. He derives his information from the instructors who have studied the situation in the sectors from the reports and protocols of the meetings of the basic organizations, and have actually attended some of them. Also, he keeps the secretaries of the basic organizations in touch with the political situation, making a brief summary of the main world events. So, through these meetings, the first secretary keeps the Party organizations of the district informed about the situation.

That is all. I have finished with this question.

Thank you, Comrade Jorgji, and send my regards to all the teachers and students of the Party School. On behalf of the Political Bureau, and on my behalf, tell them that they should be unyielding and extend their knowledge through the study of the materials of the Party and Marxism-Leninism which, now more than ever before, is an absolute necessity, like the air we breathe every moment and the food we eat.

A SYNOPSIS OF THE SECRET ACTIVITY OF THE ENEMY MEHMET SHEHU

*Speech delivered at the 4th Plenum of the CC
of the PLA (1)*

September 24, 1982

From the investigations following the suicide of Mehmet Shehu (December 18, 1981), and from the documents in the possession of the Party, it results that Mehmet Shehu was an agent recruited by the Americans from the time he attended Fultz's school in Tirana. On Fultz's orders, Mehmet Shehu went to study in a military school in Italy, and on the orders of the American secret service he was sent to Spain.

After the defeat of the anti-fascist war in Spain, Mehmet Shehu went to a refugee camp in France where he stayed for three years, at a time when many of his comrades escaped from it. In the camp he was recruited

1 The 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA, held on September 24, 1982, heard and unanimously approved the speech delivered by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha, which put forward «A synopsis of the secret activity of the enemy Mehmet Shehu», and decided that this tableau be analysed in all the basic organizations of the Party. This decision was immediately carried out and within two-three days the whole Party was informed about and expressed full solidarity with it.

as an agent of the British Intelligence Service also. He was taken out of the camp by an officer of the German Gestapo and one of the Italian SIM, passed through Italy, where he was held two months, and was then handed over in Durrës to the Albanian notorious spy, Man Kuka-leshi, who released him after 20 days, and Mehmet Shehu went to Mallakastra and linked up with the organization of our Party there.

During the National Liberation War, Mehmet Shehu and his wife, Fiqret Sanxhaktari, were recruited as agents of the Yugoslavs, too, by Dušan Mugoša. (2) To this end, the former was given the secret pseudonym MISH (Mehmet Ismail Shehu), and the latter the pseudonym FISARI (Fiqret Sanxhaktari).

From the written documents of Mehmet Shehu it is proved that he was a member (3) of the Berat plot, together with Koçi Xoxe and Nako Spiru, irrespective of the fact that he was not at Berat (in November 1944).

During the war, too, Mehmet Shehu had displayed signs of discontent, because at the 1st National Conference at Labinot in March 1943 he was elected only a candidate member of the Central Committee and at Përmet, at the Anti-fascist National Liberation Congress in May 1944, he was not promoted to general, like several others whom he scorned.

Mehmet Shehu wanted the mistakes which he had made

2 He began his work with Mehmet Shehu in Vlora in the spring and summer of 1943 and intensified it even more when the pair of them «arranged» that they should be together in the 1st Shock Brigade. While in the Brigade, Mugoša recruited Fiqret Sanxhaktari, too, and arranged her betrothal to Mehmet Shehu for the aims of his secret activity.

3 Apart from other things, this emerges clear also in the letter Mehmet Shehu addressed to Koçi Xoxe on December 10, 1944, in which he is enthusiastic about the anti-Party turn at Berat. See Enver Hoxha, *The Titoites (Historical Notes)*, «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1982, pp. 549-555, Eng. ed.

and continued to make by violating the line of the Party and failing to carry out the orders of the General Staff, over which he had been criticized several times, to be forgotten, and now it is quite clear that he did not do all this without a purpose. So, he had used terror in the villages through which the 1st Brigade passed to discredit the Party and the partisan forces, elevated to a legend the «incursion» of two battalions of the 1st Brigade to rescue the General Staff from the German-Ballist encirclement, although he not only did not rescue it, but Mehmet Shehu deliberately wasted two weeks (in place of two days), taking the forces of the Brigade over a number of dangerous paths, thus, causing many brave fighters of this Brigade to lay down their lives heroically. Mehmet Shehu opposed the order of the General Staff for the 1st Division to cross the Shkumbin River and move to the North, because this order was not in accord with the strategy of the Anglo-Americans who wanted to have Northern Albania under their influence, through the forces of their agents, Abaz Kupi, Muharrem Bajraktari and other bajraktars.

Mehmet Shehu came to Albania and fought not as a communist and partisan, but as a mercenary sent by the Anglo-Americans to serve their plans for the future of Albania. After his suicide, a program written by his own hand at the time when he came to Albania, was found in his safe. This was nothing but a bourgeois-democratic program which made no mention at all of socialism and the communist party, but of many parties, just as the Anglo-American missions and the reactionary groups which supported them tried to bring about in the period immediately after the Liberation of our country.

Immediately after Liberation, either to satisfy his careerist ambitions, or on the order of the American secret service, Mehmet Shehu placed himself in the service of the chief of the Soviet military mission in Albania, the

agent of Soviet counter-intelligence, major Ivanov, by giving him secret reports against the leadership and the line of our Communist Party, in which he demanded an intervention either by the Soviets or Tito (whom he describes as a big figure) to change the situation in Albania, because it was hard to go on like that with Enver Hoxha.

In this context it is easy to understand the acrobatic twists and contradictory stands of Mehmet Shehu during the National Liberation War and after Liberation, before and after the 8th(4) and 11th(5) Plenums of the Central Committee (in 1948), sometimes defending the Yugoslav theses, sometimes opposing them under the protection of Soviet advisers.

At the 8th Plenum Nako Spiru was exposed and condemned as an enemy by the Yugoslavs and Koçi Xoxe, while Mehmet Shehu was described as «anti-Yugoslav», and from chief of the General Staff of the Army he was appointed minister of communications.(6)

After the letters of the CPSU(b) to the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, the 11th Plenum came and Mehmet

4 It held its proceedings in February 1948. At this Plenum, which is described as a black spot in the glorious history of the CPA, the correct line of our Party was heavily violated and national independence and sovereignty were placed in jeopardy. This marked the culmination of the inimical activity of the Titoites and their agents, headed by Koçi Xoxe, who, by coming out with the banner of the «saviour» of the Party, put forward as a platform the anti-Marxist anti-Albanian theses of the CC of the CPY.

5 It held its proceedings on September 13-24, 1948. This Plenum, which put an end to all distortions and mistakes in the political and organizational line of the Party, marked the beginning of a thorough-going turning-point in the life of the Party and the fate of our country. It restored unity in the leadership and incomparably raised the authority of the Party.

6 At that time, Belgrade insisted that Mehmet Shehu should not be eliminated altogether, but be given the portfolio of a ministry.

Shehu hastened to proclaim himself a standard-bearer of the correct line in support of the Soviet Union and Stalin. After the letter of the CPSU(b), after the 11th Plenum, and the 1st Congress of our Party until Stalin's death (1948-1953), Mehmet Shehu spoke in public and worked in the spirit of the line of the Party, defending the Soviet Union and Stalin and exposing Tito and his clique as agents of imperialism, just as our whole Party did.

Following the death of Stalin, the team that came to power condemned Beria, the chief of the Soviet KGB, for many violations of the law. We asked Mehmet Shehu to examine whether mistakes had also been made in the organs of our Ministry of Internal Affairs, of which he was the head. Mehmet Shehu was afraid that his links with the Soviet KGB had been discovered and he might suffer the same fate as Beria. He went to the Soviet ambassador Levichkin, whom he assured of his loyalty to the new Khrushchevite team that had come to power, and sought Soviet protection, because, according to his statements, «Enver Hoxha regards me with suspicion,» and he was very disturbed about this. Levichkin advised Mehmet Shehu to come to me and make his position clear, while ensuring him that he, Levichkin, would protect him. Levichkin personally came to me, told me of Mehmet Shehu's worries and that he had advised him to come to me. Mehmet Shehu did not come for two or three weeks. At a subsequent meeting, Levichkin asked me whether I had talked with Mehmet Shehu. I replied that he had not come to me and I had no intention of summoning him, because Mehmet Shehu had to report to me and make a thorough self-criticism, since I considered it a mistake that he had gone to Levichkin without first discussing with me as General Secretary about whom he complained. Levichkin was alarmed and «ordered» Mehmet Shehu to come to me. First

he sent Fiqret Shehu to feel my pulse. She came to enquire what was wrong with Mehmet Shehu, who was «extremely worried» (as if she herself knew nothing). I told her «We have nothing against him, so you had better ask him whether he has something against us.»

In this way Mehmet Shehu was reassured that we had not made any discovery and had no suspicions about him. On Levichkin's urging, too, he came to me, made a self-criticism and, also, made a self-criticism in the Political Bureau and in the Plenum of the Central Committee, saying that he had made a serious mistake in going to the Soviet ambassador to complain about the General Secretary of the Central Committee without discussing the matter with him and without raising the problem in the leadership of the Party.

Later, something else occurred which greatly alarmed and worried Mehmet Shehu: Sokrat Bufi, a Party cadre who was studying in Moscow at that time, sent the Central Committee a letter in which, amongst other things, he said: «Mehmet Shehu is a provocateur...» Mehmet Shehu was furious about this and demanded insistently in the Secretariat and in the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, and several times to me personally, that Sokrat Bufi be arrested and condemned. We did not accept his proposal, because to condemn him simply for the fact that he had made a criticism of a party leader would be contrary to the norms of the Party. Since Sokrat Bufi was appointed vice-chairman of the executive committee of a district, the doubts of Mehmet Shehu that we had discovered some of his sins were further aroused and he continued to be on pins and needles, to live and work in great anxiety.

The coming to power of Khrushchev and the 20th Congress of the CPSU brought reconciliation between the

Soviet revisionists and the Titoites. Both parties, in collaboration and unity with one another, combined their plans and went into action to change the situation in the international communist and workers' movement, especially in the countries of people's democracy, in favour of the revisionist aims of Khrushchev and the agent of imperialism, Tito. Just as they had done in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, etc., they tried to rehabilitate their group of agents, Koçi Xoxe and company, in Albania, too, but they failed. Both the Yugoslav leadership and Suslov officially demanded the rehabilitation of Koçi Xoxe, that is, that we should return to the 2nd Plenum at Berat, admit the so-called mistakes of our Party in line and in our relations with the Yugoslavs, a demand which cannot be claimed to have been made at that time without the knowledge of the chief of the Soviet mission in Albania, Major Ivanov, the close friend of the chief of the Yugoslav mission in our country, the notorious Colonel Velimir Stojnić, who organized the deals behind the scene and the first Titoite plot in the 2nd Plenum of the Central Committee at Berat.

In the context of the feverish activity of Khrushchev and Tito after the 20th Congress, their agents in Albania, with Mehmet Shehu, Beqir Balluku, and Fiqret Shehu in the lead, in close connection with the Yugoslav and Soviet embassies in our country, organized the plot to change the course of the Party Conference of Tirana, with the old aim of overthrowing the sound leadership of the Party, rehabilitating anti-Party elements and people's enemies, Koçi Xoxe and company, of changing the line and going to the forthcoming Congress of the Party on the lines laid down for us by Khrushchev and Tito, according to the 20th Congress of the CPSU. Their aim was not only to condemn Stalin, but also those who followed his road. The group of plotters at the Tirana Conference was de-

feated. Some were expelled from the Party, some others (those who were proved to have had links with the Yugoslav embassy, because at that time we had no information concerning the Soviet embassy) were handed over to the court. However, the main culprits escaped. Mehmet Shehu and Beqir Balluku (who was a delegate of the Central Committee to the Conference retreated into the background, «condemned» the plotters, while Fiqret Shehu, who was first secretary of the Party Committee of Tirana, «vowed» that she had not the slightest warning, that everything had happened «behind her back», that she had been shut up at home preparing the report, etc. Fiqret was dismissed as first secretary and the reprimand was recorded on her registration document. At that time we knew nothing in regard to Feçor Shehu who, it now turns out, was an agent in the service of the UDB and was the liaison agent between the Yugoslav embassy and Mehmet and Fiqret Shehu. Mehmet Shehu personally maintained the direct links with the Soviet embassy, readily exploiting the good relations we had with the Soviet Union at that time.

In the situation which was created after the failure of the Khrushchevite-Titoite plot at the Tirana Conference and the resolute, open unmasking by our Party of the events in Poland, and especially those in Hungary, the UDB of Tito-Ranković ordered their secret agents Liri Gega, Dali Ndreu and Panajot Plaku to flee to Yugoslavia in order to create an opposition abroad and to fight us through their mouths. The first two were arrested attempting to cross the border, while Panajot Plaku, with the aid of Mehmet Shehu and his collaborators amongst the officers of the army and the state security, (7) crossed our state border

7 Reference here is to the enemies of the Party and the people, the former minister of defence, Beqir Balluku, and the former minister of internal affairs, Kadri Hazbiu.

and worked for some time in an allegedly clandestine radio which broadcast the old Titoite poison against our Party and country from the territory of Yugoslavia. However, seeing that they could do us no harm **from outside**, the Yugoslav revisionists planned to bring Panajot Plaku to Albania with the aim that he, together with their secret agents and other enemies, tried **from inside** to carry out the secret plots of the Yugoslav and Soviet revisionists. So, they sought Khrushchev's help, hoping that he would exercise pressure on us and influence us so that we would accept Panajot Plaku in Albania. Sensing the advantages of this course, Khrushchev was ready to collaborate with Tito, as he did over the Polish and Hungarian question, to mislead the work of the Party Conference of Tirana (1956), etc., therefore, he did not fail to intervene for a «conciliation» with the traitor. As the first step, he told us that he was considering admitting him to the Soviet Union, since Plaku himself had expressed this desire in a letter he had sent to Khrushchev.

«He is a traitor,» I told Khrushchev, «and if you accept him in your country, we shall break off our friendship with you. If you do accept him, you must hand him over to us so we can hang him in the middle of the square in Tirana.»

When the Soviet revisionists saw that they had failed in Hungary and elsewhere, and could no longer have control of the situation in the communist movement and in the socialist camp, they retreated a little from their subversive struggle in collaboration with Tito, because he was drawing them in the revisionist mire more deeply than they had thought of, they publicly supported the stands of the Party of Labour of Albania by publishing its articles, etc. Whereas Tito, on his part, in his notorious speech at

Pula launched a direct personal attack in which, more than ever before, he condemned «the cult» of Enver Hoxha and called for the overthrow of the leadership of our Party.

Precisely at these moments, instead of waging a more stern struggle against Titoism, Khrushchev and his collaborators went further down on the road of collaboration with Tito, thus proving the falsity of his «support» for our Party. Khrushchev's collaboration with the Yugoslav revisionists was obvious also in the stand they adopted towards enemy elements: Dali Ndreu, Liri Gega and Panajot Plaku. When our organs captured Dali Ndreu and Liri Gega red-handed and placed them in the dock, the Yugoslavs jumped up in rage, and so did Khrushchev. He sent an urgent radiogram to the Soviet ambassador in Tirana, Krylov, to intervene with me to ensure that the enemies and traitors were not condemned. These were precisely those days of November 1956 when, as I said above, Tito delivered his notorious speech at Pula in which, amongst other things, he called openly for the overthrow of the leadership of the PLA and for my condemnation. Khrushchev sent Krylov with two main instructions: we were not to reply sternly to Tito's speech and not to punish the captured agents who were rendering account before the people's court. We very quickly gave Khrushchev and Tito the answer: in regard to the first instruction, we published articles in the press in which we fired off all our batteries against Tito, Titoism and the speech at Pula; in regard to the second instruction, we gave the agents and traitors the punishment they deserved.

The Party of Labour of Albania continued its ideological and political struggle against Titoism persistently. In the course of this struggle we were confronted with the Khrushchevite revisionists, too, sometimes directly, sometimes

indirectly (Khrushchev's letter about his visit to Tito; refusal on our part to condemn Stalin, at a time when the others condemned him; our objection to a rapprochement with Belgrade on the plane Khrushchev wished; the open statement of our views about Tito and his group in some meetings with Khrushchev and Suslov, something which irritated them so much that Khrushchev said to me angrily: «Where do you want to lead us, on to Stalin's road?» We engaged in intensive propaganda against Yugoslav revisionism and, on the ideological plane, indirectly attacked also the views that Khrushchev and his clique were spreading; in the meeting of the communist and workers' parties in 1957 we adopted a resolute stand against Titoism as a secret agency of imperialism, which was also included in the declaration.) Our contradictions with the Soviet leadership were steadily mounting, we were heading for the confrontation of June 1960 at Bucharest.

In the summer of 1960 Liri Belishova was in Beijing with a parliamentary delegation, at the time that the meeting of the World Federation of Trade Unions was being held there. Contrary to every party rule and norm, the contradictions between the Chinese and the Soviets emerged openly at that meeting. In opposition to the stand of the leadership of our Party, which did not want to pronounce itself prematurely on these contradictions, Liri went to the Soviet embassy and reported all that the Chinese had told her. We sent Liri Belishova two letters, one to Beijing and one that reached her on the way back to Moscow, in which we criticized her for her stand in Beijing and explained the stand she must take in Moscow. However, Liri Belishova, as an agent of the Soviets, not only did not follow the advice of the leadership of the Party, but met Kozlov, talked with him, listened to him

and even handed over to the Khrushchevites our letters which, when we asked her for them, she told us she «had burnt them».

When she returned to Albania, Liri Belishova took Comrade Hysni [Kapo] aside and said to him, «Let us keep Comrade Enver out of these clashes,» but Hysni denounced Liri. She had also met Mehmet Shehu and told him, «Don't talk about Khrushchev, because everything you say reaches his ears.» Mehmet Shehu reluctantly admitted this much later, when he saw that the leadership of the Party was condemning Liri Belishova. What other pressure Liri Belishova had exerted on him is not known.

Likewise, we do not know what Kosygin said to Mehmet Shehu when he was in hospital in Moscow for treatment. Mehmet Shehu told us that Kosygin had tried to convince him that China must be condemned and this «had angered» him, so he left the hospital and returned to Albania. Now it turns out that Mehmet, together with Fiqret, had been summoned to a meeting with Mikoyan at which Andropov and, I think, also the chief of security, Shelepin, were present and talked for four hours with them.

Meanwhile, Mehmet Shehu saw that the leadership of our Party was not going to tolerate Khrushchev's plans against Marxism-Leninism and the international communist and workers' movement any longer. Our Party worked out the platform for the stand it would take at Bucharest, retaining its right to present its views at the regular meeting of all parties (in November 1960 in Moscow). At that time Mehmet Shehu was in a quandary: whom to please and whom to displease. To place himself in opposition to the leadership of the Party was of no benefit to him, because he would suffer the fate of Liri Belishova and all the other anti-Party enemies, therefore he could not follow the road which his Soviet patrons advised him.

At this time Mehmet Shehu left for New York at the head of a government delegation to the UNO. He travelled on the British trans-Atlantic luxury liner «Queen Elizabeth». We knew that Tito, also, was travelling on that ship, but it never crossed our minds that Mehmet Shehu might meet Tito. Now we learn that Harry Fultz of the American CIA and Randolph Churchill, who was a top figure of the Intelligence Service but figured on the passenger list as a journalist, were also aboard. Seeing the group which accompanied Mehmet Shehu, those who are now in jail for being members of his group (Llambi Ziçishti, Llambi Peçini, Gani Kodra and some others), it emerges that during the one-week trip Mehmet Shehu, being their agent, might very well have had and certainly did have secret meetings and talks with Tito, Fultz and R. Churchill, together or one at a time, informed them of the situation in and the stands of our Party, the acute contradictions which were arising with the Soviet Union and the stand which the leadership of our Party intended to take in Moscow.

The strategies of the three agencies, Yugoslav, American and British, were in accord and they suggested to their superagent that he should unreservedly «support» the stands of the leadership of the Party, which would lead to the great breach and rupture with the Soviet Union. They would lose nothing if we supported China. On the contrary, this «friendship» with their secret pro-American, pro-Titoite friends (such as Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping), would serve their longer-range strategic plans (to involve us in the liberal policies of China, such as it began later with the Nixon-Zhou Enlai meeting, or when Zhou Enlai urged Beqir Balluku to act relying on a Yugoslavia-Rumania-Albania alliance), etc.

Mehmet Shehu returned from the United States of America full of «courage» and became more catholic than

the Pope, was unrestrained in his «defence» of the line of our Party against the plans and stands of Khrushchev and the revisionist Soviet leadership. Indeed, he organized «scenes» in order to boost himself and thoroughly cement our trust in him. When we were at the Meeting of 81 Parties in Moscow, in November 1960, he proposed that we should leave the house in which the Soviets had placed us, because «they are capable of poisoning us.» (He was afraid rather on his own account.) When we went to the residence of our embassy in Moscow, through the secret microphones which the Soviets had planted and which we discovered, he «transmitted» to them a fiery message eulogizing our Party and its first secretary, while abusing them roundly for their disgraceful act in eavesdropping on their close friends, such as the Party of Labour of Albania and its leaders. Mehmet Shehu stubbornly opposed our return by ship via the Black Sea and organized our return by train through Austria and Italy. We agreed to these measures, because we no longer trusted the Soviets, either, but with the zeal which he displayed he strengthened our trust in him and also protected himself. Nevertheless, Mehmet Shehu could not but be worried that he might pay with his head for the «betrayal» which he was committing against his Soviet patrons as a disobedient agent.

There was no lack of some hints and needling. In my book *The Khrushchevites* I have recorded what Kosygin said to me that «there are enemies in your leadership.»* However, when I called on Mehmet Shehu to translate this to me better, Kosygin shut his mouth and said that I «had not understood him properly.» There, too, I have written about the pressure exerted on us by the Soviet militarymen who had even had an argument with Mehmet

* See Enver Hoxha, *The Khrushchevites (Memoirs)*, «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1980, p. 432, 2nd Eng. ed.

Shehu. Now another explanation can be given for why Khrushchev at our last meeting said to us: «This is how MacMillan wanted to speak to me,» at which Mehmet Shehu jumped to his feet and we broke off the meeting. Apparently when Khrushchev mentioned the Englishman MacMillan, Mehmet Shehu feared that he might open a wound which would cause him great pain.

After the Meeting of 81 Parties, Khrushchev and company tried to patch up their relations with us. This they tried to do at our 4th Congress, **(8)** with the letters they sent us, as well as through the Chinese, etc. They also tried to turn us to their course through economic and military pressures, but they failed in all directions. We maintained our immovable stand. We expelled the Soviets from the base at Vlora; they cut off their economic and military aid, even broke off diplomatic relations.

Meanwhile, our Party pursued the course of Marxism-Leninism and Mehmet Shehu «endorsed» its line, indeed, he greatly advertised his role in these situations and, of course, in the eyes of the Americans and Yugoslavs posed as if it was he that inspired this course. From the plans which they had made and the secret contacts which they maintained, the Americans and the Yugoslavs knew this, that is why all the Western secret agencies allowed their «boy» to thunder against them with such statements as «We are dancing in the wolf's mouth,» etc., etc. They accepted any abuse, provided that their agent could climb higher and higher and might put the helm of our Party and state towards the West.

⁸ The 4th Congress of the PLA carried out its proceedings from 13-20 February 1961.

The Soviets lost their patience when they saw they had failed. At first they decided to warn their agent. Therefore, in a public speech Khrushchev said: «The Albanian leadership has sold out for 30 pieces of silver.» Not long after that an Italian newspaper wrote something and finally the Soviets decided to expose their agent, who had been exposed in fact by the other rival services, as often occurs in the imperialist and revisionist jungle. The Central Committee of the CPSU sent a letter to the Central Committee of our Party, in which it accused Mehmet Shehu of being an agent of imperialism. We received this letter at a time when we were at daggers drawn with the Khrushchevites, when Mehmet Shehu posed as their ardent opponent and it never crossed our minds to have any doubts about him. We read the letter in the Political Bureau, also, in the presence of Mehmet and rejected it as a base provocation of Khrushchev and company to split us. Mehmet Shehu sighed with relief, he had got away with it.

After the suicide of Mehmet Shehu documents were found which prove that he was an agent of the Intelligence Service, too. His name and some coded pseudonyms such as BAB-008, etc., figure in these documents. From them it emerges that Mehmet Shehu had even received money for his services and the centre instructed to leave him at peace, which meant that he was one of those potential agents that are left «dormant», as they say in the language of spying agencies, so as to be used when needed.

Among these documents there is a letter addressed to the Soviet intelligence officer, Major Ivanov, immediately after Liberation, couched in many vilifying terms against the line of the Party and full of hatred for the sound cadres who defended this line, especially against the General Secretary Enver Hoxha, Hysni Kapo and others. This letter proves that Mehmet Shehu, apart from his links as a secret

agent of the Yugoslavs, had also established links with a greaterpower.(9)

(After his suicide a note was found in his safe in his own hand about his having written a letter to Ivanov.)

For the sake of publicity Mehmet Shehu zealously continued the «struggle» against the Soviet revisionists, but proceeding from other purposes and aims, quite the opposite of the lofty aims of the Party which worked for the defence of Marxism-Leninism and the supreme interests of our people and socialist Homeland.

The events of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 came about and the Party decided to denounce the Warsaw Treaty, to take our country out of this ill-famed treaty *de jure*, although *de facto* we had withdrawn from it at the end of 1960. On this occasion, Mehmet Shehu delivered the speeches as prime minister and, of course, he presented this to his patrons as his personal victory.

The American secret agency (and those linked with it, first of all, the Titoites) thought that Albania was left exposed and undefended, and since China was far away, it considered that the time had come when our country would turn its face towards the West.

In 1972 Mehmet Shehu went to Paris for an operation, accompanied by the same team that accompanied him to the UNO, plus his wife Fiqret Shehu. There he made contact with a top figure of the American CIA, who said to him: «What are you doing? You are getting old, you must act!»

Mehmet Shehu reported to him about the situation and the plots which were being prepared (by Beqir Balluku and Abdyl Këllezi and company). The CIA recommended that

9 On the orders of Harry Fultz who was the official representative of the American mission in Tirana, Mehmet Shehu, going deeper down the road of betrayal, immediately after Liberation infiltrated into the secret service of the Soviet Union.

he should act, but without compromising himself. It proposed three variants for the elimination of Enver Hoxha: 1) in a motor accident; 2) through shooting with a rifle from a distance; or 3) with delayed-action poison. It was left to Mehmet Shehu to put into action the variant he considered most feasible.

Through Feçor Shehu, Mehmet Shehu received the same instructions from the Yugoslav UDB, which was completely in agreement with the CIA.

In Paris Mehmet Shehu was also given a sophisticated radio receiver-transmitter which his eldest son, who was an electronics engineer, set up in his house, ready to function.

In fact, Mehmet Shehu had turned, or was to turn, his whole family into a nest of secret agents, a family of vipers. As we said, Fiqret Shehu had been recruited during the war by Dušan Mugoša and had the pseudonym as an agent, FISARI, without taking into account what she might have done earlier when she went to Italy on a one- or two-year course during the occupation, or what Liri Gega (and Smith [10]) might have done with her when they worked together in the 1st Army Corps. Eventually Mehmet Shehu had made his second son, Skënder, a collaborator and when he went abroad (especially when he went to study in Sweden), Mehmet Shehu charged him to establish contact with the CIA and act as a liaison agent, while activating his younger son and his wife in the direction of a foreign embassy in Tirana.

Hence, Mehmet Shehu was directed and ordered by the American CIA to work out concrete plans to overturn the situation in Albania in favour of the West, to set in motion

10 Officer of the British military mission in Albania, secret agent of the Intelligence Service, a friend of Liri Gega and Mustafa Gjinishi. During the National Liberation War he was attached to the Staff of the 1st Division of the ANLA.

and urge for this purpose the agents known or unknown to him, regardless or whether they were working for the Yugoslavs, Greeks, British, Italians and others, but avoiding compromising himself.

Thus began the implementation of the ramified conspiratorial plan organized under cover by Mehmet Shehu:

I. The hostile activity of Fadil Paçrami and his group in the field of culture, art and the radio and television service for the degeneration of the line in these fields. However, as is known, the Party quickly dealt with this group and its activity; Mehmet Shehu hastened to wash his hands of them, indeed he thundered loudly against people of art and the youth in order to realize his anti-Party aims in this way, as he had done during the war to strain the relations and the links of the Party with these strata.

II. In 1973 the group of Beqir Balluku was set in motion. It prepared the military putsch through the black theses, «the theory of slipping away,» of abandoning the coast and the cities to imperialist aggressors, the patrons of Mehmet Shehu. Beqir Balluku was completely unmasked. Even Petrit Dume and Hito Çako, who were in the plot, abandoned him. Mehmet Shehu, who was the head of the plot and pulled the strings behind the scenes (now it turns out that all these black materials had been approved by him), tried to save Petrit Dume and Hito Çako. They had great hopes that through Mehmet Shehu their «heads would be saved,» as he told them in the Plenum of the Central Committee, (11) and they did not give Mehmet Shehu away, but he could not save them from the danger for fear of damaging himself.

III. Meanwhile Mehmet Shehu, this time more directly, set in motion his henchmen, Abdyl Këllezi, Koço Theodhosi and Kiço Ngjela to carry out sabotage in the economic

11 The 5th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA which was convened from July 25-26, 1974.

field, especially in the oil industry and agriculture, to disorganize the economy of the country by beginning to work out and introduce forms of Yugoslav self-administration.

Mehmet Shehu failed in these three directions.

Throughout this period, Tito, who was following the situation attentively, thought that since he had his agent in the leadership of our Party and state, after the fall of Ranković in Yugoslavia and the exposure of the barbarities which he had perpetrated in Kosova, as well as after the situations which were created with our leaving the Warsaw Treaty, he could make some concessions in regard to Kosova and our relations with it. Kosova began to breathe a little more freely, Albanian schools were opened, the University of Prishtina was set up, cultural relations, visits to one another and other activities began. Tito and company cherished the old dream that through Kosova they could influence the liberal forces in Albania and, in this way, make possible the union of Albania with Kosova in the framework of Yugoslavia. When the leaders of Kosova told Tito: «The Albanians are fanning up nationalist sentiments and speaking against you,» he replied: «That's not your business. Let them abuse me if they want to...» Tito said this because he knew that in Albania he had Mehmet Shehu, who, after three failures, was regrouping the other conspirators, especially in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, with Feçor Shehu and some others.⁽¹²⁾ Nevertheless, Mehmet Shehu needed time to hatch up new plots.

Meanwhile Tito died. A situation of political and economic insecurity was created in Yugoslavia. The world capitalist crisis had gripped Yugoslavia, too, which was up to its ears in debt. The situation was seething in Kosova more than anywhere else on account of the Great-Serb oppres-

12 As emerged later the former minister of internal affairs, the enemy of the people and Party, Kadri Hazbiu, was the closest collaborator of Mehmet Shehu.

sion, the unemployment and the gloomy prospects for the working people who saw that in their motherland, in socialist Albania, the situation was quite different. Thus, Kosova did not serve as a bridgehead for the penetration of Titoite self-administration and ideological degeneration into Albania, but Albania showed Kosova the brilliant features of true socialism in our country. And this it did through normal, official, bilateral relations and contacts with Kosova and not through secret agents, because, first, this was not the line of our Party, and second, the Yugoslav secret agency (through Feçor Shehu) was at the head of the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Therefore, the «theses» of the Yugoslavs about the alleged interference of Albania by means of secret agents for the organization of demonstrations in Kosova have no foundation. The American and Yugoslav secret agencies began to be worried lest Kosova escape from their control, lest Albania intervene, possibly, as they thought, in collaboration with Bulgaria and the Soviet Union.

The demonstrations (**13**) that took place in Kosova alarmed the Great-Serbs and the Yugoslav UDB so much that the Titoites were forced to take draconian measures, they sent in the army and crushed the demonstrations with tanks. Hundreds of people were killed and wounded. A conflagration dangerous to the internal situation of Yugoslavia, now shaken by both economic crises and political crises, broke out. These savage repressive measures caused a great sensation in international opinion. Albania maintained an open stand, as resolute as it was wise.

Apart from the slanders that these demonstrations had allegedly been inspired by Albania, the Yugoslavs had to take immediate measures to «discredit» the «Stalinist»

13 In March-April 1981.

Albanian leadership in order to disturb and overturn the sound situation in Albania, as well as to confuse the patriotic-revolutionary forces in Kosova.

They demanded that their agent Mehmet Shehu act. The Yugoslav UDB was in collaboration with the CIA and was aware of its directives for the liquidation of Enver Hoxha. Therefore, they demanded that Mehmet Shehu send his wife urgently to Paris. The demonstrations took place in March, while she went to Paris in April 1981. There an envoy from Çalamani (the pseudonym of Dušan Mugoša who himself had died, but his mission as an agent «lived on») presented himself to her and gave her the poison which had to be administered immediately to Enver Hoxha.

Fiqret Shehu and Mehmet Shehu had racked their brains together about when, where and how they would act with the variants which the CIA had suggested to them and had found as the most feasible variant the administration of the delayed-action poison, which could be carried out when we paid each other visits. In the conditions under which I travelled, the motor accident was ruled out, while the attempt with a rifle was too sensational and with unforeseeable dangers.

The variant which the Yugoslavs gave Mehmet Shehu to act immediately and quickly found him unprepared. Mehmet Shehu was afraid, did not like being placed in a corner. Therefore, he appealed to his major patron, the American CIA. Fiqret Shehu began to visit the capitals of Europe — Vienna, Stockholm, Copenhagen. Both in Stockholm and in Denmark she met representatives of the CIA and put forward Mehmet Shehu's idea that they should not act hastily, as the Yugoslavs demanded, because they were not well prepared; the poisoning or physical liquidation of Enver Hoxha could be put off till until March 1982 (during the winter holidays), meanwhile they could

undertake some action which might cause a split in the Party and encourage the liberal element. The representative of the CIA discussed the matter with his centre and, at the second meeting, this time in Denmark, gave his approval for Mehmet Shehu's variant.

In this context Mehmet Shehu arranged the engagement of one of his sons to the daughter of a family in the circle of which there were 6 or 7 fugitive war criminals, including the notorious agent of the CIA, Arshi Pipa. Such an engagement could not fail to attract the attention of the public. And it was done precisely with the aim of attracting public attention and causing a sensation, so that if it were accepted by the Party, it would lead to splits and liberalism among others, too, in the Party, the Youth organization, etc. If it were not accepted by the Party, measures would be taken against Mehmet Shehu, not imprisonment, of course, but demotion, removal from his position, or even expulsion from the Party. This would cause a sensation and the Yugoslavs could use it, as they needed it, for their propaganda purposes to discredit the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, and especially Enver Hoxha, who, as they have repeated over and over again, is «eliminating» his collaborators as Stalin did.

However, the plans did not work out as Mehmet Shehu had intended. The Party intervened immediately, the engagement was broken off, Mehmet Shehu was criticized by the comrades for this major political mistake, he was required to make a profound self-criticism to find the sources of such an error and it was left that this would be done after the 8th Congress of the Party. He did not expect this. He tried to make «some other mistakes»: he completely neglected his report for the 8th Congress of the Party, presented it late and with flagrant political errors and the Political Bureau rejected it. Mehmet Shehu wanted to make a «self-criticism» at the Congress over the engage-

ment of his son (his aim was to cause an upset in the Congress), but it was refused, too. In the Congress he purposely sat like a «repentant sinner» and this was so obvious to the delegates and the TV viewers that they began to ask one another why.

Meanwhile, the question of Kosova was becoming dangerous. The Yugoslavs were being unmasked before international public opinion, while the authority of our country was rising. The Yugoslavs saw that nothing happened, either before the Congress or after it. Mehmet Shehu delivered the report to the Congress, he was elected to the Political Bureau and no measure was taken against him, as the Yugoslavs hoped, to demote him or to remove him from the function he had in the state. Once the Congress was over, perhaps Mehmet Shehu informed the Yugoslavs that even after the delivery of his self-criticism he was being treated just the same. From what he had understood from his talks with us the measure of sanction would be of an internal party character. This was of no benefit to the Titoites, the Great Serbs and the Yugoslav UDB, who were expecting and wanting disorder to occur in Albania at all costs. Therefore, on the eve of the meeting of the Political Bureau, at which the grave political mistake of Mehmet Shehu was to be discussed, the Yugoslav embassy in Tirana, acting on orders which it had received from Belgrade, sent its agent and contact man, Feçor Shehu, to Mehmet Shehu to transmit the «ultimatum» of the UDB that «Enver Hoxha must be killed at all costs, even in the meeting, even if Mehmet Shehu himself is killed.» So hard-pressed were the UDB, the Great-Serb and Titoite clique with the situation in Kosova, so gloomy seemed the future, that they decided to destroy their trump card, their superagent, provided only that something spectacular would occur which would «shake socialist Albania and

the Party of Labour of Albania to their foundations»!

At ten o'clock at night, on December 16, 1981, Feçor Shehu went to Mehmet Shehu's home and transmitted the order of their secret centre.

On December 17, the discussion commenced in the meeting of the Political Bureau. All the comrades, old and new, took part in the discussion and resolutely condemned Mehmet Shehu's act of engaging his son to a girl in whose family there were 6 to 7 war criminals. They expressed their dissatisfaction with Mehmet Shehu's self-criticism, demanded that he made it more profound and disclosed where the cause of such a mistake lay, asked him many questions, reminded him that he had made mistakes during the National Liberation War, also, that he had placed himself above the Party, they spoke about his unrestrained conceit and arrogance towards the cadres and towards virtually all his closest collaborators in the work of the government, the Political Bureau, etc. (On the day following the suicide, all these contributions to the discussion, which had been tape-recorded, were heard just as they were made by the whole Plenum of the Central Committee and the meetings of the party activists.)

The criticisms by the members of the Political Bureau were strong, open and bolshevik, but only «the recording of a serious reprimand on his registration document» was demanded as sanction. This was the spirit in which I, too, had prepared my contribution in which I outlined the history of Mehmet Shehu's mistakes, beginning from the period of the war (this contribution, too, was heard by the Plenum of the Central Committee and by the meetings of party activists as it would have been delivered following the contributions of other comrades.)

However, because the meeting went on late, my contribution was not delivered that day. Thus, it was left that the meeting would continue the following day, but Mehmet

Shehu was told to reflect deeply all night because «his excuse for the engagement did not hold water.»

What I said alarmed Mehmet Shehu, he suspected that the crime which he was preparing might have been discovered. The «bold» Mehmet Shehu thought all night about how to escape from the tight spot and worked out and applied a plan of his own. Apparently, he judged matters in this way: «I am as good as dead, the best thing is to save what I can,» and he decided to act like his friend Nako Spiru, to kill himself, thinking the Party would bury this «statesman», this «legendary leader», this «partisan and fighter in Spain» with honours, would not sully his reputation, but would say that «the gun went off accidentally» (as he suggested in the letter which he left), and thus, at least, he would not lose his past and his family would not suffer.

Together with his wife he flushed the poison down the WC and charged his eldest son with dismantling and removing the compromising parts of the radio which he had installed for him. (He had kept some of these at his home as he was not arrested.) According to the information given by the enemy Fiqret Shehu about the existence of the radio, the eldest son was called up by the investigation organs and he admitted it, but when he was allowed to go home to hand over the parts of the radio, which he had hidden, he committed suicide, so as not to reveal everything he knew and had done (at a time when his criminal mother had given all the information).

Fiqret Shehu, as the agent she was (she who trembled and wept over nothing, agreed to the suicide of her husband coolly and cynically, provided only that their «historic» past and she and her sons were saved.

However, they had reckoned without the host. As soon as they informed me about Mehmet Shehu's final act, within moments I proposed that his suicide should be

condemned, that he had acted as an enemy, and the Political Bureau expressed its unanimous condemnation of the act of this enemy. Not only the leadership and the Party, but our whole people considered this a hostile act and maintained a revolutionary stand. The Party and people continued with enthusiasm, indeed, with greater determination and unity, the work for the implementation of the decisions of the 8th Congress of the Party.

The UDB and the CIA were left biting their fingers, the KGB rubbed its hands in delight. The foreign news agencies related the fact as we had given it, that Mehmet Shehu «committed suicide in a crisis of nervous breakdown.» Here and there some comment secretly paid for by the Yugoslavs was made. However, even the Yugoslavs were unable to exploit this act in their official press, apart from charging a students' newspaper in Zagreb to write about the «drama» which had occurred at the meeting of the Albanian leadership (according to the version which the UDB had planned). According to this newspaper, «... Mehmet Shehu fired some shots with a Chinese revolver of this or that calibre(!), but Enver Hoxha's comrades killed him. The fate of Enver Hoxha is not known...»

A scenario modelled on westerns with gunfights which occurred in the saloons at the time! But what could they do? This is what they wanted! But their agent was buried like a dog, or better to say that their trump card, the super-agent of the CIA and the UDB in Albania was thrown away(14) for nothing.

14 The dangerous plot of Mehmet Shehu, like the previous plots and groups of conspirators, was discovered by the forces and the vigilance of the Party and its leadership with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, and not by the state security, which was headed by active secret agents, mainly of the Yugoslav UDB, such as Koçi Xoxe, Mehmet Shehu, Kadri Hazbiu and Feçor Shehu who for nearly four decades withheld from the Party information about the secret activities carried out by

Albania has always supported Kosova and the population of other Albanian regions of Yugoslavia in their legitimate rights, but Kosova, all the Albanians who rose in demonstrations, do not realize what colossal assistance they gave Albania by forcing the Yugoslav UDB to play its trump card and destroy its last «great hope» of overthrowing the Marxist-Leninist leadership in Albania, which had continually unmasked and was relentlessly unmasking the Titoite betrayal, self-administration, non-alignment, this filthy agency of American and British imperialism, of international reaction, of social-democracy and whoever else you like.

Together with Mehmet Shehu, the agencies of the imperialists, social-imperialists and others, like the Yugoslav UDB, received a blow which they will feel for a long time. The big main tumour was removed, the sound body of the Party was thoroughly cleansed. However, the Party knows that small microbes that remain may infect separate cells, new microbes may form in its sound body.

Therefore, we must never lower our vigilance. We need to be vigilant and to work to realize the plans, to continually raise the well-being of the masses, to further strengthen the unity of the Party and the people around it, to strengthen the defence of the Homeland, we need untiring work and vigilance, always vigilance, to defend the victories achieved through so much blood and sacrifices, the freedom, independence, the victories of socialism.

We must not forget that the enemy does not sleep, we must not forget that these victories which we have scored have been achieved on the basis of a correct Marxist-Lenin-

each of them in succession, thus covering up their dirty crimes which they committed against our country and people. The discovery and defeat of this plot was a shattering blow which destroyed the diabolic plans of the imperialists and revisionists against socialist Albania.

ist line, loyalty to the ideals of socialism and communism, the pursuing of the line of our great classics, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on the class struggle within the country and in the ranks of the Party, as well as against the external enemies, the imperialists and social-imperialists, world reaction and their secret agencies.

The call of the Party has been and remains:

«Work and vigilance» for the benefit of the people and the future of the new generations!

Long live the Party!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

«Always Vigilant», vol. 2

WORK AND VIGILANCE TO MAKE THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER EVER STRONGER

Address to the electors (1)

November 10, 1982

Dear comrade electors,

I am very happy to be here among you, the dear people of our beloved capital, and to thank you for the great honour you have done me by appointing me as your candidate for deputy to the People's Assembly. The trust you have placed in me belongs to our glorious Party which brought these happy days we enjoy today and which is guiding us, with a clear mind and a sure hand, towards an even finer and more beautiful future. The Party taught us, its sons and daughters, how to fight and how to work for the freedom and the independence of the Homeland. It was the Party which made us conscious fighters for the cause of the working class, which gave us the ideas and the strength to serve the cause of the construction of socialism in Albania.

Therefore, at these solemn moments, when we are preparing to vote for the renewal of the People's Assembly, as at every other moment, our finest thoughts, our feelings

1 Delivered in the electoral zone No. 210 of Tirana.

of profound love and gratitude are for the Party, for its correct line, for its unshaken loyalty to Marxism-Leninism.

For almost four decades we have been living and working as free people in our Homeland. Looking back over the road we have traversed, all of us feel great joy over the successes achieved and legitimate pride in the toil and efforts of our people. This period will go down in history as the period when the vitality and vigour of our people, their militant spirit and persistence in work, their great thirst for learning and their progressive spirit were displayed in all their strength. These were the lofty virtues, which the Party knew how to bring to light and to transform into a great motive force, that made possible the rapid and successful accomplishment of all those great socio-economic transformations which we have seen in our lifetime. It was the freedom-loving and revolutionary character of our people, the lessons they had drawn from the bitter past, when Albania was ruled and oppressed by foreigners, which impelled them to unite firmly around the Party and, under its leadership, to fight and emerge victorious over the plots and interference of the imperialists, and the betrayal by the modern revisionists — Yugoslav, Soviet and Chinese.

The elections to the People's Assembly are an occasion for us all, for the entire people, to meet and talk, to sum up the work accomplished and to examine the tasks awaiting us

The new elections find Albania confident of its destiny, a country which stands firmly on its own feet, which has a clear perspective and a guaranteed future. The Albanian people have never been so united in their interests, in their political and ideological views, their moral norms and social behaviour, as they are today. This steel unity, tempered by the Party in the heroic battles for the liberation of the Homeland and for the great socialist transformations, is

the firm and unbreakable foundation on which the people's state power, the freedom and independence of the Homeland are based. This unity constitutes that great monolithic force which has withstood savage enemies and defeated their intrigues and plots.

Against this unity of the Party and people Mehmet Shehu, too, one of the most dangerous traitors and enemies of socialist Albania, broke his head. He had been criticized many times by the Party for his grave mistakes, but had managed to camouflage himself. The documents that have been discovered and incontestible evidence prove that since before the War he had been working for the American secret service. During the War and after Liberation Mehmet Shehu fought and worked in Albania as a mercenary in the pay of foreigners and under their orders. When he was in the 1st Brigade he was recruited by the Yugoslav secret service (OZNA, today the UDB) and then, by the Soviet KGB, and he served them all zealously. Acting on the orders and instructions of foreign espionage centres, especially the CIA and the UDB, he and the group of plotters linked with him, who are now in the hands of the authorities for full investigation, worked to destroy the Party and the people's state power and to put Albania under foreign rule.

In order to carry through the subversive, gangster plans worked out by their patrons in Washington, Belgrade and elsewhere, Mehmet Shehu and his associates were prepared to commit grave crimes. Mehmet Shehu had received orders from the Yugoslav UDB to kill the First Secretary of the Central Committee and other leaders of the Party and state, as well as to use terrorist means to crush all those who would rise against this great treachery. If they were unable to act to carry out their criminal intentions, this was connected with their great fear of the people and the Party and their steel unity, which does not allow

any enemy, however cunning and diabolical, to have his way. Mehmet Shehu was never able to alter or distort the line of the Party, because if he tried to do so he would be immediately unmasked.

Caught between two fires — the order of the UDB, which was driven to desperation as it lost ground in Kosovo, and his fear of the unity of the Party and the people, Mehmet Shehu could see no alternative but the shameful course of suicide.

The great unity of our people has its source in the correct line of the Party which has always embodied and expressed the historical demands of the masses. The people dreamed of living free and independent in their own country, of eliminating exploitation and social oppression, of overcoming the age-old backwardness. They demanded the all-round emancipation of Albanian society, the liberation of all the creative forces, the free development of the capacities and talents suppressed by the regimes of the past. They wanted to be masters of their own country and equal in their relations with other nations.

Under the leadership of the Party, our people have realized these aspirations completely. They are a living reality, which we see, touch and experience every day. Socialist Albania is a completely free and independent country and state which is indebted to nobody for anything. The tutelage and dictate, interference and debts, from which many countries, not only small ones, but also big ones suffer, are alien and unacceptable to Albania. Never before has Albania enjoyed an international position stronger than it has today.

Within a relatively very short time, Albania has been transformed from a poor and starving country into one full of factories and combines, mines and hydro-power stations, with drained and irrigated fields, with schools and scientific institutions. Our people are enlightened politically

and ideologically, educated and cultured, able to accomplish any work which is needed for the progress and the defence of the Homeland with their own forces. In our country a revolutionary and patriotic younger generation is growing up, an all-round educated generation which will certainly carry the torch of the revolution ever further forward and raise the glory of our socialist Homeland higher and higher.

Our people have been able to achieve these brilliant results, have advanced and are advancing, because both in their economic development and in all other fields they have relied entirely on their own forces, because our Party, in all its activity, has applied the principles of Marxism-Leninism faithfully and in a creative manner. In Albania Marxism-Leninism has given a great proof of its power to revolutionize and transform, when it is implemented correctly and consistently.

Today old and young among us see with their own eyes and feel in their hearts the justice of the people's state power, the indisputable superiority and the vitality of our socialist social order.

With the toil, sweat and creative talent of our people, relying on our own natural and financial resources, an entirely new, powerful multi-branched modern industry has been created over the whole territory of the country.

It is with legitimate pride that we see such gigantic works as the metallurgical combine and the unified power system with the hydro-power stations on the Drin River, the oil wells and the plants for the deep processing of oil, the chemical plants and textile combines, the tens of mines, combines and factories for processing metals and many other majestic projects.

With our industrial products we now fulfil the essential needs of the people for a consumption which is ceaselessly expanding, the needs of the economy which is developing

vigorously, and the requirements for strengthening the defence capacity of the Homeland. Industry has now become the main source of socialist accumulation and export income. It is a factor of prime importance in our complete self-reliance.

It is a merit of our Party that it linked the setting up and development of industry closely with the development of agriculture and the advance of the countryside on the road of socialism. Adhering to the line defined by the Party, our socialist agriculture has been ceaselessly strengthened and is advancing resolutely on the road of intensification and securing high yields. The drained, flood-protected and irrigated plains, the hills and mountain sides turned into grain producing land and plantations of fruit trees, the creation of a complex irrigation system, the increase in livestock numbers and the modernization of animal husbandry, the setting up of an extensive park of agricultural machinery — these are some of the achievements which have radically changed the picture of our agriculture.

Further evidence of the strength of our socialist agriculture and its advance is the fact that, despite the exceptionally severe drought of this year, more wheat and maize was produced than in any other year of the post-Liberation period. Our agriculture has now made the people's food supplies independent of imports, ensures the raw materials for the light and food industry and provides important sources of accumulation and foreign currency. Our socialist countryside is populated and flourishing, its way of life is becoming more and more like that of the city.

An extensive transport system has been set up with hundreds of kilometres of railway, with a large park of motor-vehicles and with a merchant fleet which is steadily growing stronger. This system has strengthened the unified character of the economy and greatly invigorated the economic and social life of the country.

The development of the economy, the progress in material, intellectual and spiritual life, have been accompanied and supported by a real revolution in the field of education and culture, the training of cadres, and science and technique. Our people, guided by the Party, have never separated their work and activity from the great question of making the socialist victories secure and strengthening the defence capacity of our beloved Homeland.

Four years ago, on the eve of elections for the last legislature we publicly denounced the betrayal of the Chinese revisionists and their anti-Albanian activity. The enemies hoped that socialist Albania would be forced to its knees and appeal for foreign aid. But they were proven wrong in their calculations. Some neutral people also thought that we could not manage without foreign aid and credits.

Time proved that Albania neither bowed its head nor fell on its knees, but forged ahead proudly, relying on its own forces, without aid from anyone, and moreover, advanced more rapidly and further. But the facts speak more eloquently about this.

During the past four years tens of industrial, agricultural, transport and socio-cultural projects were completed and began to function. The coming into production of the «Light of the Party» hydro-power station at Fierza, the second blast furnace, the coking battery and the refractory materials plant at the «Steel of the Party» metallurgical combine, the ferro-chrome plant in Burrel, the copper smelting plant at Laç, the Laç-Shkodra railway, the doubling of the capacity of the sugar combine at Maliq, the building of eight large irrigation reservoirs such as those at Gjanç in Korça, Tapiza in Tirana, Izvor in Tepelena, etc., the construction of the Museum of National History and more than 53 thousand apartments and houses,

accommodating over 250 thousand people in towns and villages, belong to the period of the last legislature.

During the past four years alone, about 160 thousand people entered employment, mainly in production, thus all the new work force was activated. The stability of our finances has been strengthened, enabling nearly 40 per cent of the funds of the state budget to be utilized for the improvement of the living conditions of the working people, for the development of education and the health service, for the extension of the system of social security and pensions, and for other needs of the community. In socialist Albania there is no unemployment, no inflation, no taxes or levies on the population. House rents are very low.

The new reduction in prices(2) for a series of consumer goods and for communal services is another manifestation of the care of the Party for the well-being of the people, of the strength of the economy and the development of the economic and social processes in our socialist country on the right road.

The results we have achieved are even more outstanding if we bear in mind that in all the capitalist and revisionist countries there is a great depression in the economy, declining production, unemployment, price rises, great inflation and falling standard of living.

In essence, the present world economic crisis is like all the other previous economic crises. As Marx has explained and history confirmed, they are unavoidable phenomena of the capitalist system. What is new in the present crisis is that it has demonstrated the bankruptcy of the bourgeois

2 Reference here is to the reduction of prices for some retail goods of mass consumption with an annual profit of 75 million leks and 135 different tariffs on repairs and services as against 8-15 per cent in June 1982.

As a result of the successive reductions of prices for goods and services, the population in Albania profited about 4 billion leks a year.

and revisionist theories and practices designed to avoid them. It has been confirmed in practice that the stimulation of production through the artificial increase of internal consumption, by turning all the people into debtors to monopolies, is fraught with catastrophic consequences for the entire country. The vainglorious boasts about raising the standard of living through loans, as in Yugoslavia, where people are obliged to spend this winter without heating and with great shortages of consumer goods of prime necessity, have fallen flat.

Likewise, basing economic development on foreign loans, which was trumpeted for a time, both in the West and in the East, as the road to the salvation of mankind, has turned out to be a strategy for the enslavement of the poor and weak countries by imperialism and the big industrialized powers.

Great progress has been made in the field of education and culture, technique and science. The great care which the Party has displayed for these sectors and the efforts which the people's power has made for their development have yielded splendid results. Our educational system is one of the most progressive, one of the most democratic and popular in the world. Wherever they are, our children have been provided with the possibility to attend the 8-year schools. Secondary schools have been extended to the countryside where they attract more and more an extremely large and ever increasing number of pupils. Many possibilities have been created everywhere for people to attend secondary and higher education, part time.

Creative literary and artistic work, sound in content and varied in form, enriches the spiritual life of our people. Literature, music, figurative arts, films, the theatre, television, etc., guided by the Party, carry out great political, ideological and educational work and play an important role in the formation of the socialist traits in the character

of our people, in implanting the norms of communist morality.

The Party has given special care to the assimilation and development of science and technique in our country. Despite the limited tradition in these sectors, this care of the Party has enabled our people, talented and thirsting for knowledge, to learn and competently apply the complicated techniques which the rapid development of the modern economy and other sectors requires. The setting up of a considerable number of specialized institutes for scientific studies, the creation of technological bureaus, many study groups, etc., testify to the expansion which scientific work has assumed in our country, as well as to the need the economy and the entire society have for it. At the same time, the Party has always worked to ensure that scientific studies and methods in production, organization, management and everywhere else become an integral part of the daily practice of our people.

Vivid evidence of the strength of the people's state power and the vitality of our social order can be seen in the great changes in the capital of our dear Homeland. During these years Tirana has been completely transformed. Its population is over 8 times greater than that of the period before Liberation, and more than 80 per cent of this population lives in new dwellings. The secondary school pupils alone outnumber the total population of the city of Tirana before the war. Today the 70 thousand workers who work and create in the capital ensure one fifth of the industrial production of the country. All our cities and villages have been transformed in the same way as Tirana.

With the perspectives that the 8th Congress of the Party has opened, a still happier and more prosperous future awaits our people. The new legislature of the People's Assembly coincides in time with the implementation of the 7th Five-year Plan. We have all the human, material

and financial resources to forge resolutely ahead and to achieve still greater results in all fields during this period. And without doubt, through our work and efforts, we shall succeed in having more oil and minerals, more steel, electric power, bread grain, and other agricultural and livestock products, more and better quality industrial goods for mass consumption.

Our economy will grow still stronger, the development of the productive forces will be carried further forward. Hundreds of important economic and socio-cultural projects will be built. Such major projects as the Koman hydro-power station, the plant for lubricating oils and the plant for the production of nickel and metallic cobalt will be added to industry. The production of the ferro-chrome metallurgical plant will be doubled, a number of factories for the enrichment of minerals and the processing of agricultural and livestock products will be built, the textile combines and knitwear plants will be extended and reconstructed, etc.

Work will begin also on the construction of many important projects of ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, hydro-power, building materials, etc. In this way, industry will be further strengthened and play its decisive role in the all-round advance of the country even better.

The course of the intensification of agriculture, placing it on a more scientific basis, will be adopted more extensively, opening up great prospects for the increase of agricultural and livestock production, for the further development of socialist life in the countryside and for strengthening the independence of the country. Priority will be given to intensification of production in an extensive low-land zone. Big investments will be made for land development, irrigation, mechanization, the increase and improvement of plantations of pip, stone and citrus fruit and olive trees.

As you know, on the basis of the 7th Five-year Plan and the last Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, an entire program will be implemented for the further strengthening of our transport, giving priority to railway transport which has already been extended in the main directions of the movement of goods and passengers.

The attainment of the objectives for the development of production will guarantee and raise still higher the well-being of the people, both in town and countryside. The supply of the market with industrial goods and foodstuffs will be improved ceaselessly, the structure of the food consumed by the people will be improved, important investments will be made for housing, and a number of other measures, intended for the further improvement of the well-being of the people in all aspects of life, will be taken.

The educational and cultural development of the working people and the protection and strengthening of their health will, as always, be in the centre of the attention of our Party and socialist state. New steps will also be taken in the various sectors of culture, to ensure that their work is extended deep among the masses and serves their all-round education better.

At all times and in every situation the Party and the people's state power have devoted the greatest attention to the defence of the Homeland. Today our country has a powerful defence capacity which guarantees the freedom and independence won at the cost of so much blood and sacrifices, and the peaceful work of our people. It is our duty to steel this defence more and more so that we are always in a state of complete readiness to defeat any enemy who may attempt to violate our territorial integrity and national sovereignty.

The unity of our people is as strong as steel. Our internal situation is healthy. The Decree of the Presidium

of the People's Assembly, which will be proclaimed tomorrow, under which many prisoners convicted of various offences are pardoned or their sentences reduced, confirms this.

The elections to the People's Assembly have always been a manifestation of our socialist democracy, of the popular character of our state. All our people have gone to the polls enthusiastically every time and all of them have voted for the candidates of the Democratic Front, because they have been conscious and convinced that in this way they express their love for the Party and loyalty to its line, their unanimous support for the people's state power, their condemnation of the enemies, external and internal, their determination to march boldly and proudly on the brilliant road of socialism.

This is what has happened in the past. This is what will happen in these elections. Participation in the elections and voting for the candidates of the Democratic Front is an expression of political and ideological maturity, of class and patriotic consciousness, of responsibility for the fate of the country.

Dear comrades,

We are living in a very tense international situation, full of great threats and dangers to the freedom and independence of the peoples, peace and international security. This situation is the result of the intensification of the aggressive policy and activities of the imperialist superpowers and the revival of various reactionary, fascist and war-mongering forces.

Both in the United States of America and in the Soviet Union, an adventurous militarist course is becoming predominant in their foreign policy, a strategy of direct milit-

ary intervention as a means to secure expansion and their political and economic hegemony in the world is being implemented. Now the superpowers have made not only the peoples and countries, which have been outside the zones of their domination, but also their closest partners in the military alliances and economic blocs, the objectives of this general offensive.

In these situations, the peoples, of course, are not sitting idle. The revolutionary, patriotic, democratic and peace-loving forces everywhere in the world are putting up open and determined resistance to the inhuman aggressive policy of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. In Afghanistan, in the Middle East, in Salvador, etc., armed struggle is being waged to regain the violated freedom and the lost independence. The Iranian people are making great efforts to defend their revolution from the threats and blackmail of the two superpowers. In all the capitalist countries without exception the resistance of the working class to defend their democratic rights and their right to work won in long class battles has extended greatly. The struggle of many countries for national sovereignty over their raw materials and for independent development is being waged at a higher level and in broader proportions.

These struggles and efforts also constitute those main factors which hit the world capitalist and imperialist system, which cause the crises in the capitalist alliances and exacerbate the interimperialist contradictions, which restrain and hinder imperialism in the realization of its enslaving and war-mongering plans.

Our Party and Government, as always, attentively follow the various processes which take place in the world and draw the respective conclusions about the stands they should adopt towards them, stands which must respond to the needs of the defence and security of our state and country. We are aware that the situations in the world

never stand still and immovable. They are always changing and evolving for better or for worse, according to the ratio of the class forces in the world, the development of the various contradictions, crises, etc.

Now we see that, as a result of the hegemonic policy and brutal intervention of the United States of America and the Soviet Union, new tensions and conflicts are being created in Europe, the Mediterranean, the Middle East, and the Balkans, directly threatening the peace and security of many countries of these regions.

The countries of Western and Eastern Europe are in the iron grip of the two superpowers which now not only want to grab their wealth, but also to squeeze the life out of them. Quite rightly, the broad popular masses in many countries have risen in protests and demonstrations against the stationing of American and Soviet atomic weapons and are insistently demanding their removal from our old continent. The masses are aware that by putting these countries under their atomic umbrellas, the superpowers want to keep them in perpetual political and economic subjection and to make the whole of Europe cannon fodder for the Americans and the Soviets.

Regardless of what justifications may be put up, the dispatch of military units from some European countries to Lebanon, along with those of the United States, constitutes a very dangerous precedent for direct military intervention in the internal affairs of independent countries. In a way, this action is a return to the old policy of the European Great Powers which, under the pretext of «putting down unrest» and «restoring order», sent their troops to various countries in order to establish their domination there.

The opinion of our Party is that the strengthening of peace and security in Europe, in the Mediterranean or in the Middle East, the development and prosperity of the European countries, the protection of their culture, tradi-

tions and civilization are achieved and consolidated by opposing the hegemonic policy of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, by giving them no possibility whatsoever of exploiting their political, economic and other links with these countries in order to attack other countries, to jeopardize the freedom and independence of the peoples, peace and international security.

Neither the Atlantic Pact, the Warsaw Treaty, the military bases established in various countries, nor the superpowers' atomic weapons guarantee the defence of the European countries, their free and independent development, their sovereignty and territorial integrity. They are secured by breaking up these pacts and by sending the American and Soviet soldiers back to their homes, by breaking and smashing the political, economic and military chains, with which Washington and Moscow have bound Europe.

Such a thing should be done in the Balkans, too, where, taking advantage of the difficult situations created in some country, the superpowers have begun to move, to exert various pressures and demand new concessions in their favour. The provision of military bases and different facilities for the United States and the Soviet Union threatens the peace and security of the Balkans and so does sinking deep into debt to the superpowers, which entails many dangers, not only for the independence of the debtor country, but also for its neighbours. It is known that, when you have mortgaged your title deeds and cannot pay up, the day comes when the creditor seizes not only your home, but also the ground on which it is built.

The Balkan peoples have suffered enough in the past and do not want the map of their peninsula to be changed in favour of this or that superpower. Therefore, the Balkan states should not permit the imperialist powers to enter the Balkans on any occasion or in any way, to disturb the peace and security of their countries.

The present situation in the Middle East has become very disturbing. The new Israeli aggression against Lebanon, organized, financed and incited by the American imperialists, has created direct threats and dangers, not only for the peoples of the surrounding zone, but also for those of a much wider area.

Taking advantage of the great American aid and the divisions amongst the Arab peoples, Israel has extended its range of provocations and wants to destroy, one after the other, all those countries which do not accept the grabbing of Arab territories and genocide imposed on the long-suffering Palestinian people.

The expansionist policy and activity of Israel at the expense of the Arabs is also incited and favoured by the policy of the Soviet Union, its behind-the-scenes deals and plots to the detriment of the Arab peoples.

After Camp David, Israel attacked Lebanon. Now it is demanding the submission of Jordan and is threatening Syria with war. Whose turn will it be tomorrow — Iraq's, Saudi Arabia's or Iran's? The American and Israeli staffs are thinking about and working for this. But will the brave Arab peoples allow Israel and its American bosses to do whatever they please to their detriment? Will they remain divided as they are so that Israel and American imperialism defeat and crush them one by one, as they are doing?

We believe that this will not happen. The Arab peoples are freedom-loving peoples with very ancient fighting traditions, peoples that have given mankind a whole civilization. They will certainly find the strength to unite and stop the Zionist aggressors from grabbing the Arab lands and exterminating the people who inhabit them. However protracted the struggle, however great the difficulties and however many the sacrifices required of them, victory will be theirs. Right is on their side, the whole

of progressive mankind is with them. Our people have always stood beside the fraternal Arab peoples, the heroic Palestinian people and supported their just cause. In the future, too, the just struggle of the Arabs and Palestinians will have the full and unreserved support of the Albanian people.

Recently, especially since Reagan came into office, there has been a noticeable increase both of American interference and Soviet intrigues in Latin America. The peoples of Latin America are responding to this attack by increasing their resistance to enslaving imperialist plans. The Albanian people have supported and continue to support this struggle of the Latin-American peoples, and this was expressed in the case of the conflict over the Malvinas, in which we supported the undeniable rights of the Argentinian people.

The struggle of our people for the construction of socialism, for the defence of freedom and independence is in favour of and an active support for the struggle the peoples are waging against imperialism and reaction. At the same time, we consider the struggle of the peoples for freedom and independence as our own struggle, as a great support for our cause.

Comrades,

At the 8th Congress of the Party the principles from which the foreign policy of our country proceeds, and our stand towards the major current international problems, as well as towards individual countries and the different political forces and movements in the world were clearly defined and expressed. Today, as in the past, this policy has the complete backing of our people, because it expresses their thoughts and desires, because it defends the supreme interests of the Homeland.

Our people support this policy because it is an entirely independent policy which is not inhibited by any external influence of whatever nature. The voice of Albania in international relations is her voice alone. And this is an additional reason why it is listened to, respected and taken into account.

Our stands are known. We have said and continue to say that we will have no rapprochement or reconciliation with either American imperialism or Soviet social-imperialism which to us and all the peoples are the greatest enemies. We will resolutely oppose their aims of hegemony and relentlessly expose their aggressive plans. Our opinion is and life has proved that our struggle and irreconcilable stand against American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism constitute an essential condition for the preservation of the freedom and independence of the Homeland, for progress on our socialist road.

With the other countries, such as France, the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, Belgium, the Netherlands, etc., regardless of their social systems, we are for normal relations on the basis of non-interference, equality and mutual interest. We want these relations to serve the economic, cultural and social development of both sides, the strengthening of friendship between peoples and sovereign states and, at the same time, the interests of the preservation and strengthening of peace in the world.

Our country has been and is for the development of international trade, which it considers a useful and necessary means for every country. However, we demand from all our partners in trade that it should be based only on mutual benefit and complete equality, that it should be free of any pressure and discrimination. Moreover, we do not permit trade relations to be utilized as a means to interfere in our internal affairs or to impose alien political and ideological concepts on us. To us trade means

trade, that is, the free and balanced exchange of goods, and we never confuse it with the acceptance of credits, which is quite another matter.

Socialist Albania, our people, very highly esteem the progressive achievements of every country in culture, science and technology, all values which serve the development and advance of mankind. Hence, we are for normal cultural exchanges with other countries, for mutual recognition of progressive and democratic achievements in this field, without discrimination or prejudice.

As is natural, our country devotes particular attention to its relations with the neighbouring countries. What has inspired and inspires its stand is the desire to live together as good neighbours, always to have useful relations and to build normal collaboration on the basis of the principles of complete equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of others, respect for national sovereignty and non-violation of territorial integrity, and exchanges on the basis of mutual interest.

We have good relations with the Italian people and we do not confuse them with Mussolini's fascists who spread death and destruction in our country. In my wartime notes I read with pleasure the words that General Azzi, who, after the capitulation of Mussolini's army, confidently surrendered his whole army to the General Staff of our partisan army and the Albanian people, said to me when we met in the village of Arbana, in the vicinity of Tirana, «We are grateful to the Albanian people and partisans who saved and sheltered thousands of my soldiers, sons of the Italian people. I personally and the Italian people will not forget this generosity. I will be a friend of the Albanian people till I die,» continued General Azzi. And he remained a friend until he died.

The regimes of our countries are opposed to each other, we have our laws and way of life, and the Italians have

theirs. Nevertheless, we have normal trade and cultural relations with Italy, which we are ready to extend on the basis of mutual benefit and without interfering in each other's internal affairs. If any Italian government considers these relations of no interest, it may do whatever it likes, this will not affect us much. Nevertheless, we think differently — that these relations are useful to both sides. Ours is not an isolated and closed country, we have things to sell to Italy and things to buy from it for hard cash, as we have with many other countries.

A glorious Arbëreshi community also links us with the Italian people. Neither we nor the Italians should forget Garibaldi's fine words and high esteem for the Albanians and the Arbëreshi.

For five centuries the Arbëreshi have been living in Calabria and Sicily. This community has given Italy and Albania outstanding people. While living in friendship with the Italian people, the Arbëreshi have preserved their Albanian customs and language through the centuries. This community, which draws us closer to the Italian people, is a factor for friendship.

The Albanian people and the Turkish people have a great love for each other. We make «diplomatic love» with nobody. This is not the custom of the Albanian but, when we pledge our word, we keep it and do not turn whichever way the wind blows. We condemn those who violate our friendship or misuse our trust. The great and sincere friendship that links us with the fraternal Turkish people has never been shaken. The different forms of regime have never shaken this friendship, because it is based on the fine sentiments of our peoples, it is based on those links of fraternity and blood relations with hundreds of thousands of Albanians who live, work, are married and have children, who die and are buried in a common soil with the Turks.

We honour and respect the great leader of the Turkish people, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who, as an outstanding democrat, destroyed the Ottoman Empire and the Caliphate and set up the new democratic Turkey. Let all the pseudo-democrats and pseudo-socialists who oppress the peoples, who trample on their rights and keep colonialism alive, sugar-coated with pompous words, follow the example of Kemal Atatürk who cut the «Gordian knot» of the Ottoman Empire with his sword. It is our desire that our friendship with the fraternal Turkish people should be continuously strengthened and developed further in every field.

We love and respect the Greek people, because they nurture the same feelings of friendship towards the Albanian people. We are sincere with each other. Neither wishes the other ill, but only well. These are historical links cemented with the blood shed together against the same occupiers. We do not confuse the feelings of the Greek people with those of the chauvinists.

We shall develop our relations of friendship with the Greek people further. The Greek people call the Albanian heroes of the Greek revolution of 1821 who fought under the command of Ypsilantis, «*Arvanites penemeni*» and «*palicaria Arvanites*»*. Capo d'Istria and the Russian czars, the Serbian kraljs and the Moldavian voivodes betrayed the Greek revolution, but the Albanians, with Marko Boçari at the head, with Ali Pasha Tepelena and the Çaparajs, remained loyal to it to the death.

The Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Greek governments — right-wing, new democratic or socialist, have always considered the friendship between the Albanian people and the Greek people as a pressing political necessity. Regrettably, however, for

* Famous Albanians and brave Albanians (Greek in the original).

the past 40 years, without any reason, the so-called «law on the state of war with Albania», an absurd law without any basis, which is condemned both by the Albanian and the Greek peoples, as well as by world opinion, has been maintained in Greece. Every reasonable and realistic person in Greece understands that such a law hampers the shortening of ways for an even more friendly development in the direction of Arta, Preveza, and Ioannina as well as the whole of Greece.

It was not in my intention to speak today about our relations with Yugoslavia, because we have expressed the stand of our state towards that country a thousand times and we stand by what we have said. However, I am obliged to speak about them, because the Belgrade chiefs not only have turned a deaf ear to what our Party and Government have pointed out, but have built up a whole campaign of slanders and attacks against socialist Albania and its policy which is as clear as the light of day, with all their propaganda and diplomatic means. For at least 40 years on end, not to go further back, the Belgrade chiefs have incited the southern Slavs, and especially the Serbs, to live in constant enmity with the Albanians inhabiting their own territories in Yugoslavia, as well as with independent socialist Albania. This hostility towards the Albanians, this savage chauvinism and contempt towards them, this unrestrained tendency and appetite to annex Albania is something atavistic in them. What makes the issue still more dangerous is that the other southern Slav peoples lack the courage to stop this wave of savagery.

In the time of the National Liberation War we sincerely loved the Yugoslavs, and respected and honoured Tito more than he deserved. We sent large partisan units which fought side by side with the Yugoslav and Kosova Albanian partisan units in Southern and Central Yugoslavia. Hundreds and hundreds of heroic sons and daughters of

Albania were killed or wounded for the liberation of Yugoslavia, but now a Serbian dog called Sinan Hasani, comes out and dares to insult the blood they shed. He even goes to such lengths as to claim that the Yugoslavs formed our Party, they organized the Albanian National Liberation War and gave Albania everything. But let the dog bark, that is what he is paid for.

Both in the past and right up to this moment when I am speaking to you, Tito and company have always rejected our hand of friendship and done everything in their power to cut it off. Openly or through their secret agents, for forty years on end Tito and his successors have constantly hatched up plots to destroy socialist Albania, to wreck our Party, to physically liquidate some of its main leaders. This they tried to do through their longstanding agent, the traitor Mehmet Shehu, too. But all their plots failed and they will always fail.

In the past the Serbian Kralj. Karadjordjević, together with Wrangel's Great-Russian bands, brought to Albania his agent — the bandit Ahmet Zog, who, as a great traitor to the Homeland, gave Yugoslavia Shën-Naum of Pogradec and Vermosh as a gift in return for this assistance. The Belgrade chiefs want to do the same thing today with the criminal terrorist gangs of a certain hooligan and trafficker in arms, drugs and white slaves, Leka Zogu,(3) to whom, astounding though it may seem, a country friendly to us gives shelter and allows him to give interviews to the press and to call for the overthrow of the people's power in Albania. We have facts to prove that it was the Yugoslav Titoites who sent to our coast Xhevdet Mustafa's group of gangsters, whom we wiped out mercilessly without giving them time to draw breath or see the sun of Albania. At the appropriate moment the world will be told the details of

3 Son of the former king Ahmet Zog.

this affair and what it was intended for. However, the dangerous thing about it is that the Yugoslavs, violating the sovereignty of two countries friendly to us and without their knowledge, trained these criminals and landed them in our country. To train terrorist gangs and send them into another country is a grave criminal act condemned in the practice of international relations.

Now we have only this to say to the Yugoslav Titoites: don't play with fire, because if a conflagration breaks out, you will get yourselves burnt in it. For our part, we defend ourselves and we know how to do so, we know how to fight and triumph over any enemy. But we do not like this ominous course, full of dangers, which you are following. Nevertheless, if you force our hand we shall give you the reply you deserve. But we tell the Yugoslav leaders not to take this hopeless course which is fraught with many dangers for our two countries, for the Balkans and perhaps even for Europe. You, the southern Slav peoples, are responsible because, instead of making the Great Serbs see reason and forcing them to change course, to adhere to the principles and practice of good neighbourliness with socialist Albania and to establish normal, peaceful relations with the Albanians living in Yugoslavia, you allow them to fan up the flames.

We are convinced that there are progressive elements among the other southern Slav peoples, as well as among the Serbs. There is no other way to solve the problems apart from a change in the political stand towards Albania and the Albanians living in Yugoslavia. We shall continue on the course set by the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, the main report of which the Yugoslav leaders have read upside down. Our proposals were as wise as they were conciliatory, whereas your course is fraught with many dangers for Yugoslavia, which we want to remain as it is. You do not pay serious attention to our words

which are an expression of the sincere feelings of the Albanian people. So much the worse for you. The world will charge you with grave responsibility.

Some governments of European countries and the United States of America are trifling with our feelings and interests. We say to them that nobody is allowed to trifle with Albania and its interests, as was done in the past. The old times when the fate of our country could easily be trampled underfoot and Albania could be attacked and partitioned have gone by for good.

We shall continue, as always, to defend our Albanian brothers living on their own territories in Yugoslavia, with all the strength of our hearts, in their rights which the Constitution recognizes to them. Let the Yugoslavs and world opinion have no doubts about this. This is recognized by international law and this is how all those states which have national minorities outside their borders act.

At the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania we made our stand towards Yugoslavia clear and we remain unshakeable in this stand. The destruction and disintegration of Yugoslavia will never come from us. We are for the stability of the Federation. But with the Great-Serb, Macedonian and Montenegrin chauvinists our conciliatory words go in one ear and out the other. Their eyes have been blinded by their chauvinism and megalomania. When we appealed for reason and common sense, they pressed on with even more savage terror against the Albanians living on their territories in Yugoslavia. They have thrown into jail thousands of heroic young men and women of Kosova whom they torture barbarously and to whom they apply a thousand insulting epithets. We tell the Yugoslavs to free the young people from prison, for the Albanian cannot tolerate for long such violations of the honour and rights of his young men and women. Let them

not fill the cup, because the response may have very dangerous consequences.

All Kosova and the Albanian regions of Yugoslavia have been placed under savage chauvinist military pressure. Now the «differentiation», which means making Albanians spy on Albanians in favour of sinister Serbian forces, is going on on a large scale. But the people of Kosova cannot accept this shameful course, because it leads to fratricide; while the Great Serbs will rub their hands in glee.

The Serbs are inciting blood feuds among Albanians. Kosova is being plunged in poverty and covered with graves. People do not know where their sons and daughters are. The Albanian intellectuals are being decimated, insulted, humiliated and thrown out in the street. Only in the time of the Inquisition have such persecutions occurred. No, the Albanian people living in Yugoslavia will not allow anything of their sacred national heritage to be suppressed. Never at any time or in any place has the Albanian bowed in submission to or fled from the enemy when his freedom and legitimate rights have been violated.

You, gentlemen of Belgrade, have sent 60 thousand Serbian soldiers to Kosova to suppress and kill the people of Kosova and to intimidate socialist Albania. But we are not intimidated, we are ready, vigilant to a man. You speak with the language of force, while we try to speak with the language of reason. But we know how to speak in the language of force, too.

Albania is a sensitive strategic key point. Europe must keep this in mind. Some sneer at our fortifications, while arming themselves to the teeth with every kind of weapons, and others underrate our strength. So much the worse for them. Certain journalists whose pens are for hire, certain café politicians with their «analyses of strategic plans», and the Great Serbs in the first place, spread the idea and

insinuate that in these or those circumstances, indeed in all circumstances, Albania will be gobbled up by the Russians, will lean to the Soviets, etc.

We tell the Great Serbs, the secret firm friends of the Russians, that there are two ways for the Russo-Bulgarian revisionists to attack Albania in order to reach our part of the Adriatic coast. The one way is through the Vardar and Kosova and the other through the Straits of Otranto. In the first case, without the slightest doubt, the whole Albanian people living in Kosova and other regions of Yugoslavia — in Skoplje and Kaçanik, in Tetova and Gostivar, in Llap and Plava-Gucia, will meet the aggressors with guns. The whole of Yugoslavia will be ablaze and the Russo-Bulgarian revisionist invaders, if they ever succeed in reaching our Alps, will be in the same shape as the German nazis after the battle of Stalingrad.

In the second case, we Albanians hold the key to the Straits of Otranto. Sazan Island and the Karaburun Peninsula — and do not fear that I am revealing any secret, are rocks clad in iron and concrete which the Soviet naval fleet cannot pass.

If our Russo-Bulgarian enemies and others want to embark on such adventures they ought to know that the Albanians are not a state of three million, but a nation of six million people. Ours was a small people in the time of the Second World War, but although alone and unarmed, they defeated and liquidated a considerable number of Italian fascist and German nazi divisions. Now the times have changed in favour of socialist Albania, hence: Hands off Albania!

Albania threatens nobody, it wants to live in friendship with the others but, if anyone violates its rights and borders, it will retaliate in kind. Likewise, it will reply in the sternest manner to the injustices or insults anybody might employ against it.

I am speaking openly and this is the firm opinion of all our people. We say what we think; others have not failed to speak against us and moreover to slander us. We make no unfounded statements and do not indulge in slanders. Herein lies our strength, and that is why the progressive peoples respect socialist Albania just as we have great respect for them. For this just and benevolent stand we offer them our heart-felt thanks.

Messrs the Yugoslav leaders arrogate to themselves the right to raise their voice about the «injustices» the Bulgarians, the Greeks or the Albanians allegedly commit against the Macedonians of Pirin and Aegeus or the tiny Macedonian minorities in Albania, while we, according to them, have no such right. They accuse us of «interfering in their internal affairs» when we defend the rights, under the laws of the Federation, of our brothers, whom they not only deny their rights, but whom they kill, imprison, and force into emigration, while Serbian and Montenegrin colonists are brought into their birthplace to replace them.

It was Mr Stambolić who launched the slogan of an «ethnically pure Kosova» which the «Albanian nationalists» allegedly demanded. This is not a slogan of the Albanians, but of the Great Serbs, launched in order to drown Kosova in blood. The Serbs and Montenegrins were rightly frightened by this policy of terror and began to flee from fear and because of the poverty that prevails in Kosova. The Great Serbs are now trying to saddle the Albanians with this crime, although they themselves are responsible for the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins.

Recently the Yugoslavs, assisted by their friend — Russia, have been gathering up «Macedonians of the Aegeus» from all over the place in order to have them as a vanguard for Greece. One fine morning we shall hear that Alexander the Great was a Slav, too. Why shouldn't they do even this? They have a precedent in the Great-Russian «histor-

ian» of the 19th century, Vasilyevsky. In his book on Byzantium he goes to such lengths as to write there in black and white that since the modern Greeks are Orthodox Christians, they are Slavs, hence they do not originate from the ancient Greeks who gave mankind one of the most brilliant civilizations in the world. With the full conviction of a Great-Russian chauvinist, Vasilyevsky states quite boldly in his book: «The modern Greeks are of Slav origin.»

The chauvinists of Northern Epirus and certain Greek bishops do the same thing when, basing themselves on the statistics of Phanari of the time of Sultan Hamid II, they describe all the Orthodox Christians in Albania as Greeks. And these so-called Greeks, who were supposed to number 400 000 at that time, have remained 400 000 to this very day. Although almost 80 years have gone by. According to them, the so-called Greeks of Northern Epirus have neither increased nor decreased, have had neither births nor deaths. Likewise, they say, 28 000 Greeks of the Northern Epirus languish in «Albanian prisons» at all times and all seasons. Unfortunately for those Greek bishops, who have nothing to do with the Greek people, I can tell the Greek people and government on my full authority that in the whole of Albania there are only 33 persons of the Greek minority serving short sentences of imprisonment for various offences, and only 4 of them for political offences. Why is this so with the Greek minority of our country? This is so because our people of the Greek minority are good, honest people, like the Greek people themselves, because they enjoy all the rights which every Albanian citizen enjoys, because everywhere among the Greek minority everything is in their own hands. There the cadres of the Party and state are only people from the Greek minority. In every village of the Greek minority there are primary and agricultural secondary schools and in Gjirokastra there is a teachers training school in Greek.

All the other cadres, such as doctors, agronomists, veterinarians, economists, teachers and professors, are people of the Greek minority, and there are houses of culture everywhere. The incomes of the people of the Greek minority are among the highest in our country. We Albanians live like brothers with the people of the Greek minority in our common Homeland. The Greek minority in Albania is not groaning, Messrs the chauvinists of the Northern Epirus, but singing and prospering.

As for religion, you need not worry about it. To believe or not to believe is a personal right, a question of conscience and not an institutional question: religion cannot be imposed according to the desire or will of the hodjas, the bishops or the Pope of Rome.

I follow the Greek press and have read the questions that some Greek or West-German journalists have put to the people of the Greek minority in our country and the answers they have received from them. One of these journalists asked an old woman of our Greek minority this question:

«Where is your church, where is your priest?»

She answered: «Neither the church nor the priest did anything to save me from the aghas and the beys. When they held sway, they gave me neither bread to eat nor water to drink, neither electricity to light my home nor school for my sons and daughters. Only the National Liberation War, only my Party of Labour gave me all these blessings. That is why I love the Party and not the priest.»

The newspaperman went on with his questions to the old woman: «What about the sins you have committed, to whom will you confess?»

Again the old woman replied with subtle humor: «My son has told me, 'Live well in this world, mother, and as for the 'other world', blame me and my Party for your sins when you get there'.»

There are hundreds and hundreds of millions of people in the world who do not want to believe in religion. Then why all this astonishment at socialist Albania?

Our state is atheistic by the will of its people and there is no moral or material force which can impose on it anything different. Our people are masters of their own fate and sentiments. The screams of Northern Epirus chauvinists do not bother the Greek minority and socialist Albania in the least, even if the chauvinists are stirred up and paid under the lap by somebody else, and that somebody is not the fraternal Greek people.

Comrades,

The new elections for deputies to the People's Assembly are being held on the eve of a major event — the celebration of the 70th anniversary of National Independence.

The Albanian people, all the Albanians, wherever they are, have always celebrated with great jubilation the great day of November 28, 1912 when that wise old patriot — Ismail Qemali, hoisted the national flag in Vlora and proclaimed the independence of the country.

In celebrating this glorious anniversary, we recall the legendary battles that the Albanian people have waged for centuries on end for the freedom and independence of the Homeland, their titanic efforts to preserve and develop their language and culture, their ardent love for their land and traditions.

Our gratitude and that of the coming generations goes to those Albanian patriots who, even in the most difficult conditions, even at the gravest moments, kept ablaze the torch of patriotism, their unshakeable conviction that better days would certainly come for their people, too. The deed of these patriots remains a permanent source of inspiration

and mobilization for us. It calls on us to defend the freedom and independence of the Homeland with self-denial, to always serve the people devotedly to the end, and to work tirelessly for the good and honour of our beloved Albania.

Allow me to take the opportunity of the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the proclamation of independence to greet all our people, as well as all the Albanian patriots in the world, and present my best wishes to them on the occasion of this day dear to our hearts.

The elections to the People's Assembly find work going on at full swing all over the country to put the decisions of the 8th Congress of the Party in practice, to fulfil the important tasks of the 7th Five-year Plan. Let them serve as an inspiration and impulse to further strengthening the steel unity of the people around the Party, to greater mobilization and zest at work, to working with discipline and knowledge, to implementing everywhere the militant slogan of the Party, «Work and Vigilance», to making the people's state power ever stronger, our socialist Albania ever more beautiful, more prosperous and happier.

Long live our people!

Long live the Party of Labour of Albania!

Long live our people's power!

«On the People's
State Power»

THE TITOITES

Historical notes

(Excerpts)

The decision of the Albanian communists in the summer of 1941 to establish internationalist relations with the Communist Party of Yugoslavia showed the maturity which the communist movement in Albania had achieved at that time. The worthiest representatives of the communist groups had begun the fight against the fascist occupiers as early as 1939. Just as they were boldly and resolutely overcoming the feuds and divisions amongst themselves, and heading with conviction towards the founding of the Communist Party of Albania, with similar courage and maturity they were surmounting the old animosities, feuds and the deep gulf which had been created over centuries in the relations of our country with its Yugoslav neighbours.

It is an indisputable recognized fact, accepted by all, that to describe the relations between our two countries before 1941 as embittered is putting it mildly. Over their whole range, they consist of dramas and tragedies of the gravest kind, packed with aggressions, murders and plunderings, reeking with bloody crimes which were committed openly in «modern» Europe over the territories and fate of a small, but brave and invincible people — the Albanian people.

This whole grievous legacy which had been built up over decades had been created through no fault of the peoples, and the Albanian people in particular have never, on any occasion, been to blame for it. The blame for this rests on the anti-Albanian policy of the monarchs of Serbia and princes of Montenegro who wanted to gobble up Albania, on the policy of violence, expansion and genocide which they, aided and abetted, openly or secretly, by the Great Powers of that time, had pursued towards the Albanian people and the Albanian territories.

Without going any further back in history, everybody knows about the fresh great tragedy which began to be played to the detriment of the Albanian people, especially in the second half of the last century.

When it became clear that the «Sick Man of the Bosphorus» was on his death bed, both the hopes and possibilities that the Albanian people would win the independence which they had been seeking by force of arms for centuries, and their struggle and efforts to bring this day as close as possible, quickly mounted. But precisely when the day was approaching for Albania to throw off the yoke of Ottoman rule, new ferocious enemies, with aims identical with those of the Ottomans, thought that the time had come for them to get little Albania into their clutches. The monarchs of Italy, Austro-Hungary, Greece, Serbia, Montenegro and Bulgaria rushed to grab whatever they could from what they called «the periphery of the Ottoman Empire». This was an extremely grave and painful «reward» which the neighbours gave the brave and dauntless Albanian people, who had poured out torrents of blood in raising a strong wall against the further advance of the Ottoman hordes towards Europe. This was the deepest ingratitude towards that nation which, whether in the battles of the neighbouring peoples for defence against the Ottoman onslaughts or in their movements and uprisings

for liberation, had not spared their own finest sons who gave their lives precisely as if they were defending the freedom of their own peoples.

In particular, the Serbian and Montenegrin hordes, incited by the reactionary cliques of that time, assailed the Albanian territories, killing, plundering and destroying whatever they found in front of them. The chronicles of that time are filled with the most blood-curdling events. Under fire from many enemies, who fought sometimes each on their own account, sometimes in agreement to divide the prey jointly, the Albanian people responded to the new situation with endless wars. However, the ratio of forces was such that, after shedding torrents of blood, the Albanian population was forced, with unallayable grief, to relinquish whole pieces of its Homeland on the borders with Serbia and Montenegro. Besides the thousands who were killed and burned out, tens of thousands of Albanians were expelled from their lands and driven towards the south, or left to roam about Europe and Asia as refugees. Statistics show that at the end of the last century, as a result of the occupation of the outermost regions of Kosova by Serbia, Montenegro and Austro-Hungary, about 300 000 Albanians who had been violently expelled had settled in the internal regions of the vilayets of Kosova and Shkodra alone.

Naturally, this unprecedented genocide and developing danger which threatened the whole of Albania was bound to arouse the greatest hatred and bring the whole country to its feet to resist both the Ottoman Turk and the *shkja* (1), «a scourge worse than the Ottoman», as the people described the Serbian occupiers at that period. The Alba-

1 Term used by the Albanian population of Kosova and of other regions in Yugoslavia about the Serb, Montenegrin and other chauvinists to express their hatred against the policy of oppression and exploitation pursued towards them.

nian League of Prizren of great fame was founded and carried out its unforgettable historic activity precisely at this grave period, setting as its objective both the struggle for freedom and independence and the struggle in defence of the integrity of the national territory, in defence of the legitimate rights of a people threatened with extermination.

The Albanian patriots and people left nothing undone to prevent the menace which came from the north! They were ready to turn over the page of all the past and there was never any lack of messages seeking friendship and good neighbourly relations with the fraternal Serbian, Montenegrin, Macedonian and other peoples.

But the fact is that there was no limit to the greed of the chauvinists, monarchs and princes of the neighbouring countries, and as a result, the threat to Albania from the north became more and more serious. Behind them stood the blackest European reaction. Through the policy which it pursued, Serbia became, in the mind of the freedom-loving Albanian, the symbol of his sworn enemy.

Gallons of blood were shed by both sides and thousands and thousands of Serbs, Montenegrins and others left their bones in our mountain passes and on our plains. Obviously, the flower of friendship could not sprout through these pools of blood, but the thorn of hatred and hostility would flourish and grow. However, the Albanians did not shed their blood on the soil of Serbia and Montenegro, the Albanians did not descend with fire and steel upon the neighbouring countries and peoples. The opposite occurred. The Albanians defended their own lands, wives and children, their homes and possessions.

This situation continued until 1912, when the great victory — the independence of Albania was quickly followed by one of the greatest injustices of this century in Europe: Albania was cut in half — Kosova and other

Albanian regions were violently annexed to Yugoslavia. Naturally, if you cut the body of a country and a people in half, and artificially attach one half to another creation, such an act cannot serve as a «bridge to conciliation», «friendship» and «fraternity».

If this were not enough, however, even after 1912-1913 the anti-Albanian policy of the Karadjordjevićs and all the unscrupulous great-Serb reaction was intensified in all forms and directions. The policy of extermination, discrimination and denationalization of the Albanian population which had been placed under Serbian occupation was followed by secret plans for the annexation of other parts of Albania. The secret Treaty of London of 1915, which two years later the great Lenin published to the world and denounced, is further evidence of the notorious, unrelenting anti-Albanian policy, not only of the reactionary Great Powers of that time, but also of the then Yugoslav state, a creation of imperialism. The public denunciation of this predatory Treaty did not make the face of Great-Serb chauvinism blush or go pale. A little later Yugoslavia once again sanctioned *de jure* its «rights» to the occupied Albanian territories and set out with greater zest on the course of the denationalization of the Albanian population which it had placed under occupation.

At the same time it tried to find new ways to realize its old dream of gobbling up the whole of Albania. It was precisely the Serbian monarchs who came to the aid of Zog, who had fled from Albania in June 1924; it was they who kept him, found him mercenaries, supplied him with forces and weapons and created all the conditions for the future despot to carry out the counter-revolution in Albania in December 1924. In return, Zog initially gave the Serbs other pieces of Albanian territory, such as Vermosh and Shën-Naum, and, assuredly, in time would have given them the whole of Albania, if the great gamble

of the Great Powers had not thrown the puppet king finally into the lap of fascist Italy and set the country on the course of Italian fascist colonization.

But even after this, there is a whole bitter history of open and disguised acts carried out by the reactionary governments of Yugoslavia, dominated by Serbia, in the direction of the Albanian state.

When the reactionary Serbian governments saw that others had gained control of the card of Zog, they set in motion their secret agency within our country and among the reactionary Albanian emigrants in Yugoslavia and made all kinds of efforts to create an explosive situation within the Albanian Kingdom. Later, under the cloak of an «uprising» against the Zogite tyranny, the Sorb secret agents would turn for aid to the same Serbian circles that had brought Zog to power a few years earlier.

These chauvinist circles, always ready to stage an invasion as «aid», trained whole regiments and kept them in readiness around the borders of Albania. The vanguard of these mercenary regiments consisted of hardened criminals, Yugoslav and non-Yugoslav, who, decked out in authentic Albanian national costumes, would be the first to pour over the borders at the appropriate moment. But the fact is that, despite all their stage props, these plans remained only on paper. This occurred not only because fascist Italy and international reaction, which backed it for its own interests, would not and did not allow the Albanian apple to assuage the appetite of the Great-Serbs, but also because the Serbian secret agency and propaganda in Albania was able to find a favourable terrain only among a few degenerate elements without any influence, but never among broad strata and, even less, among the people. On account of the atrocities committed, Serbia had long become synonymous with evil in the mind of the Albanian.

The denationalizing policy which the Great-Serbs pursued towards Kosova and towards the Albanian population in Montenegro and Macedonia deepened the hatred and made any sign of reconciliation more impossible. From 1913 on, the chauvinist regime of the Great-Serb bourgeoisie employed the most inhuman political, economic, ideological and military methods, and means to denationalize the annexed Albanian territories and populate them with Slavs. During the years 1913-1927 in Kosova and the other Albanian regions in Yugoslavia, by means of the so-called «denationalization through physical elimination», more than 200 thousand Albanians were killed, tens of thousands of others were imprisoned and whole Albanian villages wiped out. Fascism, which was rising in Europe at that time, was finding a worthy forerunner and fellow-traveller in the Great-Serbs. Stojadinović of Serbia, together with Mussolini, prepared the plan for the devision of Albania. (2)

However, the barbarous mass extermination, accompanied with other equally barbarous means, such as «denationalization through the agrarian reform for colonization». (3) «denationalization through expulsion» (4), etc., etc.,

2 This refers to the negotiations of Ciano, foreign minister of fascist Italy, with Stojadinović, prime minister of the Yugoslav Kingdom, who hatched up plans of the partitioning and occupation of Albania in the bilateral talks in the years 1937-1939.

3 On the basis of documents and incomplete statistics, in the years between the two world wars. 1919-1941, through colonization, more than 58 thousand Serbian and Montenegrin colonists were settled in Kosova and more than 370 villages of colonists were created (according to the scientific magazine «Përparimi», Nos. 4-5/1970 and 10/1971 and «Gjurmime Albanologjike» — 1972, published in Prishtina).

As well as this, according to reports of the Yugoslav High Commission for the Reform, during the years 1920-1940, in only some regions of Kosova and Macedonia, 381245 hectares of land were seized from Albanians and given to colonists, officials, gendarmes, četnici and others.

4 As a result of the Great-Serb rule of terror, during 1913-

were not yielding the results desired by the Great-Serbs. Unfortunately for the Great-Serbs, the Albanian national sentiments in Kosova and other regions were not wiped out, either with gunpowder or with fire, but on the contrary, the number of the Albanian population in its own territories increased in relation to the Serbian and Montenegrin element in these territories.

Insatiable in their cruelty and infuriated by the motto of the Albanians. «We may die but we'll not give up our country», the Great-Serbs set in motion the «science» of extermination, the ideology and means of the pogrom. Precisely to this phase belong the inhuman deeds of notorious Great-Serbs of the type of Vaso Cubrilović, Atanasije Urošević and other such monsters of the so-called Serbian Cultural Club in Belgrade, the vicious creation of the reactionary Serbian bourgeoisie in the years 1937-1939. and, regrettably, as we were to learn much later the forerunner of institutions with the same platform in the Yugoslavia of the years from 1945 on. This is not the place, nor is it the purpose of my notes, to dwell at length on the programs and theories of extermination of these neo-Malthusians, whom the Tito regime was later to preserve and raise to the highest ranks of the scientific institutions of «socialist» Yugoslavia. I want to point out only that, on the basis of what they themselves wrote further incalculable damage was inflicted on the Albanian population, and the hatred and animosities which for decades had divided the Albanian people, on the one hand, from the Serb, Montenegrin and other peoples, on the other hand, became even more profound.

The truth is that, at that time we knew nothing about

1941 about 500 000 Albanians were expelled by force from Kosova and the other Albanian regions in Yugoslavia (most of them to Turkey and the remainder to Albania and other countries).

these «scientific works» and «platforms», worked out and approved, and heard nothing about the authors of them, but with grief we saw and heard about the results of their practical application. Militating in the ranks of our communist groups at that time were a number of comrades from Kosova. They were either the sons of displaced families or individuals who had managed to leave Kosova secretly and had come to mother Albania to escape persecution by the Great-Serbs, to continue their schooling or to find work. Our picture of the relations between our peoples in general and about the situation in Kosova in particular was made more complete with the blood-curdling stories and facts which these comrades told us.

This was the situation in 1941, when the resistance of our people to the fascist occupiers was continuing all over the country and we were faced with the urgent necessity of founding the Communist Party of Albania.

As can be imagined, to seek relations with the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in such a situation was by no means easy and simple. To us communists, however, the problem was clear. In principle, we could never link communism with chauvinism, nor the Communist Party of Yugoslavia with the reactionary and chauvinist policy of the Yugoslav government towards Albania.

The fact is that Vasil Shanto, Qemal Stafa and I and, after a series of hesitations, Koço Tashko, too, who became the initiators for the establishment of relations with the CPY. knew little or nothing about the life, activity and situation in that party. We had heard that it had been formed after the October Socialist Revolution, that in the first 10-15 years of its existence it had gone through a series of ups and downs, feuds and factions, that various of its cadres had been criticized at different times by the Comintern for stands and lines that were anti-Marxist. Trotskyite, nationalist, and so on, that it had been organ-

ized in recent years, and was said to have placed itself on a correct line. We knew none of its leaders, indeed we had not heard who they were or what they were called, but the fact that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was a member of the Comintern, the fact that it had expressed itself in favour of open struggle against the fascist danger and, after April 1941, when the Yugoslav monarchy capitulated, the fact that it had launched the slogan of raising all the peoples of Yugoslavia around itself in the fight against the nazi-fascist occupation, impelled us to link ourselves with it, as a sister party which was fighting for that great cause, which was our cause, too.

As communists, we thought and believed that, since the Communist Party of Yugoslavia had risen in struggle for a new Yugoslavia, it would finally free itself from and destroy all that legacy from the old Yugoslavia, that is, its chauvinism and its long-standing savage and unscrupulous policies against the Albanians. For these reasons, we considered the establishment of relations with the CPY a correct and mature act on our part. That is what we thought and we were quite right.

As I said, however, this was our view, the communists' view. Would the people understand this idea and aim of ours? Would they follow us in the steps which we were going to take? A whole burden of opinion built up over scores and scores of years had to be overcome, and as I mentioned above, this was not an opinion created simply by words or statements, but by torrents of blood, by villages and towns destroyed, by boys and girls cut off in the flower of their youth, by mothers left desolate, by Albanians whose deep-rooted, freedom-loving and patriotic spirit had been profoundly antagonized. Now we were going to tell them: We, the Albanian communists, are going to create close fraternal links with the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, with that party in the ranks of which militate

Serbs, Montenegrins, Macedonians, Croats, Slovenes, Bosnians, etc.

From what has been said above, it is understandable why the Albanian has regarded the Serb with diffidence. But we were determined to take this step because we considered it to be the right thing to do. Even if some of our people did not understand us at first, they would soon be convinced and understand us.

We regarded the links with the CPY as something natural, as links between communists, between brothers of common ideals. We would exchange experience and assist one another in the sacred fight for the freedom and independence of our countries, and between us, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, we could settle justly all the ugly things which history had left in the relations between our peoples. The peoples are essentially freedom-loving. Our people, in particular, have never harassed the others and have respected the heroes and peoples who have fought against invaders. Now the peoples of Yugoslavia were at war against the same enemy — the foreign nazi-fascists and the internal reactionaries, therefore, we were convinced that our splendid people would understand and support us. Thus, with this act which we undertook to carry out, we were taking the first step not only to eliminate any eventual obstacle to the mobilization of the peoples of the respective countries in the fight for freedom, but also to make real, great progress toward settling historical injustices and overcoming the legacy of hostilities created in the past.

We undertook to explain to the Albanian people, to talk to the people openly about our ideas, and we did so. Our people, our marvellous people, whose eyes have never been blinded by the diseased principles of chauvinism, understood us. We believed, indeed we were convinced, that the Yugoslav comrades thought and judged matters

in the same way. Therefore, we decided to establish links with them. Time would prove to what extent they were truly Marxist-Leninists, whether they would put into practice what they declared unreservedly in their statements.

In the step which we took by deciding to establish contact with the CPY at those moments, we were faced, among other things, with one very great difficulty which was very hard to deal with. What was bombastically proclaimed as «the liberation of Albanian territories from the Serbian yoke», the formation of «Greater Albania» had been «realized» under the jackboot of fascism and in the interests of fascism. It cannot be concealed that this demagoguery confused many people in Kosova and also deceived some in Albania who called themselves nationalists.

Naturally, we were not going to be and were not taken in by this trick of fascism, therefore, we told the people clearly and precisely: We must not be deceived by the «liberation» and propaganda of this occupier which poses as a «liberator»(!), but which in fact has enslaved the whole of Albania. We can never expect nazi-fascism, the most ferocious enemy of the freedom and independence of the peoples, to solve our problems, big or small, can never expect any benefits from fascism which has placed us in the most hideous bondage, which is maiming and killing the finest sons and daughters of the people, the plague which has set itself the aim of destroying mankind. Irreconcilable struggle against it, everywhere, at every moment — this is our immediate duty.

We discussed all these things and others of the same type during those days of summer 1941, when we decided to enter into internationalist relations with the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. We were convinced that in this way we were making the proper contribution to the great cause of the war against fascism and for the accomplishment, along with the liberation war, of the social

revolution, too, the revolution which would solve everything.

This is how we considered the matter and this is what we decided to do, in this way performing an act worthy of genuine, mature communists, communists with clear minds and pure hearts.

Ahead of us lay practice, life, the war. What would they prove to us?

The truth is that the start of our relations with the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was a happy and promising start. This had to do with all that period when the internationalist communist, Miladin Popović, was amongst us, especially with the period before the emissaries of Tito began to come to Albania. Beginning from March 1943, however, when Tito's first emissary, Blažo Jovanović, uttered the first absurd anti-Marxist claim against our Party, and over the next five or six years, step by step we were to enter into conflict with Tito's men. were to clash with them and oppose them, and they were to oppose us. These were five or six years of the process of getting to know each other, a process of stern, extremely difficult and complicated struggle, a struggle against traps and plots hatched up by the Yugoslav leadership in order to subjugate us and turn us into their obedient tools.

All the documents and facts prove that the leaders of the CPY, headed by Tito, had made plans to subjugate the Communist Party of Albania, to put it under their direct leadership, and consequently make our National Liberation War an appendage of their war. They had thought and planned to have their men placed everywhere by the time Albania was liberated, so they could act with Albania in every direction — politically, economically, militarily, organizationally and in the international plane, as they wished. Naturally, all this activity was hidden under the

cloak of the common aims of the National Liberation War against the occupiers, under the leadership of two communist parties which had linked themselves like flesh to bone with the Soviet Union, the Bolshevik Party and Stalin.

The Yugoslavs were so conceited and had created such a megalomaniacal idea of themselves and their war, making them underrate our war, that they had reached the point of thinking that without them there would be no communist party and no national liberation war in Albania. As a result of this conceit, the Yugoslav leadership minimized our war and took no interest in really informing itself about and studying our objective conditions, social and economic situations, the class struggle, the bases of the occupiers, or the glorious revolutionary past of the Albanian people. It avoided such analysis also because of the age-old anti-Albanian sentiments and aims of the Serbs and of pan-Slav expansionism in general. The Yugoslav leadership maintained the same stand also towards the Albanians of Kosova, whom it not only did not help to take part fully in the war against the occupier, but on the contrary sabotaged their war, always terrorized, killed and tortured them.

All those whom Tito and the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia sent to us, allegedly to assist us and exchange experience, came with plans prepared in advance, with «directives» which they dictated to us and we were supposed to apply, came as «masters» of the revolution and national liberation war to «their apprentices». Beginning from Blažo Jovanović, Vukmanović-Tempo, Dušan Mugoša, Velimir Stojnić, Nijaz Dizdarević down to those who came after Liberation, Josip Djerdja, Savo Zlatić, Sergej Krajger, General Kuprešanin, and others, their megalomania and arrogance knew no bounds.

We were in opposition to and quarrelled with all thes

people over many issues of principle, from the first contacts we had with them. Obviously, for our part, this was done over problems of the work and in a comradely way, because we considered many of their ideas and assessments, whether in connection with the situation in the army, the organization of the Party, or the policy of the Party, the Front, and so on, to be incorrect and out of place for us. For their part they hated us and, as emerged clearly from their activity, they studied amongst us the elements most suitable to serve them for the accomplishment of their aims. Hence, the Yugoslav leadership had been at work for a long time and had decided to purge from the ranks of our leadership anyone who opposed their plans so that the way would be open to them.

Especially following the 2nd Plenum of the CC of the CPA in Berat, in November 1944. and throughout the whole period from Liberation on, their anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian struggle and attempts became more open and more ferocious.

It is difficult for those who have not lived especially through the period up to 1948 to understand and form an accurate image of that extremely complicated struggle which we had to wage in those years against the Titoites. We had to uncover the subversive struggle which those who posed and advertized themselves as friends were waging against us, to expose the savage sworn enemies, not only of our Party and people, but also of Marxism-Leninism, of the theory and practice of the revolution.

We had just set out on the new course of the construction of the socialist society and, understandably, experience was lacking in this direction. From ignorance mistakes could easily be made, and grasping at this, our «friends», deliberately, for ulterior motives, strove with all their might to confuse us, to put us on a fatally wrong course by offering us their «aid» and «experience». We were to

cope with this evil, and we did cope with it, but only at the cost of great toil, effort and sacrifice.

This was our first clash with modern revisionism. But here, too, we lacked experience. The fact that we had these enemies «right inside the house», as you might say, made the struggle even more complicated. We had been gravely betrayed in the trust that we had placed in them, in our communist honesty, and in the proletarian sincerity that we had shown towards them. Indeed, the Titoite spider-web had been spun even within our own ranks. What Tito and his henchmen were unable to achieve from «outside» was made up for by their agents who had long been prepared by Dušan Mugoša, Vukmanović-Tempo and Velimir Stojnić, and had gone on the offensive within the ranks of our top leadership, inside our Political Bureau. Thus, we had to uncover, define accurately and defeat the Titoite plot in conditions not just of the lack of unity in our leadership, but of a fierce struggle which was launched from outside and from inside the sound body of our Party. However, we waged this struggle, too, and crowned it with success.

Fortunately for the future of the Party, the Homeland and socialism in Albania, precisely at the moment when it seemed that the Titoite plot had gained control of everything, it was exposed and crushed. The relations between us and the Communist Party and the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia had reached the point of open hostility. Stalin's letters sent to the CP of Yugoslavia threw light on the anti-Marxist revisionist line and activity of the Tito clique. Many things which Tito and company had done or were doing against our Party and country, now became quite clear to us. The strivings, efforts, mistakes and successes of that struggle would be turned, as they were, into a great school to raise the political and ideological level of our communists and people, into a colossal

experience which was to serve us, as it did, in the new battles which would be imposed on us in the future, right down to the present day, destroying even the last cards which the Yugoslav agency kept up its sleeve for better or worse days that might present themselves in the future.

The way in which our Party waged this great and stern struggle to detect and attack Titoite revisionism is a whole history in itself. The whole dialectical process, from the first contacts up to the moment when we broke off all contacts or relations with the Communist Party of Yugoslavia once and for all, has been analysed and summed up in many main documents and materials of our Party, which belong to that time and the whole of the subsequent period. I personally, as a direct participant in this struggle from its first moments, have gone back over that period again and again. The lessons which we have drawn from that period of clashes and struggle over principles in the ideological, political, economic, organizational and military planes are inexhaustible and will remain permanently valid. The past always serves the present and the future. That is why we are going back over the 6-7 year period when behind «the outstanding leader Tito» we discovered the inveterate renegade Tito, when behind the «internationalism» of Tito and his henchmen we discovered nationalism and chauvinism, when behind their «friendship» we discovered the bonds of a new enslavement, when behind their «communism» we discovered the revision of Marxism-Leninism in theory and practice.

Subsequently we developed and carried the struggle which we had begun long before against the Yugoslav revisionists further and further forward and we were not nonplussed and did not retreat either in the 50's, when Khrushchev and company took the road of betrayal and embraced Tito, or in the 70's, when Mao Zedong fell on his knees before the old renegade of Belgrade. We did not

retreat and were not nonplussed, in 1981, either, following the events in Kosova caused by the savage Great-Serb chauvinist oppression, when in order to cope with the situation in Yugoslavia and among world opinion, Tito's successors hatched up the most monstrous plot to disturb the situation in Albania and to overthrow the sound leadership of our Party, just as the Titoites had wanted to do in Berat, on the eve of the liberation of the country, in November 1944.

For about forty years the Yugoslav revisionists have been wrong and have failed in their open plans and secret plots against Albania, and still they refuse to accept that the citadel of the Party and socialist Albania cannot be taken either from outside, with armies, pressures and provocations of any kind, or from inside, through their agents of any calibre whom they have trained and held in reserve for more than forty years, or have borrowed from the CIA, the KGB, the Intelligence Service, or any other agency.

Our Party has waged and will always wage the ideological struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists consistently, because it is thoroughly acquainted with their real features as anti-Marxists, chauvinists, and inveterate agents of imperialism. The whole history of relations between our Party and the Yugoslav leadership has been and still is a history of unrelenting plots by the Titoite clique for the subjugation of our Party, for the liquidation of the independence of our country, a history of the heroic resistance of the Party of Labour of Albania and our people to the diabolical plans of this clique and its endless threats and blackmail.

These notes of mine are dedicated precisely to this history, especially to its first period.

Our first contacts with the Yugoslav communists in-

licated a promising beginning. In the autumn of 1941 the Montenegrin internationalist communist, Miladin Popović, was among us.

He had been elected secretary of the newly created Provincial Committee of the CPY for Kosova and in the summer of 1941, after an action in Mitrovica, had been arrested by the fascists and sent to an internment camp in Albania. Those were the moments when we, the representatives of three main communist groups in Albania (of Korça, Shkoder and the «Youth»), had reached agreement, in principle, on founding the CP of Albania, and one of the first joint actions which we undertook in that period to strengthen the links between the groups was that to free Miladin Popović (5) from the clutches of the fascists. As I have described in detail in the book of memoirs *When the Party Was Born*, the action was carried out successfully, and from our first acquaintance with Miladin on, we saw in him a developed communist, with a vigorous militant spirit, a true friend of our Party and people, ready to sacrifice even his life for the advancement of our cause. Miladin Popović lacked experience of a top-level leader, but he lacked neither the determination to learn, nor the readiness to express his opinion with tact and maturity, without any sign of megalomania or tendency to interfere and impose

5 As soon as the Albanian communists were informed that Miladin Popović was in an internment camp in Albania, on the proposal of Comrade Enver Hoxha himself they decided to free him. «To free a communist or cadre of another communist party from an internment camp,» I told the comrades, «is an internationalist duty which we cannot and must not shirk,» writes Comrade Enver Hoxha. After his release. Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, «Miladin was glad to find himself amidst his Albanian communist comrades... He expressed his love and admiration for the fraternal Albanian people... He was a Montenegrin, but he judged and valued the virtues of our people as a communist.» (Enver Hoxha. *When the Party Was Born* (Memoirs), Tirana 1982, pp. 118, 124, 2nd Alb. ed.)

himself upon us. When we became acquainted with these and other qualities of Miladin, of course, our respect for him increased and this automatically increased our respect for the Communist Party of Yugoslavia as well. True, until the end of 1942 we had not known or had any kind of direct or indirect contact with any of the leaders of the CPY, but as I said, knowing Miladin, sometimes we said to one another: What developed and experienced cadres there must be in this party when it has a communist like Miladin Popović militating in its ranks!

Also with us at this period was Dušan Mugoša, whom we got to know a little and about whom our first impressions were favourable. It was indisputable that Dušan could not be compared with Miladin either for his experience or for his maturity and ability, and even less for any qualities as an organizer or leader. However, no one could blame Dušan for this. He seemed a resolute, active type and liked to go out to the rank and file of the Party in the different regions of the country. As soon as he heard that one of our comrades of the Provisional Central Committee was to go to some region, Dušan would ask to go with him «in order to get to know the people at the base and wag my tongue a bit,» as he put it. At that time we saw nothing amiss in this «eagerness» but, on the contrary, were pleased to fulfil his desire. Sometimes the comrades reported to us that in the place he visited he had a mania with him «in order to get to know» the people at the base even when he shouldn't have opened his mouth at all; in Vlora he confused the national liberation councils with the Soviets, (6) but these things did not arouse our suspicions. «He knows no better, but he doesn't mean any harm,» we

6 At a time when reaction was accusing the National Liberation Movement of being sold out to «the Reds», Dušan Mugoša, enthusiastically supported by Mehmet Shehu, demanded that the national liberation councils be called Soviets, as

thought, proceeding from the good impression we had of him, and tactfully tried to correct what he damaged with his haste, rashness and sectarianism. As I said, however, he stayed with us very little, so our main worry was to keep him from falling into the hands of the enemy through carelessness rather than to consider whether or not there was anything else hidden behind his often surprising actions. In brief, up till the end of 1942 we had the best of impressions and opinions, both about the two Yugoslav comrades that we had amongst us, especially Miladin. and about the CP of Yugoslavia.

Precisely at these moments the news reached us that an emissary of the CC of the CP of Yugoslavia had entered Albania and would soon reach us. His name we did not know. We had been told only that he was a cadre who came directly from the main staff of the Yugoslav leadership and was bringing important information for our Party. This news pleased us, because, as I will relate later, we had been waiting for 7 to 8 months for an answer, if not through an emissary, at least in any other possible way, to the request we had made through the Yugoslav leadership to the Comintern for recognition of our new Communist Party. We took all measures to ensure our guest a trip with the least possible danger and in the last days of December 1942 the emissary of the CC of the CPY arrived fit and well in Labinot of Elbasan. He was Blažo Jovanović.

The coming of this delegate to Albania marked the first official contact of the leadership of our Party and of Miladin Popović personally with the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Regrettably, this first contact also marked the beginning of frictions and clashes between our two parties.

in the Soviet Union. The CC of the CPA rejected this demand and issued the order that this term should by no means be used, otherwise, this would help the propaganda of the enemy.

Then, who was Tito's first emissary Blažo Jovanović and what did he bring us?

At the 1st Consultative Meeting of Activists of the CPA held in April 1942 we had decided to inform the Comintern about the founding of the Communist Party of Albania, about the first results in the organization and strengthening of its ranks and its life, and about the general lines of its militant program. On this occasion we presented to the leadership of the Comintern our application for admission of the CPA as a member of the Communist International and the idea that we would organize the 1st National Conference of the CPA in the near future. We considered that the best way to communicate these decisions and proposals to the Comintern was through the leadership of the CP of Yugoslavia and we charged the comrades Vasil Shanto and Dušan Mugoša with the task of carrying them to the Yugoslav leadership. At the same time we expressed the desire that, if possible, the CC of the CPY should send us a delegate to take part as a guest in the 1st National Conference of our Party...

And so, after months of waiting, the first delegate of the Yugoslav leadership, Blažo Jovanović, arrived, and true enough, he brought us really important and joyous tidings: the recognition of our Party by the Comintern and the directives of the Executive Committee of the International on our National Liberation War. He also brought a letter from Tito for the CC of our Party and his authorization as representative of the CC of the CPY at the 1st National Conference of the CPA, as well as, if I am not mistaken, one or two pamphlets and, of course, Dušan Mugoša, too.

We received the guest with all the honours possible in the difficult conditions of illegality, and moreover, of a

poor thatched cottage at Shmil(7). We told him in a comradely way about the state of our work in general and he told us about the situation of the party and the war in Yugoslavia, especially about the difficult situation in Montenegro.

Naturally, on this occasion we thanked him wholeheartedly for undertaking the wearisome and difficult journey to reach us in order to carry out this internationalist duty.

In conversation he seemed attentive and reasonable, and with the exception of one minor friction we had in the first days, everything proceeded smoothly. The friction had to do with what Tito had written and the advice he gave us in his letter.

«Comrade Tito's letter,» said Blažo two or three days after his arrival, «contains instructions and advice which are necessary and important for you. I am aware of what they are and we can discuss them.»

«Yes,» I replied, «we have read the letter and carefully studied the advice of Comrade Tito and we thank him for this. However, Comrade Blažo, you will be staying here till we hold the Conference of our Party. During this time you will see for yourself and become acquainted better with the state of the work here, and I assure you that you will be left unclear about nothing.»

«Very good,» persisted Blažo, «but we are talking about the instructions and advice from Comrade Tito. Do you agree with them or not?!» he asked in a tone as if talking to cadres subordinate to him. (He was a commissar or commander of a partisan unit in Montenegro.)

I had no desire to spoil the friendly atmosphere, so I passed over the bad effect of his question with a laugh, and replied quietly:

7 Village in the Elbasan district.

«Not only now that our Party is still young, but in the future, too, we will always listen carefully and considerately to the comradely opinions and the advice of friends. Indubitably, this is true of Comrade Tito's letter, too. But, Comrade Blažo, we understand the circumstances and conditions in which this letter was written. As you yourself are aware, it was written at the end of September, brought to us in December, and refers to problems which were relevant to our Party before April 1942. At the same time, it refers to those problems which we ourselves raised at the 1st Consultative Meeting of the Activists of the Party in April, about which we informed your party leadership through Dušan.»

«Then, according to you, Comrade Tito has merely repeated what you have already raised!» said Blažo, piqued.

«That's not what I said. In the materials we sent to the Comintern, we related how matters stood with us. Judging on this basis, Tito gives us certain advice. We thank him for his concern and interest.»

«Is it only for this you value the letter?» asked Blažo in the same tone.

«Please, don't misunderstand us,» I said. «Now it is January 1943, and obviously we have not been marking time since April 1942. On the contrary we have tried to solve correctly, not only the problems of that period, but also those which have arisen since, and now, comparing our actions with the directives of the Comintern which you have just brought us, we can only rejoice when we see that we have truly acted as we should have done.»

Continuing the talk, I dwelt concretely on what Tito had written in his letter, explained the development of events and the truth is that Blažo listened to us and was convinced about what we told him. That closed the matter, and for years on end Tito's «first letter» was never mentioned again. Perhaps, it would not have been worth men-

tioning this letter here, either, but the fact that later the Yugoslav propaganda built it up and published it as a «message which saved the situation», as an «outstanding contribution by Tito in favour of the Albanian Party and the Albanian National Liberation War», etc., etc., impels me to dwell a little on this so-called outstanding document once again.

I must say that the best assessment that can be put on Tito's first letter⁽⁸⁾ is that it amounted to «a letter of advice that came too late». Concretely: in December 1942 (when the letter reached us), Tito «advised» our Party to purge its ranks of the groupist and factionalist elements who had managed to penetrate its ranks and to settle accounts with them!

As everyone knows, at the Consultative Meeting of the Party in April and later at the Special Conference of the Party in June 1942 (when quite likely Tito did not know that the CPA had been formed) we had carried that task right through to the end.

Try to establish links with the representatives of different urban groups and trends and together with them form the National Liberation Front! — was Tito's further advice.

However, both in December 1942, when Tito's letter reached us, and on September 22, 1942, when he sat down and wrote it, his «advice» could only make us smile. We had launched the slogan about the unity of the people on April, 1939 and the people and the youth had risen in demonstrations and protests; in November 1941 the newly-formed Party had issued its first official appeal for the unity of the people in the Anti-fascist War, and after it,

⁸ This letter is preserved in the Central Archives of the Party. In its unrestrained anti-Albanian propaganda, the Yugoslav leadership itself published this letter, amongst others, in the so-called «White Book on Yugoslav-Albanian Relations». Doc. No. 83, Belgrade 1961.

had issued precise directives and important successes had been achieved in this direction. It is a known historical fact, also, that on September 16, 1942 we had organized the Conference of Peza where the political and organizational foundations of the National Liberation Front and the future people's state power were laid, had elected the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council, and the organization of the Front was growing bigger and stronger from day to day!

Naturally, we did not blame Tito for this lack of knowledge of our situation, but neither were we to be blamed for not awaiting his advice and then carrying out the work. On the contrary, if we had simply waited for «guidance» from abroad, this would have been an unpardonable sin.

However, while the «instruction» on the question of the Front and, identical with it, that on the question of national liberation councils made us smile, something which followed made us comrades of the leadership, laugh, and Miladin along with us.

In September 1942 Tito, writing from Glamoč, instructed us, «You must expose the Trotskyite Zai Fundo before the members of the CPA and inform its members that he is an open enemy of the International and the Party!»

This was a case of trying to leach your grandmother to suck eggs! We had exposed Fundo as a Trotskyite as early as in 1939, when he arrived back in Albania, and since that time we had finally settled accounts with him. (9)

Probably Tito hasn't known about this and he has written in this way from lack of information, we thought at first.

But then we remembered: We had sent Tito the Resolu-

9 See Enver Hoxha, *The Anglo-American Threat to Albania (Memoirs)*, «8 Nëntori» Publishing House. Tirana 1982, pp. 313-334, Eng. ed.

tion of the Founding Meeting of the Party in which Zai Fundo was described openly and clearly as a «declared class enemy». (10) In his letter Tito told us that he had read the Resolution. How could this be? Had he not read that paragraph? Or since he had to write something, had he written the first thing that came to mind?! Very surprising! However, we were to be even more astonished over the Tito-Fundo problem in September 1944. Our forces of the National Liberation Army which were fighting for the liberation of Northern Albania captured Zai Fundo in a gang of bandits headed by Gani Kryeziu and a British officer. We gave the order that Fundo should receive the sentence he deserved. Quite unexpectedly that same Tito and his henchmen who, in 1942 gave us advice which came too late that we should settle accounts with Fundo, now came out in his defence and even demanded that we handed him over to them.

How we acted on this occasion I have described elsewhere, including the book *The Anglo-American Threat to Albania*, so there's no need to dwell on it. Here we are considering the letter of 1942. It was like this from beginning to end — a letter of advice that came too late. Right at the end, however, almost in passing, as an «afterthought», Tito made this request: «The resolution which you will compile at the Conference should be as short as possible... Likewise, send us the biographies of the new members of the Central Committee, together with their names, because we have to send them to the Comintern.»(?!)

This request made an impression on us. We asked one another whether the Comintern could really need the biographies of the members of the Central Committee of the CPA(?!), but since we did not know how to explain this,

10 Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, Tirana 1971, p. 20, 2nd Alb. ed.

we found the «reason»: Tito knows about such things! Perhaps he has instructions to this effect!

This, then, is all there was to Tito's letter which the Yugoslav propaganda builds up as an «important contribution» to our Party's pursuing a correct line! This they present as an «argument» in support of their claim that the growth of the CPA was allegedly due to them! But their blindness and irrestrainable chauvinist instincts lead them to self-exposure. Had they been more cool-headed, even simply in regard to their hostile claim, they would never have mentioned this letter.

It is incontestable evidence of the fact that, at least until the end of 1942, when the letter reached us, the Communist Party of Albania had not had any assistance, any instruction or any directive from the CC of the CPY. At the same time, it shows that even the «advice» and «instructions» at the end of 1942 arrived in Albania too late to affect the issues and, consequently, were no longer of any value.

But let us return to the beginning of 1943, to the days when we had Blažo Jovanović amongst us, and examine his «contribution» to our work. After he transmitted to us what they had told him to say, the fact is that he displayed discretion and «sat on the sidelines», you might say, waiting to carry out the last task for which he had been sent: to bring greetings on behalf of the CC of the CPY to the 1st National Conference of our Party. He saw for himself that we were engaged in the war and in work day and night, saw the trips that we made back and forth between Elbasan and Tirana, with our heads at stake, the meetings and contacts that we organized, and the fact is he never showed any sign of dissatisfaction. Naturally, there were occasions when he, too, became involved in the talks we held on one problem or the other, when we asked him something about one of the problems we were going to deal

with in the reports to the Conference, and he expressed his opinion frankly. The things he said were not particularly brilliant and I was soon convinced that, about the problems of organization, in particular, and the leadership and life of the party as a whole, he did not know much. Perhaps the fact that he had been engaged mainly in military problems explains this. However, during the whole period up to the Conference Blažo never exceeded his authority, did not try to impose anything on us, just as he had nothing to contribute when we asked him. In brief, he spent 2-3 months with us in normal relations, often without making his presence felt at all, but nevertheless in a friendly atmosphere.

And this same Blažo Jovanović gets up at the 1st National Conference, (11) amongst the delegates from all parts of Albania, and, quite unexpectedly, drops a gem:

«Two Yugoslav communists created Communist Party of Albania!»

He was referring to Miladin Popović and Dušan Mugoša.

Miladin Popović did not allow the very serious impression that this crazy statement made to last long. As soon as Blažo finished speaking, Miladin Popović stood up and addressed both him and us:

«No one should ever imagine,» stressed Miladin amongst other things, «that we two members of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia created the Communist Party of Albania. No, the truth is that you yourselves, the Albanian

11 It was held on March 17-22, 1943 at Labinot in the vicinity of Elbasan and was the 1st Conference of the Party. The question of the preparation of the people for the general armed uprising and its organization occupied the main place in its proceedings. It decided on the creation of the Albanian National Liberation Army and elected the Central Committee of the CPA, its Political Bureau and its General Secretary, Comrade Enver Hoxha (See The History of the PLA, «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1982, pp. 102-114, Eng. ed.).

communists, created the Communist Party of Albania, and if there has to be any mention of my role, or the role of anyone else from outside, that is nothing but what in the relations between sister parties is called internationalist fraternal aid and support. You would have created your Communist Party in any case, as you did, even if we had not been here.»(12)

At this firm declaration Blažo Jovanović went pale and pursed his lips, but he never opened his mouth, either at that moment or during the few days he stayed after we ended the Conference.

Despite our surprise and the very bad impression which he aroused with his allegation, we ourselves did not give importance to such a statement, which seemed to us, as the communists we were and in the way we conceived matters, merely a chance aberration, therefore we did not see any sense in delving any further into how and why such a statement slipped from Blažo's mouth. By this time we knew both his capacity and his nature and we thought that this absurdity could be regarded simply as one of those preposterous things and theses he put forward from time to time.

Nevertheless, a series of doubts arose in our minds. Blažo had spent more than two months amongst us, we had talked with him time and again, and as I said, we had had one friction with him. How did it come about that this gaffe did not escape him during these two months or so, but precisely at the 1st Conference of the Party?! Had it been simply an expression or «idea» that had «suddenly» occurred to him, then it would have been more natural for it to have arisen in a chance conversation or argument. Whereas he said it precisely, not when he was speaking

12 From the minutes of the 1st National Conference of the CPA in the CAP.

or arguing in his own name, but when he was delivering a greeting on behalf of the CC of the CP of Yugoslavia. Then, was it just a slip, or was Blažo instructed to let it drop, as though by accident, in the main forum of our Party?

However, these were only doubts which arose in our minds those days and we had no other reason or fact which would make us think that the allegation was not Blažo's own. In the letter which I mentioned, Tito did not make even the remotest allusion in this direction, while Blažo himself, after Miladin's immediate reply, closed his mouth tight, and we left it at that in the belief that it was simply an aberration of the delegate.

Matters were to develop and the day would come when we would be convinced that both the bad impression and our doubts of March 1943 aroused by Blažo Jovanović's allegation were not without foundation. Thus, the day would come when Tito and his henchmen, in the course of all sorts of savage accusations and slanders against us, would openly publicize one of their most absurd and unscrupulous claims — the claim that they, the Yugoslavs, had allegedly formed the Communist Party of Albania!

From the moment when this claim was first made openly down to this day we have rejected this fabrication of the Titoites, not only with indignation, as such a crazy claim deserves, but also with calm arguments we have explained the whys and wherefores of things, and in particular, we have uncovered and denounced the sinister megalomaniacal and hegemonic aims lurking behind it. All the documents of our Party which refer to this claim are proof of this. I personally, in a series of speeches, reports, articles and in my notes, have dealt extensively with the truth about it. However, since our relations with the Titoites are the main subject of these notes and

reminiscences, I consider it reasonable to dwell once again on the truth about this claim. The fact that this claim has served the Titoites as the basis, as the central pillar upon which all their anti-Albanian activity and propaganda has been built up, makes this even more necessary.

In the first place, the Titoite's claim that they allegedly created the Communist Party of Albania cannot stand from the **viewpoint of theory and of principle**. In this respect it is a blatant violation of the law of development of communist parties in general, and the principles on which they are born, created and strengthened in particular.

We know that Marxism-Leninism always regards the internal cause, the internal factor, as the main determining factor in the birth and evolution of every phenomenon. The process of the birth and formation of a communist party can never be an exception to this law, hence, the process of the founding of our Communist Party cannot be an exception to it, either. Had the internal factor, the Albanian factor, not existed, had the internal conditions not existed and been ripe for it, a communist party could not have been created here, either with two or ten Yugoslav communists, or even if the whole Yugoslav leadership had come to Albania. Hence, the CPA was not created because of the whim or demand of a certain Tito from Yugoslavia, but it was created because the Albanian people, the Albanian communist movement, which had been striving for this result for more than a decade, demanded its birth as something indispensable, the historical moment through which the country was passing, the past, the present and the future of Albania itself demanded it. (13)

Another fact which testifies to this: when Tito and company were allegedly so «strong» and «capable» that

13 The History of the Party of Labour of Albania, «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1982, pp. 48-74, Eng. ed.

they could create a communist party in Albania «from outside», why did they not do this, let us say, in 1935, 1937, 1939, or in 1940?! Was it only in 1941 that they «discovered» that on the borders of Yugoslavia there was Albania which was waiting for the «creator» Tito to say, «Let there be the party», just as, according to the Bible, the world waited for the «great creator» to say, «Let there be light»?!

If there is anything further to be said on this aspect of the problem, then it is no fault of ours that there is only room for irony. The absurdity of such «creators» deserves nothing else.

In the concrete case, the Titoites' claim collapses not only from the theoretical viewpoint. The very practice of the founding of the Communist Party of Albania is another argument which is a slap in the face for them. It is truly ridiculous that on the one hand, the Titoites build up the «gigantic» claim that they «created» the Communist Party of Albania, while, on the other hand, in proof of this, they bring out a lilliputian «argument»: the fact that the Yugoslav communist, Miladin Popović, and, as his interpreter and associate, Dušan Mugoša attended and took part in the Founding Meeting of our Party.

Our Party has never concealed or denied the presence of these two comrades at the Founding Meeting and subsequently, just as it has never hidden or denied anything else about their stay and work in Albania. It is Tito and company who have deliberately hidden and denied the most important aspects of this problem. Concretely:

Frist, the Yugoslav leadership has always passed over in silence the fundamental fact that Miladin Popović **was not sent to Albania either by Tito, or by the leadership of the CP of Yugoslavia**. He emerged from the ranks of Montenegrins-Albanians and had gone underground in Kosovo. In the summer of 1941 he was arrested by the Italian fascists and sent to Albania, to the internment camp at

Peqin. We carried out an operation to release him from internment, and this occurred precisely at those moments when we, the representatives of the three main communist groups, had reached agreement to hold a meeting to found the Communist Party of Albania. As I have described in detail in the book of memoirs *When the Party Was Born*, at that period we had taken the initiative to make contact with the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and expressed the desire that it should send us a comrade to attend and to assist us in the great event we had before us. Since it chanced that we liberated Miladin Popović and he was in Albania, we asked him to stay for a time as a «third», neutral party amongst us. After we reached agreement with him, we also sought authorization from the leadership of the CP of Yugoslavia. About the end of October 1941 Dušan Mugoša brought its authorization and, after this, Miladin Popović linked himself more closely with us in our work, and in this context also took part in the Founding Meeting.

Second, not only was Miladin Popović not sent to us from Tito's staff, but he took part in our Founding Meeting **without having any orientation, directive, instruction, etc.** from the Yugoslav leadership about any «special role» in this event. It was we ourselves, the Albanian communists, participants in the Meeting, who guided and ran its proceedings from start to finish as Marxism-Leninism taught us. There we had no «orientations» or «instructions» of any kind from outside, either from the Yugoslav party, or even from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, or any other party. Up till now at least, even the anti-Albanian propaganda of the Titoites has never fabricated any «document» to «prove» the opposite.

Then, how could a communist party have been created by a member of another party, moreover, when he had not been directly delegated by this party and had no directions of instructions from it?!

Only the logic of Titoites can unravel this.

Third, as I mentioned above, and as he proved throughout his entire stay in Albania, Miladin himself **never assumed «merits» which did not and could not belong to him.** On the contrary, with indignation and determination he rejected any allusion or cunning flattery which Tito's delegates tried to make in order to attribute to him a role which, not even a whole party, let alone one person, could perform from outside.

In short, only those who could and whose duty it was, the Albanian communists, founded the Communist Party of Albania.

The Yugoslavs' claim on this problem, then, is nothing but the assumption of undeserved merits.

However, the permanent persistence of the Belgrade revisionists to assume a role which does not belong to them should not be seen simply as their mania to boast, to win fame, to use this as another shiny medal on their chests covered with decorations for «great heroic deeds». No, as a whole history has proved, they assumed the role of the «creators» of the CPA with the aim that their «creation» should behave towards them like an infant to its parent, be educated and raised in their spirit and, hence, become a blind and obedient tool in the service of the «mother party» — the CP of Yugoslavia. The whole history of the relations of the CPA with the CPY, especially beginning from the summer of 1943 up to the beginning of 1948 and later, is a history of the struggle against the aims, attempts and plots of the CPY and the Yugoslav state to subjugate and enslave our Party and the new Albanian people's state, a history of the heroic resistance of the leadership of our Party and state, not only to avoid subjugation, but also to attack the betrayal openly, ceaselessly and without any hesitation. This we shall examine later.

Here it is in order to point out that, just as the

Yugoslavs' pretension about who created the CPA is absurd and without any foundation, their other pretension, that our Party is allegedly indebted to the CP of Yugoslavia for its growth, strengthening and line during the years of the National Liberation War, is equally absurd and without foundation. This pretension, too, they base on the role of their emissaries in Albania.

As I have stated, up till the end of 1942 neither the leadership of the CPA, Miladin, nor anyone else amongst us had had any kind of contact, had received any kind of letter or material from the CPY, in fact, we hadn't even any information about what the comrades of the sister party were doing, and how matters stood with them.

With this I do not want to imply in any way that we were annoyed because for a year or so they showed no signs of life and gave us no kind of help. No, we could imagine the difficult conditions in which they had to fight, and it was our heartfelt desire and wish that things would go as well as possible with them for the good of the fraternal Yugoslav peoples, for the good of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, and for the good of the liberation war of the world anti-fascist coalition. Naturally, I do not want to imply, either, that we did not feel the need for an exchange of experience with comrades of the same ideal, especially in the conditions when our Party was young, the comrades without any experience, and the conditions in which we fought extremely difficult.

But to do nothing and to pretend that you have done everything, as is the concrete case with the leadership of the CPY, this we have not accepted and never will accept.

The 35 years that have passed from the time when the Titoite betrayal was publicly denounced and unmasked are witness to the fact that although the links between our Party and the CPY were broken off once and for all in

1948, since then the struggle between us has never ceased and has not been interrupted for one moment. Amongst other causes and factors there are two main ones which made this struggle vitally necessary for us:

First, our Party regards Titoism as one of the most dangerous variants of modern revisionism, and for this reason we consider and will consider our involvement in the struggle for its political and ideological exposure and defeat a right and duty of the first order.

Second, during this whole period the anti-Albanian activity of the Belgrade leadership has never ceased and for this reason our Party and state have had to wage a stern, tooth-and-nail struggle against it in order to uncover, attack and smash the aims and continuous conspiratorial activities of Belgrade.

Although there is no need to go into concrete details about how this struggle has been waged (it has been analysed in detail in all the theoretical documents of the Party), I want to point out some of its most important aspects and moments.

Yugoslav revisionism, the first current which represents revisionism in power, emerged at a key moment in the struggle between socialism and imperialism. Right from the outset, American imperialism and the whole of world reaction saw in Titoism the course, the ideology and the policy which led to the degeneration of the communist parties of socialist countries, to the splitting and destruction of the unity of the international communist movement and to sabotage of the revolution and national liberation wars. For this reason imperialism and reaction supported the renegades of Belgrade with all their might and means, kept them alive and gave them the directive that, while maintaining certain «socialist» appearances, they should serve as a means of diversion for the destruction of others.

Tito and company accepted this mission in full consciousness and turned the Yugoslav party and state into an agency of imperialism. Faced with this evil, our communist parties could not and should never remain indifferent. In particular, it was urgently necessary that the parties of the then socialist countries should not rest on their laurels and think foolishly, that, since they were in power and since the Yugoslav leadership had been denounced and remained isolated, it no longer presented any danger. No, the relentless class struggle, the struggle for the application and defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, for the tempering of every communist and the entire Party with the revolutionary ideology, was a necessity *sine qua non* for every party in order to prevent what had happened in Yugoslavia from being repeated anywhere else.

Conscious of all these things, in 1948 our Party (although relatively young and without the necessary experience in the field of theory) was among the first to array itself in the open political and ideological struggle against Yugoslav revisionism. Along with other communist parties, members or non-members of the Information Bureau, our Party made its contribution to the uncovering and further unmasking of this revisionist current, of the social class roots and causes which made its birth possible and of the damage which it brought, both to the party, state and people of Yugoslavia and to the international communist and workers' movement.

For their part, Tito and company, enraged by the defeat which they had suffered and by the exposure which was continually bringing them out in their true colours, launched, together with the struggle for the dissemination of the revisionist theories, an unscrupulous campaign of slanders and accusations against the CP of the Soviet Union and J.V. Stalin, against the Information Bureau and

also against our Party. Driven with their backs to the wall by the courageous and well-proved words of our Party, they could only scream that the Party of Labour of Albania had allegedly broken with them and was attacking them, since it preferred to subjugate itself to a bigger party(!), the CPSU, and that allegedly we were acting as Moscow and the Cominform «told» us and «dictated» to us!

Aware that we could expect nothing else from the traitors in Belgrade, we paid no heed to this filthy accusation. Hence we continued our work and, understandably, we considered it our great good fortune that in this fierce clash between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism we stood shoulder to shoulder with the CPSU, led by the glorious Stalin, and with the other communist parties of the then socialist countries and the capitalist countries.

The general solidarity in the struggle against the renegades of Belgrade (at that period, in appearance at least, this solidarity seemed complete) gave us heart and courage, and in the course of this struggle we prepared ourselves better and tempered ourselves further for the future battles.

But only a few years later our Party was to be faced with a real test in regard to the accusation trumpeted so loudly by the chiefs in Belgrade about the motives from which we proceeded in the struggle against them. This was a grave and bitter test which we, for our part, had not and never would have wanted. The fact is, however, that we were faced with it: after the death of J.V. Stalin, the Khrushchevite team, which seized power, initially toned down and very soon completely extinguished its struggle against Yugoslav revisionism. According to the logic of the Titoite accusation, we, too, should automatically have changed our tune, since «this is what Moscow did». But to the astonishment of Tito (and of course of Khrushchev, too) we continued our former course: no concessions to,

no sign of conciliation with, the Yugoslav revisionists.

We acted in this way because we were more than convinced about the betrayal of the Yugoslav leadership, because we saw that it was completely committed to the course of revising the whole theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. Moreover, in the period from 1948 to 1954, Tito, Kardelj and others had proclaimed and were consistently applying theories and forms of organization in the Yugoslav party and state which quite openly testified to their complete abandonment and distortion of the principles of Marxism-Leninism (to this period belong such «acts» of the Titoites as changing the name of the party from «Communist Party» to «League of Communists»; the transformation of this «League» into a kind of educational-propaganda Association; their adoption of «American democracy» as the model for the structure of the political system in Yugoslavia; the proclamation of the so-called self-administrative socialism which is nothing but a disguise for the capitalist order; their preaching of the withering away of the state in socialism, their denial of the Marxist-Leninist thesis about the need of the existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat during the whole period of transition from capitalism to communism, etc., etc.)

Precisely at the time that these things were occurring, that is, when with his actions Tito was openly proclaiming that he was a dyed-in-the-wool renegade and revisionist, Khrushchev strove to «make clear to us» that Tito was allegedly a «Marxist», indeed «an outstanding Marxist», that «socialism» was being built in Yugoslavia, and that the blame for what had occurred in 1948 should not be laid on Tito and company, but on the Cominform and Stalin!

We did not agree with such a view and assessment of things and, therefore, we acted not in the way that Moscow «transmitted», but as Marxism-Leninism taught us.

In his evil work in regard to the stand towards the Belgrade clique, as in every other field, however, Khrushchev did not concentrate solely on setting a «personal example». Soon the moment came when, through categorical orders and dictate, Moscow demanded that we should cease our principled struggle and bend the knee to and kiss Tito. We indignantly rejected these orders and dictates, and refused to act against the truth in any instance. Indeed, as I have explained in detail in my book of memoirs *The Khrushchevites*, for us the stand towards the renegades of Belgrade became one of the touchstones to see what were the new leaders who took power in the Soviet Union after the death of Stalin, and what were the leaders of other parties who changed course immediately after the emergence of Khrushchevite revisionism (14). Events developed swiftly and the two sides, the Khrushchevites and the Titoites, in collaboration and unity, concocted plans and began their activity to alter the situation in the international communist and workers' movement, and especially in the countries of people's democracy, in favour of the revisionist aims of Khrushchev and the agent of imperialism, Tito. Regrettably, this feverish anti-Marxist activity yielded its bitter fruits in the parties of other countries. It was proved that not we, but the other parties, had climbed on the band-wagon when they, too, «launched» the attack against Tito and company in 1948, along with the Bolshevik Communist Party. That same Dej who at one time had boasted of his «valiant deeds» with a pistol in his belt against a king fallen from power, that same Dej who delivered reports in the Cominform on the unmasking of the Yugoslav revisionist leadership, was one of the first to rush to Tito to beg his forgiveness. The

14 See Enver Hoxha. *The Khrushchevites (Memoirs)*, «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1982, p. 103, 2nd Eng. ed.

same thing was done by the Poles, who amongst other things, took the old Titoite, the notorious Wladyslaw Gomułka out of prison and placed him directly in the post of General Secretary of the UWP of Poland in order to set Poland as quickly as possible on the tragic course of complete chaos; the Hungarians, the Bulgarians, of course, and all the others in turn did the same thing. Thus, the conclusion of our Party was very quickly confirmed that, if revisionism is not combated relentlessly and with full force, the Yugoslav phenomenon would occur with the others, just as it did.

However, I am speaking about our course. We continued the struggle against the renegades in Belgrade, mercilessly attacked their hostile views and stands on every occasion, publicly exposed them and never hesitated, from fear of anyone. Meanwhile, we were subjected to the unrelenting pressures and machinations of Tito and Khrushchev. Just as they had done in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, etc., they tried to rehabilitate their group of agents, Koçi Xoxe and company in Albania, too. Both the Yugoslav leadership and the Soviet leadership (officially through Suslov) demanded the rehabilitation of Koçi Xoxe, that is, that we should return to the Berat Plenum of the CC of the CPA, admit the so-called «mistakes» of our Party in line and in our relations with the Yugoslavs, a demand which, as I pointed out earlier, cannot be claimed to have been made in 1944 without the knowledge of the chief of the Soviet mission in Albania Major Ivanov, the close friend of the notorious Colonel Velimir Stojnić. However, all these efforts failed. Our Party of Labour remained unshaken in its earlier view that the Titoite group had been and still was a group of traitors, renegades, Trotskyites, subversionists and a secret agency of the Americans, and that neither our Party, the Cominform, nor Stalin had been wrong about them.

We repeated this view to Khrushchev and his lackeys many times: through letters and in official meetings we presented endless arguments from the «theoretical» works and practical deeds of the Yugoslav renegades, but the truth fell on deaf ears. Thus, we were convinced that the revisionist gangrene had spread through the head and body of the CC of the CPSU and the leaderships of other parties. Even though we saw we were alone in this struggle, still we did not retreat.

Once the phase of the «touchstone» was over, that is, once we were convinced where Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites stood in regard to the Titoites, we decided to take another major step in the struggle against modern revisionism. The fact is that over a period of several years, especially from the beginning of 1956 to the middle of 1960, we used the «open door» of the struggle against the Titoite traitors to attack the new betrayal which had emerged in the arena and was growing stronger from day to day, Khrushchevite betrayal.

As I have had occasion to stress at other times, this was a clever and far-sighted tactic of our Party which we employed with great success. Anyone who carefully examines all the documents of our Party during this period will understand that as early as 1954, 1955, and especially after 1955, we were engaged in struggle against the Khrushchevite betrayal which was developing at top speed alongside the Titoite betrayal, and not just in 1960 and 1961 when we came out openly and publicly against the Khrushchevites. However, since the conditions had not matured and the moment had not arrived to come out openly and publicly against Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites by name, at that period, we attacked and exposed their revisionist views and stands by linking them in the press and in public with the revisionists of Belgrade and the anti-Marxist activity of Tito, Kardelj, etc. This does

not mean that we were attacking Tito and his henchmen over something for which they were not responsible. Tito was as much a Khrushchevite as Khrushchev, just as Khrushchev was as much a Titoite as Tito. The two variants were branches of the one trunk — modern revisionism, they were both dangerous, hostile currents and deserved exposure and the powerful attack. As I said, however, besides getting what he deserved, Tito was used by us also in the role of «the Turk's head», or more precisely, Khrushchev's head.

The two sides saw where our attack was aimed, so they further strengthened their collaboration and what Khrushchev could not say against us for tactical reasons and because of public opinion Tito proclaimed very well. Amongst others, Tito's notorious speech at Pula in November 1956 is well known. There Tito not only made an unrestrained anti-Marxist attack on the theory and practice of the socialist order, but also directly condemned «the cult of Enver Hoxha» and called for the overthrow of the leadership of our Party. Undoubtedly, with this anti-Albanian attack and the open call for the overthrow of our leadership Tito expressed not only his own desire, but also the desire of the Soviet leadership. It is not accidental that just a few days after this notorious speech, Krylov, the Soviet ambassador in Tirana, came to me and demanded insistently, on the instructions of the Soviet leadership, that we «do not reply harshly to Tito, because tempers will become heated and our work will be ruined». We gave Khrushchev and Tito our answer immediately: we denounced and condemned Tito's ultra-revisionist speech with all our batteries, unconcerned whether Tito «would lose his temper» or Khrushchev's «work would be ruined». In fact our clear-cut principled stands were ruining Khrushchev's work. When the Soviet revisionists saw that they had failed in Hungary and elsewhere and that

the situation in the communist movement and the socialist camp was slipping from their control, they retreated a little from their subversive struggle and collaboration with Tito, because through his action and «theories» he was not only exposing the revisionist mire in which they were wallowing, but was also trying to take the Khrushchevite current under his wing and to manoeuvre it in accord with his own interests and those of his imperialist patrons. At those moments Khrushchev was temporarily obliged to support the stands of the Party of Labour of Albania, published our articles in the Soviet press, was obliged to accept our resolute stand against Titoism as an agency of imperialism in the 1957 Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties, and this was included in the Declaration of the Meeting, etc. But, as I have said at other times, this was only a temporary retreat by Khrushchev. In essence he was opposed to the principled struggle which we waged against Titoism to the extent that, in one of the confrontations which I had with him and Suslov over the stand towards Yugoslav revisionism, Khrushchev was so irritated that he said to me angrily: «Where do you want to lead us. to Stalin's road?!»

Step by step, our principled contradictions with the Soviet leadership were building up, heading for the confrontation at Bucharest.

As is known, in 1960 we came out openly against the Khrushchevite betrayal, too, and after this we intensified our principled struggle against it, just as we had done against the Titoite current from 1948 onwards. At this period it seemed as though the CP of China was engaged shoulder to shoulder with us in this struggle against both of these currents of modern revisionism. In this period, too, there were people who said that we had entered into this struggle because this is what Beijing was doing(!), this was dictated to us by Mao Zedong, and this time

voices came not only from Belgrade, but also from Moscow! Such base accusations merely made us smile and we went on with our work. We were already well aware that such things were not said because the accusers did not know the Party of Labour of Albania well. No, these were the howls of a wolf which, even mortally wounded, tries to threaten and frighten its prey. The Titoite and Khrushchevite revisionists were trying to obscure the truth with smoke and fog, to inflict what damage they could on the image of our Party.

Time was soon to prove once again that we had committed ourselves to the struggle against revisionism proceeding not from the dictate of Beijing or Mao Zedong, but as always, from the supreme dictate of Marxism-Leninism. On the orders and in favour of our guiding ideology, that is, in defence of the theory and practice of the revolution from the attacks which the modern revisionists were making on it, our heroic Party had waged, was waging and would continue to wage its own principled struggle. The day came when Mao Zedong ceased the struggle against Yugoslav revisionism, but we continued it as before. It must be said that this time, too, through the «open door» of the struggle against Yugoslav and Soviet revisionism we had the opportunity to attack the views and distortions which the Communist Party of China and its deranged leader Mao Zedong were making of Marxism-Leninism. However, as I have proved at length in a series of materials, especially in *Reflections on China*, the cause of the betrayal of the CP of China does not lie either in Mao's dotage in his old age or the senility of other old men in Beijing. No, they had been revisionists, indeed pure revisionists, since their youth, but had adopted their allegedly principled, Marxist-Leninist phrases at particular periods (especially so in 1960) in order to conceal behind them their long-range, counter-revolutionary,

anti-Marxist aims and plans. When finally they were convinced that their «Marxist» manoeuvres were not leading them where they intended, they threw off the mantle of «Marxist-Leninists» and emerged as they were in reality — inveterate Titoites, Eurocommunists and Khrushchevites. Events developed rapidly and when the leadership of Beijing fell on its knees before the renegade of Belgrade, we not only did not do as Mao and Zhou Enlai did and as they dictated to us, but on the contrary we did not hesitate to rise immediately to attack this other variant of modern revisionism — the Chinese variant, Mao Zedong thought!

These and other arguments prove completely that in the struggle against the renegades of Belgrade, just as against all other revisionist currents, we did not proceed from any external factor, that we never acted blindly or following the band-wagon, and that we were not influenced by anyone. So, convinced from the outset that we waged a correct struggle, conscious that we were performing our duty as a Marxist-Leninist party, we pressed on with this struggle, always turning this whole process not only into one of the most glorious chapters in the history of our Party, but also into a great school of revolutionary training and tempering, into an unprecedented university for thorough knowledge and assimilation of Marxism-Leninism.

There was one moment when Khrushchev, unable to shut our mouths in the open and principled struggle we were waging against Yugoslav revisionism, made the accusation that we were acting in this way, because allegedly we wanted to appear as «the standard-bearers» of the struggle against modern revisionism, that is, allegedly to emerge as better than the others. In essence, this dirty accusation also clearly expressed the whole burden of hostile, megalomaniacal, anti-Marxist views of the

accuser himself. It had never been our intention and we had not involved ourselves in this struggle in order to «show off», to emerge as better than the others, or to put the others under command or dictate. No, with the struggle against Yugoslav revisionism we were simply doing our duty, a duty which was equally incumbent on any genuine Marxist-Leninist party. And when the others abandoned this sacred duty were we supposed to abandon it, too, and keep silent to avoid giving the «opportunity» to others to accuse us of wanting to be the «standard-bearers» and of megalomania?! Had our Party acted in that way this would have been an unpardonable sin. At no time did we fall into that abyss into which the Khrushchevites and, later, the Maoists wanted to push us. Thus, we continued the struggle against Titoism from no motive other than to perform one of the fundamental tasks which faced and faces every party.

Here, however, there is an indisputable truth which must be brought out unhesitatingly: in regard to the things that have occurred in the international communist and workers' movement in the last three or four decades (especially after the Khrushchevite betrayal) the great historic merit belongs to the Party of Labour of Albania that of all the parties in power it is the only one which not only was not deceived and never at any moment ceased the struggle against Yugoslav revisionism, but also made a profound and all-round analysis of Titoism or, more accurately, carried out a thorough autopsy on it.

Proud of the contribution which we have made to the exposure of this variant of revisionism, and convinced and conscious of the necessity for intensifying the struggle against it, we shall continue on this course in the future, too, shoulder to shoulder with the other Marxist-Leninist parties. We have not reconciled ourselves and never will reconcile ourselves to Titoism and all the

other variants of modern revisionism. Our only «contact» with them is through the political and ideological struggle which we will continue until they are completely and finally routed and destroyed.

Already in May-June 1948 we were more than aware that Tito and the Titoites, as traitors to Marxism-Leninism, were and would remain inimical and dangerous to all the communist parties, to the revolutionary movements and national liberation struggles everywhere in the world, but for us, the Albanian communists and people, besides this, they were and would remain direct, savage, sworn anti-Albanian enemies. We were convinced that they would never give up their plans and aims to gobble up Albania, and to this end would not lay down their arms of subversion, interference and plots against our Party and country.

We would be vigilant and with our fist clenched at every moment, because, although it had suffered heavy blows, the Titoite agency in Albania would not cease working for the future and for long-term plans and variants. In this context, in a thousand and one ways, Tito and company would do everything in their power to regain their lost positions, to create conditions and the terrain in order to penetrate amongst us and destroy us. They could never reconcile themselves to the fact that Albania had «escaped» from their hands, could never sleep easily when they saw that a party, which they had wanted to turn into a blind tool, but which to their regret had constantly attacked them and their old pan-Slav dreams and in the end had smashed them, was working and leading in Albania. Hence, as long as they remained in power, the Titoites would be real and dangerous enemies of our Party and country.

It did not take months or years for the Titoites

themselves to prove the truth of this. On the contrary, when we still had not denounced them publicly, in order to «forestall the evil» they launched a whole campaign of slanders and accusations against our Party and its leadership, and immediately after the 1st Congress of our Party, Belgrade's anti-Albanian campaign assumed unprecedented proportions and intensity. The newspapers, radio stations, pamphlets and publishing houses, all the means of Titoite propaganda were activated in this dirty campaign, pouring out monstrosities against us. Amongst other things, at that time they accused us of being «violators of democracy» in the party and among the people(!), of killing «communists» and «honest patriots»(!), and later went on to the accusation that we were turning Albania into a «barracks surrounded by barbed wire» where everything was trampled under the «military jackboot», etc., etc.

According to this alarm for propaganda which thundered from Belgrade one would have thought that havoc was being wrought in Albania, but when it came to providing facts and arguments «the defenders of democracy» in Belgrade found themselves in a deplorable position: they were able to mention only one name, that of Koçi Xoxe!

But who, were these «ideal defenders» of «pure democracy» who, simply because our organs of the dictatorship had condemned to death only one sworn enemy and agent, Koçi Xoxe, arrived at the «horrified» conclusion that we were «murderers» and «violators of democracy»?!

Here I shall not mention the mass murders, eliminations and exterminations which the Titoite army and the organs of the UDB perpetrated during the period 1945-1948 on the orders of Tito-Ranković and company, under the pretext of the struggle to «clean up ustaše and četnici elements», «criminal bands», «remnants of the old regime» etc., nor shall I mention the black terror which

they unleashed at this period (especially from the end of 1944 right through 1945) upon the people of Kosova and the Albanian population living on their own territories in Montenegro and Macedonia, under the pretext of the struggle against «Ballist gangs», «nationalists», «great Albanians», etc. For comparison, however, I shall dwell a little on how «the Titoite democracy» acted and how our democracy acted in 1948 towards the respective opponents and enemies.

The whole picture of the treacherous work of the gang of Koçi Xoxe, Pandi Kristo and others as agents in the service of the Yugoslavs became more than clear to us especially in the early months of 1948. However, although they were not accused simply of having alien views, but especially of high treason towards the Party and the country, we allowed Koçi Xoxe, Pandi Kristo and company to take part in all the meetings of the Political Bureau, in the 9th, 10th and 11th Plenums of the CC of the Party, in the meetings of party activists which were held later and even in the 1st Congress of the CPA. Not only did we allow them to take part, but we also gave them the right to speak as often as they considered necessary.

What special type of «democracy» did Tito and Rankovic in Yugoslavia offer all those thousands of elements of the CPY who expressed solidarity with the letters of the CC of the CPSU and the Resolution of the Cominform?! They were clapped in handcuffs as soon as they began to open their mouths! And when hundreds of others simply demanded that what was written in the letters of the CC of the CPSU should be discussed in the party, that is, when they had not yet expressed themselves either for or against, the Titoite «democracy» arrested them, threw them into prison and killed them in secret. So, while we analysed the criminal work of

the Koçi Xoxe gang for five to six months on end in the Party (where the traitors themselves were present), the Titoites did not allow their opponents to speak even in a single meeting of the organization of which they were members! Out of the whole network of anti-state agents that we discovered we handed over to the court only 4-5 persons, while the Tito clique filled the prisons with thousands and thousands of people who were simply ideological opponents! And after all this Tito and company had the temerity to accuse us of being «violators of democracy»!

Of the four or five elements whom we handed over to the courts for punishment at the end of 1948, in fact, only one, Koçi Xoxe, was sentenced to death as an avowed traitor to the Party and state, as chief of the gang which had done everything in its power to put Albania in thrall to Yugoslavia! The 3 or 4 others were sentenced to 5-20 years imprisonment according to the degree of their culpability and the stand they adopted when they were caught red-handed in the plot. In Yugoslavia, however, the Titoites killed the bulk of those thousands of Yugoslav communists who were thrown into prison as supporters of the Cominform or they simply disappeared leaving no trace. Nevertheless, they had the temerity to accuse us of being «murderers»!

The notorious concentration camps like Goli Otok, a kind of Mathausen in the conditions of «Yugoslav socialism», were set up not in Albania, but in Yugoslavia. It was not our communists and patriots who were incarcerated, maimed, and wiped out in them, but Yugoslavs, including hundreds of thousands of Albanians from Kosova and others who lived on their own lands in Montenegro and Macedonia. That is, we did not fill Albania with Goli Otoks, but the Belgrade leadership filled Yugoslavia with such notorious camps. And they had the temerity

to accuse us of turning Albania into «a barracks dominated by the military jackboot»!

That, then, is what the «Titoite democracy» was, that is what the «advocates of Christian charity», Tito and Ranković, were, who perpetrated the most monstrous crimes against the party and peoples of Yugoslavia without a tremor, while they were «horrified», because we had condemned to death one sworn enemy of ours and their obedient agent! It is the same «Ranković democracy» which has been wreaking havoc in Yugoslavia for 35 years on end, the same «Titoite democracy» which recently unleashed the black hundreds and thousands of Rankoviés, Lubičićés, Stamboliés, and Herleviés against the peaceful demonstrations of the people of Kosova demanding respect for and implementation of their constitutional rights.

Since 1948 Tito, however, as the rabid anti-Albanian he was, could not and did not content himself simply with propaganda attacks against us.

Just like the reactionary governments of Western countries, the Titoite leadership set up on Yugoslav territory whole camps in which criminals and other agents, enemies of the new socialist order in Albania, were assembled, trained and prepared to infiltrate into our territory for sabotage and subversion. Thus, the time came when instead of the earlier «party» and state emissaries, Tito and his henchmen began to send us dozens of bandits, criminals, thieves and other reprobates who had fled from Albania together with the occupiers in 1944 or afterwards, on account of the crimes they had committed and the hostility they nurtured towards the new order of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In collaboration with the foreign imperialist and chauvinist agencies, especially those of the neighbouring countries, the renegades of Belgrade collected up the anti-Albanian scum of agents,

political and ordinary criminals and fugitives wherever they were and brought them to Yugoslavia to prepare them as mercenary forces against the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian socialist state. Naturally, we were to receive these bandit «guests» from Yugoslavia as bandits and criminals are received — with the trap set.

These sinister forces constituted, you might say, the «external echelon» which the Yugoslav leadership was to throw in against us, as it did. At the same time, the Yugoslavs did not overlook the «internal echelon», either. In this were included not only those elements long recruited by the UDB, whom we had still not discovered, but all the remnants of the old order which we had overthrown. All these elements were predisposed to prick up their ears and accept the orientations and signals which came from Belgrade. This is understandable: the overthrown classes, the traitors, the discontented elements, enemies of the people's state power, all those who could not endure the justice of the Party and our people's state power had pinned all their hopes on external support. And if up till 1948 they had pinned their hopes on the Americans and the British, now it was no trouble to add another ally and new patron. They were bound to try, just as they did, to activate themselves, to enter into contact with and operate in the Titoite's network, too.

In time, however, they, too, were uncovered and attacked. The hopes of Tito and company about arousing discontent, panic, despair, confusion and disorder in Albania were not justifying themselves. One after the other, all the gangsters and wreckers and the secret agents who were thrown into action in our country during this period fell into our hands, like rats in a trap. (15)

15 From 1948 to 1955 the Yugoslav secret agency infiltrated into and organized in Albania 307 gangs of secret agents,

Still we did not go to sleep. Time was to show that the Yugoslav leadership, either «with its own forces» or in secret agreement with the imperialist secret agencies, kept other «pawns in reserve» to bring into action at the moments which appeared most opportune and when their interests required. As to who these «pawns in reserve» were, this would be brought to light by the progress of our revolution. The main thing is that we remained permanently vigilant, aware that we would not be left to pursue our course in peace, because, apart from anything else, our many enemies would never allow us to work and live in peace.

In this way the initial phase of Tito's efforts to change the situation in Albania through wreckers and secret agents came to an end. Nothing shook our socialist fortress, its foundations were unshakeable. Step by step, along with the advance in all fields of life, along with the cleaning out of imperialist, Titoite and imperialist-Titoite gangs and networks of secret agents, we became stronger and more determined on our course.

About the beginning of the 50's it was seen clearly that Tito could achieve nothing against us through the methods of wreckers, secret agents and the old anti-Albanian and anti-socialist scum. However, precisely when his hopes of overturning the situation in Albania were fading, another renegade, Nikita Khrushchev, came to the aid of Tito, like a «gift from God».

The Khrushchevite betrayal, one of the greatest traumas the international communist and worker's movement has ever suffered, gave Tito new possibilities and

wreckers and criminals who were all captured or wiped out. During the same period groups and secret organizations of agents set up and guided by the Yugoslav secret service in collaboration with Western secret services were discovered and wiped out in our country.

means and, together with them, great hopes of changing the situation in Albania. Now his old chauvinist greed to gobble up Albania was to be combined with two other fundamental factors: with the hatred of the renegades of Belgrade for socialism which was being built in Albania, and second, with the desire to avenge themselves for the repeated blows and exposures which our Party and people had been inflicting on them for years on end.

The Titoites did not wait long before they launched their first attack on us through Tuk Jakova. It was by no means an accident that precisely when Tito and Khrushchev were putting their fiddles in tune, a month or two before Khrushchev went to Belgrade to kiss Tito, Tuk Jakova got up and repeated the hostile thesis of the Yugoslavs that allegedly they had created the Communist Party of Albania (!) and that the «merit» for all the victories achieved during the Anti-fascist National Liberation War belonged to them(!).

I have already dealt in detail with what this «thesis» is and why it was raised. Here I want to point out something else: Tuk Jakova was one of the participants in the Founding Meeting of the CPA in November 1941 and, during the years of the war up till 1955, like all of us, he, too, had heard this thesis many times and had not accepted it, but on the contrary had opposed it strongly. Then, how did it come about that he changed his mind and spat in his own face in April 1955?! Undoubtedly, Çalamani (Dušan Mugoša) who, according to the code-word of the UDB, «remembered and did not forget» his recruits, signalled Tuk to go into action. Tuk's other «theses» were all those which the Khrushchevite team were peddling wholesale in their preparation of the terrain for the 20th Congress of the CPSU: the dying out of the class struggle, re-examination of the line pursued

by the Party, especially the rehabilitation of those enemies who had been condemned for opportunism and Trotskyism; the changing of the composition of the CC of the Party and the bringing of condemned elements into the leadership, etc., etc.

Our Party immediately dealt powerful, merciless blows at the «theses» and aims of Tuk and those who had dished them up to him. Only one person, Bedri Spahiu, long known as an opportunist, a megalomaniac, and a partisan of the thesis of the dying out of the class struggle, etc., associated himself with Tuk Jakova. In condemning these two capitulationist and anti-party elements, the Plenum of the CC of the PLA held in June 1955, not only expressed the determination of the PLA not to fall into that mire in which the other parties of the then socialist countries had begun to sink, but, at the same time, gave Tito and company a good lesson. The Titoites' first attempt against us in the period when the Khrushchevite epidemic had broken out was foiled. Despite this bitter outcome, however, the Yugoslav leadership did not lose hope and did not spare its efforts to make new attempts at interference and subversion in Albania.

These were precisely the moments when the sensational and disgraceful reconciliation of Tito and Khrushchev was being brought to fruition in Belgrade at the end of May and the beginning of June 1955. Our clear-cut opposition to this notorious action is well known.

As soon as Khrushchev informed us at the last minute that he was going to Belgrade in person to make peace with Tito, to beg his «pardon» for «the mistakes committed against him in 1948-and in 1949(!) and to publish in the press the «decision» (which Khrushchev himself had taken) about annulling the resolutions of the Cominform, we wrote a strong letter to Khrushchev in which we expressed our disapproval of these actions and especially

of his annulling the resolutions of the Cominform. (16) In several meetings which I had those days with the Soviet ambassador in Tirana, Levichkin, I presented the Soviet leadership with a wide range of powerful arguments in support of our correct stand on this question. However, the Tito-Khrushchev accord came about. A few days after this act of treachery, on June 17, 1955 with the measures which our Plenum of the Central Committee took against Tuk Jakova and Bedri Spahiu, we gave Tito and Khrushchev direct and indirect warning that we would not reconcile ourselves to their plans, but on the contrary would mercilessly attack any attempt of theirs or their agents to subjugate us. However, it must be said that, although we never on any occasion accepted the line which Moscow dictated to us, but on the contrary opposed it, we could not remain «unaffected», as you might say, outside the waves which it stirred up. Both Khrushchev and Tito were to work, sometimes in unity, sometimes separately, in order to give it the maximum striking force, that is, to create a situation which would lead towards the «submission» of Albania.

Among the more serious events during this process,

16 «The daily experience of our Party in relation to the Yugoslavs,» we wrote to Khrushchev among other things «both before the breach with the Yugoslavs in 1948 and later, to this day, proves clearly and completely with many incontestable facts, that the principled content of all the resolutions of the Cominform in regard to the Yugoslav question has been completely correct... In our opinion such a hasty (and ill-considered) decision on an issue of great importance and of principle, without first making a profound analysis together with all the parties interested in this issue, and what is more, the publication of it in the press and proclamation of it in the talks in Belgrade; would not only be premature, but would also cause serious harm in the general orientation... We are convinced that this general line of our Party in its relations with Yugoslavia is correct...» (From the letter of the CC of the PLA to the CC of the CPSU, May 25, 1955. CAP.)

the Party Conference of Tirana in April 1956 must be mentioned. In the context of the first phase of the open emergence of Khrushchevite revisionism it undoubtedly constitutes the main attempt of Tito and Khrushchev to overturn the situation in Albania. Held very shortly after the ill-famed 20th Congress of the CPSU, the Tirana Conference of April 1956, from the ideological stand-point, was a reflection of that congress and the revisionist platform which it codified, while from the organizational stand-point it was simply a plot hatched up by the Titoite leadership through the Yugoslav embassy and, as it turned out later, in collaboration with the Soviet embassy, too.

It is a recognized fact that especially after the 20th Congress of February 1956, Khrushchev, in collusion with Tito, did everything in his power to overturn the situation in all the countries of people's democracy. As I wrote above, one of the first measures which Khrushchev took was the rehabilitation of those condemned in the time of the Cominform, bringing them into the leadership of the parties and countries of people's democracy. Rajk in Hungary, Gomulka in Poland and Kostov in Bulgaria were all rehabilitated one after the other, the so-called «movement for democratization», for «the re-examination of decisions taken under the influence of Stalin and the Cominform,» etc., was launched. In many countries the «new line» of reconciliation with the former enemies, «peaceful coexistence» with imperialism, etc., were made law. None of the other erstwhile people's democracies of Europe, nor Mao Zedong's China, lagged behind in this headlong gallop.

Tito watched this process with satisfaction and did everything possible to give it new impulses and develop it in his own interest. Hoping that the time had come for him to take up the banner, he declared more than once that the «blame» for all that had occurred lay in

the socialist order itself and, consequently, the «dogmatic», «Stalinist» socialism must be overturned and the Yugoslav order of «vital», «human self-administration» must be established.

Many were deceived by or enthusiastically welcomed all this betrayal which was now codified and became an official ideology. Only our Party and country remained unshaken on the former line. This could not fail to infuriate the preachers of modern revisionism, Tito and Khrushchev. When they saw that what was happening in the other countries was not happening here, they decided to pursue their old course — that of plots. In this direction Tito was a master.

The Tirana Conference was precisely a part of the Tito-Khrushchev plot to overturn the situation in our country. I say a part, because their plan, or their plot, was much more wide-ranging and of much greater proportions. At the Tirana Conference only the first step was to be taken, the feeling of the pulse, the preparation of the terrain, and later it would be carried further, especially at the 3rd Congress of the PLA which was to be held and did take place a little after the Tirana Conference. (17)

In fact, what occurred at the Tirana Conference?

Initially, in Tirana and throughout the whole country the meetings of the party organizations had been held. These meetings were characterized by the political, ideological and organizational maturity of the whole Party, by the love which the communists nurtured for the Party, for its leadership and its line, by their determination to carry forward and defend this line resolutely, etc. At these meetings the delegates to the Party Conference of Tirana were elected, too. Up to this point, then, as I said everything proceeded quite normally. The organization of the Par-

17 The 3rd Congress of the PLA was held in Tirana from May 25 to June 3, 1956.

ty in Tirana, as the organizations of the Party throughout the country, once again confirmed its maturity and the correctness of the general line of the Party. Precisely when the delegates had been elected and were preparing themselves for the Conference, the Yugoslav embassy in Tirana was ordered to launch into urgent action the secret agents prepared long before, discontented elements, etc. The reason for this haste of Belgrade is easily understood: the revisionist theses and decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU had just been published and the Yugoslav leadership judged that time must not be lost. In their view, a rapid, secret and intensive action in Albania might disturb and completely confuse the situation, otherwise «the Stalinist leadership of Enver Hoxha» could not be shaken. They started to spin the threads of the plot.

Under the pretext of «acquainting» people with and «popularizing» the decisions and theses of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, which the whole world was propagating noisily, the agents of the Yugoslavs and other elements condemned by the Party, instructed by the Yugoslav embassy, began secretly to indoctrinate the delegates elected to the Conference. Indeed, a «legal» course was followed: taking advantage of the love which our Party had cultivated for the CPSU, many delegates were «instructed» to demand from the organizations which had elected them that there should be a further «discussion», following the example of the «Soviet sister party», to ensure that «complaints» and «criticism», which would be in conformity with «the new spirit», were made against the leadership of our Party; that the communists were called on to tell «everything about the present and the past»; that efforts were made allegedly to «correct the mistakes and distortions» under the disguise of «democracy», «listening to the voice of the masses», «bring-

ing the voice of the base to the Conference», etc., etc.

From the first day of the Conference, and especially in the first sessions of the second day, this «spirit of criticism» was very obvious, indeed the accusations very quickly advanced so far that the situation was becoming grave and disturbing even to the secret organizers of the plot.

Precisely in the middle of the second day of the Conference, quite unexpectedly Nexhmije [Hoxha] arrived in Vlora. I had been about a week in Vlora on holiday, although in fact I was working, preparing the report for the 3rd Congress of the Party which was to be held in May that year. Nexhmije told me that that day (I remember clearly it was Sunday, April 15) Mehmet Shehu and Beqir Balluku had summoned her, and Mehmet Shehu had told her that «the situation in the Conference is serious», «they are demanding the rehabilitation of Koçi Xoxe, Tuk Jakova and Bedri Spahiu», calling for «links with Tito and the Yugoslav party», etc. «I am telling you these things,» Mehmet Shehu had concluded, «so that you go to Vlora to inform Comrade Enver and we think that it is necessary that he personally should come to the Conference.»

I want to point out that even without Mehmet Shehu's «request», after what Nexhmije told me, I could not have stayed a moment longer in Vlora. I ordered my car and two hours later was back in Tirana...

So, in the afternoon of April 15, I went to the Tirana Conference. I must say that as soon as I entered the Conference hall I was surrounded by an atmosphere which gave me even greater confidence and strength: as soon as they saw me the delegates rose to their feet and burst into applause and cheers for the Party and its Central Committee. Excitement and joy began to appear in their faces. It was clear, the comrades were being

freed from an anxiety which had disturbed and worried them for nearly two days on end. I was even more convinced of the truth of this as soon as I began to speak. The explanation in a comradely spirit which I began to make of the problems, the arguments which I raised to prove the correctness of the general line pursued by the Party, very quickly electrified the hall. Time after time the delegates shouted from the body of the hall:

«That is the truth! Long live the Party!»

Only a few individuals were out of tune with this general spirit: when all the delegates rose to their feet they were obliged to stand up with the majority, but they did not applaud or cheer. Of course, we did not want their applause, even if it cost us nothing. They had to be gripped firmly in the vice, to admit through their own mouths that in all the things they had raised they proceeded from hostile anti-Albanian and anti-party positions, that they had carried out the orders and «directives» of the Trotskyite Yugoslav leadership, and for all this evil work they would have to render account. On the following day, April 16, in particular, I had to deal especially with these elements. As I said, the phase of quietly clearing up the problems in principle had ended with success. Now it was the time for the devastating attack on the plotters and their tools at the Conference. I called on one of them by name and demanded that he «explain» to us there and then what had impelled him in the accusations which he made!

At first he began with a show of «boldness», but then began to mumble that he had brought forward «the opinion of his basic organization».

«Leave your basic organization out of this!» I told him. «First of all, explain to us what you were doing in the car of the Yugoslav embassy on such and such

a date, where you went and what instructions you received?!»

An excited ripple ran through the hall.

«It was a mistake,» the tool of the Yugoslavs dared to «defend» himself. «I thought it was an Albanian car.»

«Let us assume that at first you made a mistake,» I continued with his «logic», «but when you got in and heard them speaking Serbian, did Serbian sound to you like Albanian?!»

The whole of the hall burst into laughter. The agent of the Yugoslavs was deathly pale. He did not know what straw to cling to and what to say. We continued in this way with two or three others who, up till yesterday, had shown themselves «unrestrained» and «very bold» but were now left completely isolated and discredited.

After this there was virtually no further need for me to intervene. The delegates began to speak and, with the maturity, courage and the spirit of criticism and self-criticism which have always characterized our communists, ensured that the proceedings of the Party Conference of Tirana were carried through to the end with complete success.

The attempt to turn it into the first action to overthrow the sound leadership of the PLA and change the situation in Albania was nipped in the bud.

During the Conference, and especially after it, we made a dispassionate analysis of what had occurred and, as I said, on the basis of an endless series of facts we arrived at the conclusion that everything had been organized by the Titoite leadership through the Yugoslav embassy in Tirana. Likewise, as early as those days we arrived at the correct conclusion that it was the revisionist platform of the 20th Congress of the CPSU which had inspired and encouraged both the Yugoslav leadership and its agents within our ranks to undertake this hostile attempt.

After the group of conspirators at the Tirana Conference was routed, some of its participants were expelled from the Party and some others, those who turned out to be in contact with the Yugoslav embassy (because at that time we had no facts about the Soviet embassy) were handed over to the court.

At that time, however, because of the level of our knowledge, we did not manage to discover and attack the most powerful implement of foreign agencies who, on this occasion, set in action by the Yugoslav UDB, secretly played the main role in the plot hatched up. This was Mehmet Shehu. The facts which had to do with his stand at the Conference did not permit us to arrive at any conclusion other than the ones we did. Now, from analysis of earlier and later events, especially of the facts which we discovered after his suicide on December 18, 1981, the Party has arrived at precise and completely proven conclusions.

Hence in general outline, the history of our relations with the CPY and the revisionist Yugoslav state is like this: on their part, it is a history of interference and traps, of ceaseless plots to damage our Party and socialist state, while, on our part, it is a history of just and consistent struggle by our Party and people, determined never to fall for any of their traps and plots, to uncover and foil them before they cause us serious damage.

For socialist Albania to develop and march forward we defined and consistently followed the road which seemed to us to be the most correct one — the road which is based on the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and which has always fulfilled the loftiest aspirations and desires of our valiant, hard-working and revolutionary people. This has been and is the road of the constant consolidation of the leading role of the Party and

of the active participation of the masses in the whole life of the country, of the defence of the independence of the Homeland, of the deepening of the all-round revolution in all fields, of the gradual and constant improvement of the well-being of the masses, etc. All along this time, our numerous enemies, and the Yugoslav Titoites in particular, resorted to all means of pressure to make us swerve from this course, sometimes through threats, sometimes «pitying us» or accusing us of being «on a wrong», «dogmatic», «Stalinist road», etc., etc.

We never heeded this «advice» or «admonishments» of the enemies, but followed consistently the road we had mapped out, conscious of its correctness. Time alone was to prove and our people were to judge whether we had gone in the right or wrong direction. And time, the reality, has long proved and continues to prove with the utmost clarity who was right and who was wrong.

The so much advertised creation of Tito — the «self-administrative» Yugoslavia of «specific socialism», has been totally engulfed by the gravest crisis in its history and is now in a very grave situation with no way out.

The Yugoslav system has been reduced to bad shape, the development of events has torn down all masks and dispelled all illusions. The external pompous appearances, the misleading advertisements of a «well-being such as can be found in no other place»(!), of a «Yugoslavia of freedom and abundance»(!) have been replaced by all-round crisis, poverty and growing unemployment, galloping inflation, increasing shortages of even most essential goods and articles of broad consumption, etc.

Just as they did with Tito at his last breath, the imperialists and social-imperialists are doing their utmost to give the Yugoslav system a new lease of life, to keep it alive, although this system is wholly gangrened. No blood transfusion, either from Washington, Moscow or

whatever international bank or fund, can save it. This is the logical end of all revisionist theory and practice. The imperialist and social-imperialist creditors take the money from their safes, not because they ache to help the peoples of Yugoslavia out of their misery, but because they want to protect their political and economic interest in Yugoslavia, to expand or consolidate the domains Tito has long ago sold them in return for the credits he has received from them. But if for a period of time it seemed as if Yugoslavia was to gain in this dangerous game, now the time has come for Yugoslavia to put itself up for auction to the imperialists and social-imperialists. A debtor of the first order shaken to its very foundations in all respects, with no clear perspective, without the necessary means and forces to find the road of salvation — such is the present-day Titoite self-administrative Yugoslavia.

We cannot but be concerned about this extremely grave situation, which is dangerous not only for the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia, but also for peace and security in the Balkans and beyond the Balkans. We have never wished those peoples ill, on the contrary we have always been for good neighbourly relations with them. It is in vain for Tito and company to accuse us — and his present-day successors follow him in this — of creating turbulent situations and interfering in their internal affairs. No, the evil seed is in their midst, they have planted and fostered it to grow with their own hands, so let them find it and fight it there where they have it.

Quite the opposite is the case with our country, with our course of the construction of socialism. By consistently applying the Marxist-Leninist principles in the construction and leadership of the entire life of the country, socialist Albania has advanced with sure steps, without holding out a begging hand to anyone. We have encountered many difficulties and obstacles, have grappled with them

fearlessly, with full consciousness of privations and sacrifices, while always, like a thrifty family, going by the principle of building and enjoying what we build, not only for ourselves and just for today, but going about it in such a way that our life and that of the new generations become ever better and at the same time, the future, the life of the coming generations, be ever happier, more prosperous and more secure. Our wonderful people have understood the road the Party has shown them, and aware of it, have mobilized all their mental and physical energies to turn the teachings and directives of the Party into reality. Each generation in our country is fighting and working so as to bequeathe to the future generations an ever stronger Albania, an Albania free and independent for ever, with a beautiful present and with clear and brilliant perspectives.

So, with the Party at the head, having its Marxist-Leninist line as our guiding compass, we will always go on working vigilantly, further tempering unity, marching ahead, with the Party and people united as one, so as to keep the name of our heroic Party always honoured, to raise the prestige of socialist Albania ever higher, to keep the sacred independence of our Homeland inviolable. This has been and remains the lofty mission of our Party of Labour. To this mission I have devoted and will devote all my life, all my forces and energies and will continue to do so for the good of the people and socialism.

Taken from «The Titoites»
Alb. ed., Tirana 1982

WE MUST INVOLVE THE WOMAN MORE ACTIVELY IN THE PROBLEMS OF SOCIETY

*From a conversation at the daily meeting
with the secretaries of the CC of the PLA*

January 21, 1983

The Party must always carry out an intensive ideological and social activity everywhere, especially in the remote zones of the Highlands, in which patriarchal leftovers, which express themselves in diverse forms such as clannishness, attachment to private property, feeling of kinship and preservation of the patriarchal family, etc., still exist. Therefore, the Party comrades of these districts should look at these problems very carefully, because they are among the main causes of backwardness of the countryside in the economic field, too. I say this because most of the men of these zones work in the economic enterprises or the mines of their districts, while the main work force in the cooperatives is made up of women. And for the cooperatives to advance, women must affirm their personality everywhere, at work, in society and in the family.

In the first place, women should become conscious of their social value and their leading and productive capacity in the economy, because this is how their authority is enhanced and strengthened. In this manner they will be able to join their economic strength with their husbands'

and no longer remain under their «chains». It is true that if the husband works in the mine he is a little bit more advanced, but still he retains patriarchal concepts and leftovers which he manifests, in one way or another, in family relations. These leftovers are retained to a greater extent by those who work in the cooperative.

In some agricultural cooperatives, in general, there is a spirit of conservatism about the replacement of the work force with farming machines. This conservatism will be rooted out if women, who are the main work force, raise their voice more resolutely and insist on using cultivators, which would facilitate their work enormously. So, in the remote mountainous zones, too, still more work must be done to raise woman to a level at which she can speak out courageously, boldly demand the introduction of the progressive new into life and production and can decide about the latter. However, if women have not yet understood that the utilization of these means is to their advantage, this speaks also of weaknesses in the political work of the Party in that district. Production, too, has its specific policy. And for the progressive to be introduced into production a good explanatory work must be carried out. This is one aspect of the matter.

The other aspect is that the social condition of our people and the degree of their technical knowledge must be taken into account, because this is the only possible way to do fruitful work and achieve an all-round political, moral, cultural and technical development of the working people, In other words, in all its complex work the Party must carefully look at problems in their interconnection. Any state problems should be tackled by an intelligent policy of the Party, and not in a cut-and-dry manner, but in conformity with the situation, with the terrain in which it carries out its political work. Treatment of women and children in the Highlands and in the lowland zones poses

greatly differing problems. People in the lowlands are more advanced in this direction. Why has it come about that they are more advanced in the lowland zone? Because people there have applied the Party line for the development of the cooperativist economy better, and, as a result, have created greater income, which they have known how to utilize properly to improve their well-being.

That is why in the northern districts, in which these weaknesses are manifested, political work should be differentiated. For this purpose, the Party in these districts must handle the policy of cadres with the greatest seriousness.

Let us take the problem of admissions to the Party. The criterion for admissions, of course, must be applied on the basis of a thorough knowledge of the socio-economic situation of the district, the views which exist there, etc. Perhaps, these may be different for different districts, for different zones, but the main thing on which the Party must insist is that only the most advanced should be admitted to the Party and this question should not be left to spontaneity, but should always be solved properly. If in a district this problem has not been handled in this manner hitherto, this means that the Party there has not been in command in this work. The particular makes up the general, and this enables you to compare one district with another so as to make them all advance in the same direction.

In general, the districts have made progress in their economic development. There is a general progress, but there is also partial progress; some districts are more advanced. And then, there are also zones which still do not keep up with the development of the whole district. Hence, there are nuances, which the Party must pick up and study, because only in this way can it lead, advise, approve or disapprove the decisions taken by the basic or-

ganizations. This enables the apparatus of the party committee to exercise realistic control on the accomplishment of the planned tasks in various regions of the district.

It was said here that a brigade of the agricultural cooperative of Maqellara took in high yields in maize, because the brigade leader, besides his leading and organizational capacities, constantly learned from advanced experience. In this case we should not only be glad that this brigade leader took in high yields in maize, but also reach the proper conclusions about how he took in that much, while the others took in less. This fact constitutes an objective for the work of the Party organization there.

It seems to me that the Party cadres and workers must be taught to follow up the development of the country simultaneously in its political, ideological, moral and social aspects, in order to strengthen the feeling of collectiveness and socialism, and the new moral-political norms of our society. This will create possibilities for studies to be carried out not only by teams, but also by instructing all the basic organizations of the Party to observe and detect those moral, political, or patriarchal elements which inhibit economic development.

If we know the situation in a district, region, or cooperative, etc., thoroughly and work seriously to improve it, working not only in an individual manner but also in an organized manner, by means of reports, by means of serious meetings and not phrase-mongering, by putting the finger to the wound or making a clean breast of it, then we shall certainly have results. That would mean lively Party work for the political, ideological and moral education of our people, and only then shall we see how their consciousness will rise, and how the vanguard example of the communists will become fully evident.

Fulfilment of the plan requires that all people, indiscriminately, party members or not, should be raised to the

political level required by the time and the problems which emerge, so that they understand the importance of the new methods of work, advanced technology in production, etc., etc. Only in this way shall we make perceptible progress in the accomplishment of economic tasks. If the secretary of the party committee of a district keeps to his desk the whole day and from there demands information about the results achieved by one or another brigade, about the fulfilment of the plan by this or that sector, he will not be in a position to do the work of the Party. This must be taken into account. In my opinion, duplication of the duties of the chairman of the executive committee by the party secretary of the district creates the impression as if the latter is doing something, while in fact he is engaging in a work which belongs to someone else. The secretary is supposed to engage in other important work and activities, without performing which the plan cannot be fulfilled. Cultivators cannot be put to work if we fail to carry out constant work to convince women politically of their usefulness, if the women are not encouraged and prompted by the Party so as to be aware of their capacities in thinking, working and managing, both at home and outside home. This is Party work. When I was in Puka a few years ago, I was surprised at the progress women had made. We entered the hall in which we were to dine, and I was extremely impressed by the lively manner women and girls came in to meet me and talk with me. And they really talked better than men did, they had no inhibition at all.

In their work the Party workers must review all those measures and achievements which have given an impulse forward to our country, as is, for example, the emancipation of women, in order to see the great changes which have been made in the epoch of the Party, the evolution of customs, etc., so as to be in a position to strengthen their

ideo-political, propaganda and organizational work and carry it out more correctly. The Party began its work for the emancipation of the women from the time of the National Liberation War. Right then it put the stress on the decisive role of women, both in the struggle for the liberation of the country and, later, for the building of socialist society. Since that time a great step ahead has been taken in their emancipation, and a great evolution or, better say, a revolution in the life and the activity of women has taken place in our country. Now the situation and the meaning of emancipation is not what it was many years ago. Albanian women, in general, are emancipated. Broad sections of women are in working relations, especially in the cities. Now you can no longer speak to them in the same terms as to highland women, although the latter have advanced, too. However, townswomen are more advanced, because their participation on a large scale in production, in various sectors of the country's economy, has developed their personality more. They live their lives in an independent manner, love their life companions, listen to them and respect them, but with the authority and personality they have created in society, in family and everywhere else, they know how to tell their husbands that they must be respected and heeded, too.

Emancipation in cities has risen to a higher level, therefore, the work of the Party among women here is aimed at further objectives, is intended to help them raise their personality still higher. By working ever better, women will be able to express their opinions more freely, either individually or, when the occasion presents itself, collectively, and to uphold them more forcibly, especially in the countryside. The emancipation of women has not been achieved in the same degree for all the villages or for all the districts. Each district has peculiarities of its own. In the district of Dibra, for instance, the work of the

Party for the emancipation of women should continue to be done with greater persistency than in some other districts, because clannishness and man's feeling of his superiority exists in a latent manner within the family there. What on the face of it may seem an achievement in the field of emancipation, may be only a form of disguise. The peasant is shrewd, he tries not to expose himself to attack by public opinion and to maintain his authority over the woman. He says to his wife, of course, not in public: «Out of home I will do like the rest, but at home I'll make you behave.»

Those who still have not properly understood the ideological and political importance of women's strength and role exert a negative influence. Therefore, in this direction the Party must bring its influence to bear on and strengthen its political work with the masses. Some progress has already been made in the correct understanding of this problem, but much work remains to be done. It is true that women now are engaged in production, but they worked before, too. We must not forget that, in general, peasant women have worked in all times, but they worked like slaves. Now, after all this revolution, in the emancipation of women we have reached such a situation that women feel men's equals at work and in society. However, at home submission to man's authority still exists in the form of respect shown to him. Anyway, it must be understood correctly that respect does not mean that the woman should not tell her husband what she thinks and be subservient to him. She must respect her husband for his correct opinions, but should also have the courage to tell him where his opinions are not right.

Therefore, we must not get stuck up with old formulae and with concepts of work in the emancipation of the women. To each problem we must find new solutions

and more advanced forms of ideological and political work, in conformity with the more advanced circumstances which we have reached in the solution of this question. In the Highlands, too, we have to do now with an element of social relations which is a far cry not only from the time of the Canon of Lekë Dukagjini, but also from 1939, and even more recent times. This is true, life has advanced there, too. But the question is how emancipation should be understood. Therefore, here we must strengthen the work of the Party.

Emancipation means a high political, ideological, moral and social level, the achievement of which requires intelligent Party work in conformity with the degree of consciousness women have already attained. Taking into account the degree of consciousness of our women today, we can no longer address them with cliches; our approach should be realistic, on the basis of the degree of development reached by that group of women with whom we intend to work. The important thing is to make the women more active in coping with the problems emerging before our society, to make them more capable of weighing with their own heads the pros and cons of the actions they take about a problem that faces them and the society.

It seems to me that this is how we must understand the question of the emancipation of women. The time is gone when the struggle for the emancipation of women meant, in the first place, the work that had to be done with the women to convince them to abandon the yashmak, or to eradicate religious prejudices, etc. Of course, now, too, the struggle against religious remnants and backward customs should not be overlooked, but the main thing in this direction is the political and ideological elevation of all people, not only the highlanders, not only the peasants, but also the townspeople and the communists, a thing which leads to the creation of correct concepts about

society, about the various sections of the youth, about the relations between boys and girls, husband and wife, and about all other problems.

«Reports and Speeches 1982-1983»

**THE SCIENCES WHICH STUDY OUR
NATIONAL HISTORY, LANGUAGE AND CULTURE
MUST BE RAISED TO A HIGHER LEVEL**

*From the contribution at the meeting of the Secretariat
of the CC of the PLA (1)*

May 9, 1983

Allow me to discuss some problems which the comrades of the Academy of Sciences presented.

I agree in general with the report which was given to us, but, on this occasion, I will express some opinions and will give some answers to the demands which are made in it.

We must admit that in the field of studies on the history of linguistics, people's history and culture, etc., good results have been achieved. Studies of the main problems and of the more important stages of the historical development of our people, and their culture and language have been carried out. Conclusions of scientific and political value have also been reached and the Albanian Marxist-Leninist school of our historical, linguistic, cultural and other sciences has been created and is being consolidated.

Like all the comrades of the leadership, I, too, have

1 The meeting discussed the report presented by the Academy of Sciences of the PSRA, «On the situation of our Albanological sciences and the tasks to strengthen their role»

attentively followed the national scientific activities organized by the Academy of Sciences and its institutes. Our opinion is that they have been prepared at a good level. I have read some of the materials of the conferences and have noticed that they make a dignified exposition of our achievements in the field of historical, linguistic and archaeological sciences, and in that of popular culture. I have also seen that valuable publications are being made in these fields. I cannot say that I have read all your publications, but I have glanced through them and have seen that they deal with serious problems which throw light on important stages of our development. They inform the younger generation and the working people with the historical past and the rich culture of our people and, of course, they serve the young scholars in their studies.

An action of great importance was the setting up of the Museum of National History,(2) to which you made a valuable contribution with your research in the field of history, archaeology and popular culture. Another valuable achievement is the publication of the *Dictionary of Modern Albanian Language*, as well as specific studies in the field of linguistics and spelling of the Albanian language. With these publications, with the articles published in the press organs and with the programs prepared and broadcast by the Radio-television, you comrades have made a valuable contribution to the unification of the literary Albanian language, which has an extremely great importance. Thanks to this work the Albanians of Kosova, too, accepted this unification.

A rich and valuable archaeological material has been

2 One of the major socio-cultural objects of the country. It was inaugurated on 28 October 1981, on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Party and its 8th Congress. Comrade Enver Hoxha participated in the ceremony organized on that occasion.

discovered, which testifies to the Illyrian origin of our people.

The encyclopaedic dictionary which is being prepared under the guidance of the Academy of Sciences should be considered a very serious undertaking and a work of great scientific value. My opinion is that, in the course of the preparatory work, the entries or articles, whether on history or other sciences, should be dealt with and considered objectively. They must be concise and based on documents. With this I mean that each single entry or article should be easily comprehensive, so as to help and guide all those who want to know and study the problems in greater depth. I often consult different French encyclopaedias and notice that, in general, their entries and articles, even those which are relatively brief, are not the work of one individual, but usually the collective work of two or more authors.

Our history with its stages constitutes one whole. Its study requires assessment of each stage and the establishment of correct relations between them. Greater attention must be attached to the study of the modern history, the period of the anti-popular regime of Zog and, especially, the period of the revolution and the socialist construction in our country. We must not wait for the problems of the revolution and socialist construction to be transferred to «history» and then make them the object of our studies. With this I do not mean that no studies are made in this field, but that little is done and progress is somewhat slow. I am not implying that no studies of the history of the more remote past should be made. The sectors studying Antiquity and Middle Ages will and must go on with their activity on the basis of approved plans. The studies which have been and those that will be carried out about the genesis and the formation of our people, and about the more important stages of their development

are a constituent part of our history and our popular culture.

The study of our historical past has been conditioned by other factors, too. We have had to deal with the elucidation of some basic problems of the formation of our nation and of our popular resistance, because in the past the information of our scientific forces was fragmentary and sporadic, whereas the achievements of foreign scientists, even the more distinguished Albanologists, have not been based on Marxist-Leninist methodology. Their studies have consisted mainly in recording of historical facts; they have reached some conclusions, too, but these could not go beyond certain limits. Some foreign scholars have conducted their studies on Albania in such a manner and according to such plans as suited the predatory ambitions of the imperialist states, bent on the partitioning and occupation of our country, or in order to throw mud at the history of our people. With the triumph of the popular revolution and the establishment of the people's state power, under the leadership of the Party, possibilities were created for the centre of Albanian studies to be transferred to our country, and thus, historical studies were taken in the hands of our study institutions.

Important tasks faced our scientific workers. On the one hand, they had to elucidate the key problems of the history and culture of our people in the past, and this had to be done competently and relying powerfully on the requirements of our Marxist-Leninist science, while, on the other hand, as sons of this people and of this land, they had to base their studies on our national soil and reality. Our scientists have undertaken this mission in the service of our people and our socialist Homeland and are accomplishing it.

The main factors for the study of Albanian problems have been and remain the internal factor and the

ideological factor. That is why the studies made by our people are without doubt of a higher level and more thorough than those made by any foreign Albanologist, however great his scientific authority may have been or may still be in our days.

We have been obliged to undertake studies of the genesis of our people, etc., because these have been and are not only scientific problems, but also major political problems. The conclusions from these studies have served us to oppose the foreign reactionary and aggressive forces.

Albania has always attracted the attention of many foreign scholars, historians and politicians. In our days there are scientific and educational centres abroad which deal with Albania, beginning from its language, literature, and culture to its socio-economic and political system.

The aims and motives of these scholars have been different. Some of them have proceeded and proceed from purely scientific motives, because in the Albanian world, in the history, language and culture of our people, there is the explanation to many Balkan and European phenomena. Some other Albanologists have been prompted to their studies on Albania by the lofty political and moral virtues of our people. We appreciate these studies. All the studies of the foreign Albanologists may have scientific value if they are based on our reality, if they study it objectively and benevolently and take account of our studies.

But there are, however, some pseudo-scientists who see our reality through the glasses of those who have trained them as contingents against our country. Their analysis of facts and their conclusions stem from hostile political and ideological positions, and they proceed from denigrating aims and motives, in order to misinform the progressive opinion abroad.

The Academy of Sciences and its institutes must be much more active in opposing the anti-scientific, anti-Albanian and chauvinist concepts and views of the bourgeois and revisionist pseudo-scientists. We must always be on the offensive, just as we are in the field of ideology, in the Marxist-Leninist theoretical thinking. Our sciences, relying on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary world outlook and on the high scientific level they have reached, have every possibility to delve ever more deeply into the struggle for the exposure of the anti-scientific concepts and views of the bourgeois and revisionist scholars and to affirm the historical truth about the epoch-making achievements of socialist Albania.

For the further deepening of the achievements in our studies and our confrontation with foreign scholars, I am not opposed to the Academy of Sciences' having a program for the training of the necessary cadres, who should engage themselves in achieving a more comprehensive knowledge of our problems through the study of the history, language and popular culture of the neighbouring countries, or to our having Balkanologists, Slavists, Hellenists, Turkologists, Germanists, etc. But here I want to add that in this direction we must be realists, for this program should be a long-term one and we must bear in mind that before we can meet the demands you raise, there are many other needs which call for immediate fulfilment.

In the material which has been presented to us, and from the information I have, or in the plans of the institutes of the Academy of Sciences, there is no comprehensive program, for example, of the study of the Albanian peasantry in various stages of our history, although it can be said that until a few decades ago, the history of the Albanian peasantry was virtually the history of the Albanian people.

We all know that during the development of society

in the Middle Ages and later, the fate of the Homeland was connected closely with the peasantry, because it constituted the overwhelming majority of the population, and it fought for the land and the defence of the country.

Our peasantry has a sameness of character, in general, but in the course of development it showed many specific elements, which no one has taken pains to study in detail and to point out. We know that the highlanders in Northern Albania have a specific development and characteristics which are different from those of the peasants of Central Albania, or from those of Southern Albania. To ignore or to overlook these peculiarities in a study on the peasantry is a mistake. Through the centuries our peasant not only has fought, but has also lived on this land. Therefore, we must study the life and struggle of the peasant on this land, both at home and outside it. Nor can we study the class struggle as something separated from the study of the peasantry. On the contrary, every truly scientific study must reflect this struggle thoroughly.

In various stages of their development the Albanian people and the peasantry have waged two kinds of struggle. They have fought against the occupiers, against the Ottoman Empire, and against the neighbours that sought to partition it, and against others. But the Albanian people have fought not only this war, they have waged internal wars, too, against the feudal class, against the clan chiefs, against the beys, and later against the capitalist bourgeoisie, too. But do we have a full study or specific studies of these question of our peasantry? No, we don't.

First of all, we must not overlook the economic aspect of the development of our peasantry in such fields as property, work, taxes and other dues. We talk about Tanzimat, for example, but the taxes of that system were not the only ones the Albanians had to pay and which

they refused to pay, often resisting with arms. There were other taxes and dues through which the people were robbed. Who robbed them? The beys, the aghas, the clan chiefs, the usurers, and others.

All this constitutes the field in which the middle and poor peasantry clashed with the rulers of our country, the clan chiefs, the beys, the landed proprietors. This is class struggle. During this struggle the differentiation of the peasantry took place, permanent or temporary alliances were made. But these things cannot be explained away with one word, or with a single paragraph, therefore our students must delve deep into these problems, write scientific monographs, and not continuously repeat some general considerations, beating about the bush without giving a clear reflection of this part of the history of our people, without discovering anything new and without drawing their conclusions.

In order to put down the class struggle of the peasantry against the wealthy, against the clan chiefs and others, the ruling classes issued their laws and canons. But do we know them well and have we analysed them thoroughly? We have remained at the study of Shtjefën Gjeçov's Canon, which has its importance, though it is incomplete. Shtjefën Gjeçov has great merits for its publication, but, as far as I know, and here I may be mistaken, no scientist has ever delved deep into it, not only to comment Gjeçov's work, but also to fathom the history of the laws, customs and canons which have been in force for our people through the centuries.

There are some who complain about the supposed lack of documents. I think that documents exist. We have, among other things, Marin Barleti's work which is valuable as an important source of studies, too. When our scientists read Barleti's work they learn of the events of the 15th century in our country and see the development of the

Albanian society, the peasantry, in particular, in that time, not only from the historical aspect, but also from the cultural, economic and other aspects. All the struggles that were waged later, after Skanderbeg's death, had certain causes. These causes must be studied, the character of this or that struggle must be defined correctly, not trying to squeeze things into such formulas as: this struggle must be described as sporadic because supposedly it lacked ideological leadership, or the other must be regarded as an uprising, not a revolution, and vice versa.

We must write the history of our people, especially our peasantry, objectively, according to a rigorously consistent scientific system based on Marxist-Leninist methodology, which is the most scientific, otherwise, we cannot properly explain either the profound transformations which have been made or the leftovers lingering in the psychology of peasants, which we take up for discussion from time to time. For the struggle against petty-bourgeois leftovers to be waged correctly and for the correct orientations of the Party to be properly applied, the people engaging in scientific work must study all these problems, size them up in their extension and evolution up to the present stage. In this manner we shall wage a still more effective struggle against the leftovers I mentioned.

Another problem bearing on our historical development is that of the peasant family and its evolution. We speak about the patriarchal family. But what has it been like? How did this family evolve and when did it break up? What is the clan? What is the *bayrak*? What are the warrior knights? What does the Cycle of the Warrior Knights represent? They were born here and lived here, they acted on this soil and that is why the people have sung to their deeds. The warrior knights have fought for the defence of the Albanian peasantry, for the solution of its social and economic problems, they have been

at one with the feelings of the peasantry and have been chivalrous. So, if we do not study the base from which they have emerged, but dwell only on the songs the people have sung to them, or just read a few lectures and make some literary comments without studying and explaining their deep roots (because they were the product of a definite society, were created in definite situations and circumstances), then whatever we write about them will hang in the air, without a basis.

The peasant family has various features. Its study has to consider many aspects. The peasant family in the Highlands is not the same as in the central zones or in the lowlands; in Shkodra it is not the same as in Gjirokastra, in Myzeqe it is not the same as in Dibra, or elsewhere. Nevertheless, as far as I can see, no studies are made in this direction. Besides this, within the family there are customs, feelings and tastes which must be known. That is all I can say about the peasantry, but, comrades, there are other questions, too.

Let us take, for example, the period of Zog's regime. No study is envisaged to be made either of the economic and social situation, or the political oppression and the cultural backwardness of our people in the period before and after 1924. Without an extensive and thorough study of this grave period in the history of Albania, the efforts our Party had to make during the National Liberation War and after Liberation for the great socialist changes which have been made cannot come out in their full clarity and force. When we deal with the Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution, we speak only about its history, about Fan Noli(3) and Avni Rustemi,(4) but a thorough study

3 Fan Stilian Noli (1882-1965). Albanian patriot and democrat, statesman, scholar, poet, translator and historian.

4 Avni Rustemi (1895-1924). Albanian revolutionary patriot and democrat, People's Hero.

of the political, economic and social conditions of our country and people, in which this revolution was prepared, and which could not have been the work of outstanding men only, even if they were Fan Noli and Avni Rustemi, has not been made as yet. They were the protagonists, those who felt the sufferings of our people who had risen to their feet and were fighting as Bajram Curri(5) did, but it was the concrete political and social situations which placed him and the other revolutionaries at the head of the people. This is what all these revolutionary democrats did. They have played an important historic role, but we must not reduce the Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution only to some figures, and in passing say the odd word about the political, economic and social condition of our country. First, we must speak about this condition (and not only its political aspect), and then, come to the outstanding figures. First we must study and then write the biography of our people and from this biography draw the biographies of individuals. The masses make history.

Naim Frashëri, Abdyl Frashëri, Sami Frashëri, Ismail Qemali, Çerçiz Topulli, Luigj Gurakuqi and many other distinguished figures of our people emerged in definite periods of the socio-economic development of our country. We have not yet set about a thorough study of these periods and this background. This is a shortcoming which we must overcome at all costs.

We must not forget that those who have not lived in the past and the foreigners who visit our country cannot realize that in our country, too, there has been strong reaction, which was represented somewhere by the power of the clan chiefs, somewhere by the power of the beys,

5 Bajram Curri (1862-1925). Outstanding Albanian revolutionary patriot and democrat, leader of the movement for the liberation and national union of Albania, People's Hero.

aghas, or others. We know the reactionary power of religion and its institutions, of the canon and the old customary law, such as the vendetta, etc., on our people. And our country had not only one canon, that of Lekë Dukagjini. It was in force, we may say, in Northern Albania, and more precisely in some part of the North, but there were other similar canons all over the country, for each region, indeed, for each village.

Until today we have remained with an old study and just keep talking about the canon laws. The canon laws were not the same for the North and Central Albania, or for the South. There were marked differences in these laws, depending on the economic, social and cultural development of each region. These differences surfaced in the evolution of the class struggle and in the progress of the peasantry. The peasantry did not join as a whole the progressive development and evolution at once, at one blow of the whistle. The fruit ripened when the time came. So, we have the duty to study all these phenomena of our society.

We cannot overlook the question of religious beliefs, either. This theme, too, must be dealt with because we cannot say that the people have not been believers. To pass this question over with a single word, saying that they were not believers, that they have been irreligious, is not scientific. We must study this problem in such a way as to really show that our peasants were both believers and deceived, but that they have also made changes in this respect.

What I am driving at here is that religious reaction has been strong and that it continues to exist, though, of course, in other forms and with weaker intensity. Right from the first days of its founding the Party has come up against this problem and is still confronted with it today.

One of the main centres of the collection and study of documents of the history of our people is the Institute of Popular Culture. (6) The question is not only about collecting and arranging these materials and objects, but also about keeping written records of each of them. In all the popular culture, in the village museums, in the ethnographic museum we are now building, the collection of objects is not the only important thing. The collecting of objects is necessary, because collected objects serve as means to illustrate and study the stages of the development of society, the stages of its economic and spiritual development and the socio-economic transformations of our people. This study must be carried out in every direction and in every detail, until we find the reasons why embroideries on men's or women's costumes are different for different regions, why one costume has them in gold and another in black plaits. Why the inhabitants of one region wear *tirq* and those of another *brekushe*, those of the other *fustanella*, and so on for other garments, customs, the way of life, housing, relations, etc. There were some concrete economic, religious, spiritual situations which brought about these phenomena.

Another great wealth is our folklore. Folklore is one of the means we must use to carry out valuable scientific studies. However, those who engage in these studies should have talent and seriousness and we must arouse their interest in them and make them conscious that they face a great patriotic duty, which does not consist merely in reciting folk creations, or making the literary comment of some poem. They must carry out comprehensive studies in the various genres of folklore, considered not only as literature, but also as history. Studies do not presuppose

6 This institute was created in 1979, on the basis of the Institute of Folklore and the ethnographic sector of the Institute of History.

just commenting this or that verse, this or that word, this or that nuance. First of all, the student must find out when and why this or that song has emerged, what are the reasons for its emergence, to what extent it is spread in different regions. In this manner it is possible to draw valuable conclusions about the history of our people, and this work, I believe, opens up a broad horizon to our students.

Then, we may go a step further, from the study of the documents in our possession to the study of the documents abroad, because, as Comrade Aleks Buda(7) or some other comrade said here, our people, beginning from the Illyrians, have not lived in isolation. We have not been and are not an isolated people. During the centuries, in our relations with other neighbouring peoples, we have borrowed from their material and spiritual culture and they have borrowed from ours. This means that we, too, have influenced the others through our struggle and culture, but the others have also left their imprints on the life and culture of our people. We should not obscure and deal with these problems in a one-sided manner, but in an objective and scientific manner.

The question here is that in these studies which we plan to make we must not lose sight of our red thread in order to find out the origin of this legacy which is not ours alone, whether it is here in our country, or in another country, because it may be in another country, but it may also be in our country. If the origin turns out to be in another country, we must see how we have adopted it and in what conditions it has become ours. The same thing is happening today in the relations among peoples.

There are documents also for the period of Zog, and not less than for the period of the National Renaissance

7 Chairman of the Academy of Sciences of the PSRA.

and national independence, indeed, I may say that, if we persist, we shall find historical, cultural and scientific materials even for the period further back than the National Renaissance, for the Middle Ages, or even more remote times. No one can say that such materials do not exist. There are not only official agreements and acts of the Zog government with the foreigners, but also a wealth of documents on the internal socio-economic and cultural situation of our people in that period. If only court proceedings were taken up and studied, they would be vivid evidence of a fierce class struggle, a testimony to the miserable plight of our country in that time, showing how the peasants were exploited and robbed, how women were oppressed, how the progressive intelligentsia was persecuted, how any movement and revolt of the workers was put down when they rose to fight in various forms against the Zogite feudal-bourgeois order. Only to think that the courts of justice existed as they did, that elders' assemblies existed as they did, we can see that there was at the same time resistance to those who oppressed, massacred and robbed the people. I don't know what is being done with these documents, whether they are preserved in good order, or lie covered with the dust of oblivion and neglected.

I am informed that the four volumes of the *History of Albania* are being prepared for publication. This is a good, commendable and valuable work for our school, and will acquaint our working people with the history of our country. I am also informed that some monographs, on the history of our school, our health service and others which you may still have in hand are being written, but this is not enough. I have the impression that progress is very slow. Programs must be more mobilizing and the commitment of the scientific workers more active.

All the questions, problems and requirements raised

in the material presented by Comrade Aleks Buda are correct, in general. But on what shall we concentrate our forces mostly? In what directions shall we engage ourselves for the preparation of cadres so as to be able to go over to the stage of undertaking the studies which are proposed here and which must be undertaken? Here I have some suggestions.

Studies of the history of Antiquity and the Middle Ages, of archaeology, folklore and language may very well continue to be carried out in depth in the directions mentioned in your report. But what attracts my attention in your report is the fact that, when speaking about the National Liberation War, the whole thing is put in a few lines about the lack of cadres, the poor quality of studies and difficulties in the study of the contemporary records in our archives. In all this I do not see what your objectives are, what problems of this glorious period of our people you will study. Both we and you must be intrigued by the fact that whereas scientific authorities have affirmed themselves in the study of the past periods, the situation is still weak as regards the study of the period of the revolution and the socialist construction. The cadres engaged in the study of the latter period are mostly young and inexperienced.

The time has come for the affirmed authorities in the field of history, certainly the relatively younger ones, to engage in the history of the modern time, as Comrade Ramiz [Alia] said, and draw the talented younger scientific workers round themselves. About these problems there should be concern from above, too, so that we do not allow things to take their spontaneous course and leave promising young scientific people involve themselves only with problems of the past.

As in the field of history, in the field of studies of our popular culture, too, we must turn ourselves more and

more to the problems of current development. In the field of our popular culture, a rich material has been collected and recorded. Efforts are being made also to sum it up, but in this direction it is necessary to proceed more boldly and rapidly. I have read Comrade Alfred Uçi's report on popular culture published in the review *Kultura Popullore*, and I liked it very much. In the field of popular culture, too, more thorough studies must be carried out about the development of the material and spiritual culture of the period of socialist construction. We value our popular culture and have done much for its preservation and development. But the student should not be a mere recorder and preserver of the cultural legacy, as I stressed above. Therefore, the problems of the development of our popular culture should be made the object of bolder studies. The remnants of the old concepts on ethnography should be completely overcome. Ethnographical studies should be combined better with sociological studies, and changes in the spiritual condition and the social psychology of various categories of working people in town and countryside be observed and summed up.

It is right that we devote special care to the study of the course of development of our people in the past, discovering, recording and preserving any document or any other material and spiritual evidence. But we must be just as attentive in assessing any evidence of our development after the triumph of the socialist revolution. How are records in enterprises, agricultural cooperatives, cultural and educational institutions preserved, arranged and utilized? To what extent and in what manner do we preserve work tools and implements which keep constantly changing and improving? How do we record and study their evolution and development, changes in the level of

culture, education and qualification of the working people in each cell of our people's economy?

I have heard that when the Museum of National History was created there was much difficulty in finding exhibits to show the level of development of the productive forces in the first years after Liberation. If it was difficult to equip a museum with some symbolic means, imagine what difficulties the lack of them would create for studies. We all know Marx' assessment of the role of implements of production in defining the epochs of history.

Scientists must devote greater attention to the understanding and the study of our current development.

Therefore, realization of the great objectives which the Party has set for our sciences requires systematic and well-studied work for the further qualification of the existing cadres and for the training of new specialists, especially in those fields and sectors in which we plan to further expand our studies in the future. Work for the training of cadres must be done with a clearer perspective, in complete conformity with the objectives of studies and with scientific plans. We have now every possibility to train our cadres in the educational and scientific institutes of our country.

Our University and institutes train hundreds of cadres of higher training for various specialties and profiles, among which, I have no doubt, there are many young talents. It is our duty to discover and know their inclinations and work with them systematically, according to well-considered programs. The activity of these cadres must be followed up more attentively, especially after they finish the higher school, by giving them some tasks now and then and preparing them for independent studies. We will send abroad some of our talented students, but we must guide them. Our more renowned scientists

must know that it is their duty, and this is an absolute necessity, to assist the new scientific workers, to encourage and inspire them, to open up horizons for them and to program their perspective.

I am not of the opinion that we have no specialists on ethnography, archaeology or folklore, on the contrary, our cadres and specialists in these fields have honoured our country and our sciences abroad, too. You have even won prizes for your studies and publications.

Here I would also like to explain another aspect of your demand to train cadres in these fields abroad. In this direction we have to do with social sciences and, as regards these sciences, we cannot learn anything from foreigners, either about the analysis of facts or about their interpretation and summing up. Of course we must be informed of their modern methods and the world's advanced experience, study them in a critical manner and take from them whatever is more rational and responds to our needs.

But, in the first place, the legacy of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, the experience of our Party and the methods they have used in their major studies must be studied carefully and persistently. Modern methods of study, certainly, have their value and help in the quantitative analysis of phenomena, speed up processes and cut down on the time for the processing of factual material, but they have their limitations, too. Therefore, they should not be taken up and applied in a mechanical manner. Concrete methods of study always remain auxiliary means, whereas comprehensive analyses, syntheses and theoretical generalizations can be made only by relying on the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and methodology.

That is why our scientists must continuously widen their knowledge and perfect their mastery of the Marxist-

Leninist methodology and the methods applied by the classics of Marxism-Leninism and by our Party. These have been an inexhaustible source of and a decisive condition for effective studies and they remain so today.

«About Science», vol. 2

**THE PARTY HAS ALWAYS BEEN THE
ORGANIZED FORCE WHICH HAS SAVED THE
COUNTRY AND SOCIALISM**

*From the closing speech at the 7th Plenum
of the CC of the PLA*

September 21, 1983

Comrades,

In the previous plenums of the Central Committee of the Party we have discussed the extremely dangerous and complicated activity of the multiple agent Mehmet Shehu and his group and have adopted the respective decisions...

Here I do not intend to dwell once again on the history of all those events, because the Party not only was informed about them, but also laid all the information openly before the public about how events occurred, how they developed and all other details.

Also, I am not going to dwell on the «curiosities» which emerged during the court proceedings, but at this meeting of the Plenum I want to put the stress on some questions which must be understood better and taken into consideration properly.

The sentences passed by the respective courts are just, based on written sources and the admissions of defendants and the depositions of witnesses. We hear,

however, that there are people who are not satisfied with the court sentences, because they wanted «all of them to be shot». Such people do not think soundly. Our Party judges mistakes, offences and crimes taking account of all circumstances, aggravating or attenuating, and knows how to differentiate between mistakes, offences and crimes, and must always do so. Otherwise, law would not be respected.

In our people's state power court decisions have never been taken in a spirit of revenge, but have been the equanimous deduction of a strong logic based on Marxist-Leninist dialectics, which in each case is aimed at uncovering the hostile activity, at exposing it politically and organizationally and, relying on facts, at interpreting the Penal Code correctly and with a cool head.

Equanimity and great correctness in the implementation of the line of the Party in various internal and external situations, sized up with political acumen and based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, have vital importance for the destinies of our socialist Homeland.

Only such an analysis of the facts and decisions taken in this political and ideological spirit are the most correct and serve the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country and the strengthening of bonds and unity between the Party and the masses of the people.

The uncovering, exposing and smashing of the group of secret agents, plotters and terrorists, headed by Mehmet Shehu and Kadri Hazbiu, is a great victory for our Party, our people and our socialist Homeland. This is a major lesson for everybody, therefore, as a Party, as communists, and as a people, we should reflect deeply on these events, the aims and methods the enemy has used. Everyone must be aware that the Party and the country once again coped successfully with a major threat that came from outside and from within.

There are people who are surprised and say: «We've had a narrow escape! We have been in danger!» The danger was great, indeed, but we must be aware that we did not escape from it «by chance». **With its constant struggle the Party has always been the organized force which has saved the country and socialism and defeated the great and many forces of external enemies, internal reaction and secret agencies which acted on their orders.**

Without going further back than 1939, under the leadership of the Party, our people have waged a continuous relentless struggle of titanic proportions with arms, with politics, with ideology for 42 years on end. The enemies could not conquer us, nor will they ever bring us to our knees.

The external enemies and their secret agents within the country wanted very much Albania to change its correct course. But the line of the Party has been defended with vigilance. The capitalist and revisionist propaganda has blown the big bugles against us, the UDB, the KGB and the CIA have urged their Albanian agents to act. And these tried in full consciousness and did act several times to harm the Party and the people's state power in an organized manner, sometimes in separate groups, sometimes in collusion...

It is an historically known fact that **our Party has coped successfully with all the difficult situations it has been faced with.** Why has this occurred? This is not the merit of one or five individuals, but the merit of the whole Party and people.

All the traitor groups have had one common denominator: to divert the Party from its Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line and to usurp the state power, to make it a state of the bourgeoisie and the country dependent on the capitalist and revisionist foreign powers.

No one should befog or cast into oblivion this 42-year

long period of struggle or fail to draw lessons and conclusions from it. The struggle of our Party, from the day it was born, has been glorious, despite all difficulties. It is not a tale but a guide to progress. Throughout their history, our people have had many enemies. When the Albanian people were fighting arms in hand against the nazi-fascist occupiers and their collaborators, the Anglo-American imperialists were again scheming to partition our country. These schemes, which figure in the old plans and files of the imperialist powers, are mentioned in international records. They knew that the new people's state power which was being set up in the new Albania would reduce their ambitions to dust and ashes, so they did not recognize our government and did their utmost to prevent us from occupying the place we deserved in the international forums. Our Democratic Government struggled for and won its rights in the international arena. This struggle was not accidental. As Marxists we differentiated between our allies in the anti-fascist war. However, we trusted «our close friends and allies», the Yugoslavs and the Soviets, who, taking advantage of their intimacy with us, secretly furthered their own hostile aims which they eventually manifested with brutal actions against us.

We must always bear in mind that the strategy of the capitalist, imperialist, social-imperialist and revisionist states has been constantly directed against Albania. So much more now and in the future it is and will be hostile to our country, as the only country in which scientific socialism is being faithfully built according to the great Marxist-Leninist principles.

When it comes to their tactics, then it is a different matter. Our country pursues a foreign policy independent of any power or superpower. This is in the interest of many states for various reasons and because of the changing political situations and the contradictions they have

with one another, so they often smile at us or praise us. This should not deceive us or lull us to sleep for any moment or at any time. We, too, have our strategy and tactics. Our strategy, at any time and in any circumstances, is unchangeable: on the internal plane, we are for the complete construction of socialism, for the defence of the Homeland and the gains of our revolution; on the external plane, we are for the overthrow of the capitalist and imperialist state, and for the triumph of the socialist revolution and communism. This we do not conceal, but fight openly and resolutely, unremittingly exposing the modern revisionists of any shape as secret agents and ideological supporters of imperialism. As for our tactics, it is constantly worked out in accordance with the changing political circumstances in the international situations and relations, while never losing sight of our strategy, never violating the Marxist-Leninist principles of the revolution and the class struggle, never swerving from the line of our foreign policy worked out and decided on by the Congresses of the Party. On the basis of the Leninist principle of coexistence, we have diplomatic relations and develop trade, cultural and other exchanges with many countries.

In this context and taking account of the old and new ambitions of the capitalist and revisionist states towards Albania, we have always followed and must continue to follow their secret activities against our country with vigilance, so that we can always cope with them and nip them in the bud.

The capitalist and revisionist states and their secret agencies have acted separately or jointly, as their interests required, but always with the one aim: to annex our territories and to turn them into their military outposts, as well as to liquidate true socialism which is being built in our country

Our Party and people, along with the struggle against their capitalist or revisionist external enemies, have also waged the struggle to expose and liquidate their secret agents inside the country or those who had penetrated into the Party.

The period of the National Liberation War was a key moment, in which some contingents of secret agents and spies were smashed and dealt mortal blows, but, on the other hand, other secret agencies were revived or created anew, in conformity with and in view of the new situations that were being created in the Second World War in Albania and in other countries.

The contingents of spies in the pay of Italy and Germany and part of the Anglo-American secret agents were smashed during the National Liberation War.

The contingents of secret agents in the service of the Serbs and Greeks and the remainder of the secret agents in the service of the Anglo-Americans saved their skins by joining the National Liberation Front. They covered their tracks on orders from their patrons.

The Titoite group inherited all the Albanian secret agents in the service of the Serbs and, during the National Liberation War, increased their ranks with new recruits.

All the Yugoslav Titoite secret agents, from Koçi Xoxe to Mehmet Shehu and Kadri Hazbiu, were recruited during and after the war. All this secret agency was covered up by the Titoites under the cloak of «Marxist-Leninist friendship» and «the joint anti-fascist war and the work for the construction of socialism.» But their true aim was to annex the new Albanian state, to make it the seventh republic of the Yugoslav Federation. So, they wanted not only to keep Kosova and the other Albanian regions, but also to gobble up the whole of Albania.

The Soviets, likewise, built their secret network, mainly in the ranks of the armymen, because the Soviet Union

and the Khrushchevite revisionist leadership needed Albania mainly as a military outpost in this neuralgic zone of the Mediterranean, etc.

For a period there was a motley of secret agencies, on the face of it «friendly», but in reality hostile, to one another. The Yugoslav secret agency predominated for some time until 1948, when Koçi Xoxe and his associates were liquidated. Then, the Soviet secret agency strengthened its positions.

If you sell your country only once, you are ready to sell it many times over to one enemy or the other, or to all of them at the same time. This is the impasse and the mentality of secret agents and spies. Mehmet Shehu, an agent in the pay of the Anglo-Americans, became the secret agent of the Yugoslavs. Then, he and Kadri Hazbiu and company from agents of the Yugoslavs became agents of the KGB.

All these groups were manipulated by the expert: hands of foreign secret agencies, which acted in co-ordination to implement their general strategy against the Party of Labour of Albania and socialist Albania. But they also acted separately and often in contradiction and rivalry with one another, and with different tactics in different political situations, and everyone for his own interests. While preserving its contingents, the CIA passed some of its secret agents to the Yugoslavs. The Intelligence Service did the same.

Our Party has had to cope with this great hostility, to fight against intrigues raised to a system, to avoid the traps set up by the plotters, to defend itself against putsches and foil attempts at a reoccupation of our Homeland. Moreover, it has had to conduct its struggle also in the unhealthy atmosphere created in moments of decisive changes, when the «friend» of yesterday was only a potential enemy.

Our external enemies and their secret agencies within the country and within the Party undervalued the strength of the Party, its revolutionary skill and were dealt lethal blows in succession. This hostile work represented a chain of activities, which **only the sword of the Party could sever one by one, as it did.**

But it would be an unpardonable mistake to think that the class struggle within the Party and outside it, in any form it appears, in the form of struggle against groups, plots, sabotage or even in the form of struggle against any manifestation alien to our society and people, will come to an end with this purge. It is our duty not to fall asleep.

Comrades, we must bear in mind that the situation in the world, and indeed, not very far from us, is very turbulent. The capitalist and revisionist countries are in a deep economic and political crisis. The situation is not any better in the neighbouring countries, either. The situation in Yugoslavia is becoming more and more critical and poses a threat to our country and the Balkans. **Therefore, a high political, economic and military vigilance is required from us.**

Abiding by the line of the Party in the foreign policy, and never for a moment departing from its strategy, the Central Committee of the Party and the Government carefully work out the tactics and stands of our state in its relations with other states. With an active policy and a propaganda based on undeniable truths, the authority and prestige of our Party and socialist state has grown higher and higher not only in the broad progressive opinion, but also among many official political, economic, cultural, scientific and other circles.

World reaction, whether or not in power, hates our system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the

Party of Labour of Albania which leads this small country, and fights them with all possible means.

Our enemies accuse us of having isolated ourselves, but their aim is that socialist Albania should open itself up, that is, should be a prey to the neighbours and to the imperialist, capitalist and revisionist states. **World reaction fears small Albania, not because of the number of its population, not because of the size of its territory, or because of its armaments, but because of its ideology and policy, which make our people vigorous, strong and unconquerable. World reaction fears socialist Albania also because it is determined to resist to any attacks; it is not so easily swallowed, and anyone who dares to carry the fire into our land will be burned in it, and we are convinced that we shall win.**

The outside threat has always existed and secret activities against our country have always been carried out and we should never for a moment overlook them in the future. The enemy does not lay down its weapons, but we do not lay down our weapons, either, **We are inflexible about this and will be so in the future, too.**

All these things that are happening around us, outside and inside our country, the crises of the capitalist and the revisionist world, the plots against our country, the pressure, blackmail, and blockades which may eventually be intensified against us should make our whole Party and people to be alert, ready and vigilant, fully mobilized at work and very watchful.

Only with the fulfilment and overfulfilment of plans, only with savings and economy, with scientific organization and management shall we cope with the political and economic pressure of the capitalist and revisionist world, shall we guarantee and maintain a level of material well-being that will make socialist Albania and the Party-people

unity stronger, the people happier and the future of the younger generations more secure.

Everyone must reflect deeply, not superficially, and open his eyes and exercise vigilance, but the vigilance of a revolutionary party and not a morbid vigilance.

The correct understanding and implementation of the line of the Party favours neither liberalism, nor sectarianism, both of which are dangerous tendencies at any time and in any situation. When we speak about major problems of principle and about respecting the Party norms, these are not slogans to be chanted, while acting differently in practice, without controlling ourselves at every moment and in every action, and without allowing our comrades and relatives to control us. This has nothing to do with «safety control», ours is control by society, control by life, confrontation with the norms of our Party and our socialist society.

Departure of any communist or cadre from the norms of the Party and avoidance of social control not only damages the reputation of the Party, but also has consequences to the violator of these norms. The enemy begins to compromise our people beginning from trifles, from financial transgressions to the breach of communist morality and other offences. Personal and social vigilance, both by the Party and by the masses, should be active in this situation. **Vigilance should not be understood as a monopoly or the duty of a Party forum or state organism only, but as a problem for everyone, for every communist and citizen of the republic.**

Revolutionary vigilance, «trust and check up», keeps the situation healthy, morbid vigilance weakens it. The former creates confidence and clarity, the latter creates uncertainty and mistrust. The former educates, the latter miseducates.

We must always bear in mind that violations of

Party norms, small waverings in its line, even when they appear as minor manifestations, may accumulate and actually become waverings in the line, and then, from petty-bourgeois actions and ways of thinking develop into opposition to the Party line, to the norms of society and to socialism which we are building in our country, if there is no vigilance and if these violations are not treated correctly and in due time, with all the means and forms which the Party has created on the basis of a long experience. These concessions and waverings lead to the weakening of the class struggle, which is a decisive factor for the advance of our society.

Hence, the ever more profound and broad understanding of the need to observe the norms of the Party and of its leading role everywhere, without excluding the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, comes even more to the fore.

The Party should not permit anyone in any sector to misuse the powers or the functions he is invested with. Carelessness and indifference in this direction are very dangerous to the Party, society and our socialist state.

Comrades.

This major struggle over many decades has convinced our people that their strength in the confrontation with the enemies lies in the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, in its unity, in the unity of the Party with the people, in the successes this line has made possible for the construction of a truly socialist society, uninterruptedly enriching the consciousness and nature of people and increasing the material blessings of the country.

We must now carry this situation further ahead. This is our duty and only ours, it is the mission of the historical

period through which we have lived and are living, and this mission must be clear to the coming generations which must take it over from us unstained.

Therefore, we must always keep our Party pure, defend it from dangers and distortions, and strengthen it politically, ideologically and organizationally.

Long live the Party!

«Always Vigilance», vol. 2

**THIS WONDERFUL REALITY IS THE WORK OF THE
PEOPLE, IS YOUR WORK, IS THE RESULT OF THE
CORRECT LINE OF THE PARTY**

*From a conversation with a group of workers from
various sectors of the economy (1)*

September 30, 1983

Welcome, dear comrades!
Take your seats, everybody, please.

I know some of you, those who are more advanced in age, with greater experience and longer seniority at work, but most of you I don't know, because you are young. However, it is a great pleasure for our Party and for us to see that the younger generation of our country has risen so high and has made the country like a flower garden. You are the flowers of Albania.

How are you getting on with your work?

EVERYBODY: Well, Comrade Enver.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: Yes, we receive good news continuously from all sectors of the economy, which

1 Comrades of the leadership of the Party and State, also, attended this meeting with workers from the hydro-power plant of Koman, the «Enver Hoxha» automobile and tractor combine, mines, oil-fields, and textile mills, working people of agriculture and young volunteers from railway construction sites.

delight and enthuse us, and which make us feel younger. From the work of the Party and from your work we gain confidence, but we gain knowledge, too, because, comrades, it is clear that this wonderful reality we have created in our country is the work of the people, is your work, is the result of the correct line and the well-studied plans of the Party. Therefore, this is a source of joy not only for us, but also for the whole people and for all the friends of our country, wherever they are, while it enrages our enemies. The enemies are blinded with rage by our successes.

Then, Comrade Enver Hoxha had a very cordial talk with the participants in the meeting, who, after wishing happy birthday to the beloved leader of the Party, reported to him about the work and the successes achieved. Starting to speak again, Comrade Enver Hoxha said:

I have followed you up in all your magnificent work, but when I see you on television from time to time, and it is a good thing that special programs are often devoted to your work, which is an encouragement for all our people and increases their confidence in their mental and physical forces, I feel special respect for the workers, for the engineers, for the technicians who are building such projects as the hydro-power plant of Koman, that giant of iron and concrete, one of the biggest in Europe. I have been told that the foreigners who have come to see your work have been amazed by everything, your order, your discipline, your intelligence and your skill. In all the sectors of our economy now there is a new approach of our worker to his work, a different, more thoroughgoing kind of thinking, because even the common worker in our country has a high political, ideological and technical level. Even the worker who does the most simple work at the hydro-

power plant is politically mature, is qualified for his work and thinks and works for the dam, thinks and works for the electric power, for the development of the whole economy of our country.

The Party has always placed the production of electric power in the centre of its attention, seeing it as one of the major issues, because without electric power no progress can be made. Before Liberation our people lived in wretched misery, used pine torches for light, but now that we are building socialism, that our country is developing with big strides, nothing can be done without electric power. There are demands for our electric power not only from the neighbouring countries, but also from other states of the world which are affected by the energy crisis. We have attached importance to the production of electric power and will continue to do so in the future. That is why even those who don't wish us well are compelled to recognize our achievements in this field. So, those teams of yours, from designers to simple builders, must be clear about it that we will not remain where we are in this work. More hydro-power plants and thermal-power plants have been designed, and we will design more, much bigger than those we have built, in the future.

That day at the Plenum, (2) when I asked your director to convey my regards to you, which he has certainly done. I was moved. Today I am moved again, but I am also glad to meet you. I have noticed that emotions prolong my life.

Thank you for the honour you have done me by coming here, to my home, to report to me about your work and great achievements and, at the same time, to congratu-

2 The 7th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA, which held its proceedings from 20-21 September 1983 and discussed the report of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee «On the situation in constructions and the problems which emerge.»

tulate me on my birthday. On my behalf and on behalf of the Party, I thank you and congratulate you on all the successes you have achieved. For my part, I assure you, the Party and the people that, as long as I live, I will spare nothing for and will place everything in the service of our great cause, the freedom of the Homeland and socialism.

It is the work of the whole people, the correct orientations and the far-sighted plans of the Party that have created our brilliant, enthusing reality, this uninterrupted improvement in well-being, this non-stop advance of socialist Albania.

We have achieved good results in agriculture, especially this year. Foreigners visiting our country are surprised to see our terraced hills and mountains. At Dajç, as the comrades have informed me, the cooperativists have succeeded in taking in, in individual plots, high yields of maize, reaching to over 120 quintals per hectare. Very well and well done!

Agriculture in our country has made enormous strides and we are very happy about this. You, the elder people, know what the situation was like before Liberation, because you were born on that sun-scorched and desolate land, but under the leadership of the Party and with the magnificent work of your parents and your own work, agriculture today has become a powerful economic factor for the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. See what fruit have yielded the directives of Lenin and Stalin for the collectivization of agriculture creatively applied by our Party in our country. The greatest achievement was that the peasantry succeeded in understanding that putting together their lands was a vital necessity. In this direction we have had difficulties, but the Party has had great faith in the people. It has continuously taken account of

Lenin's teaching that the people will understand what they want through patient and persistent work, so the Party proceeded patiently, and now our peasant has reached such a level that he cannot understand his life without the cooperative, that is, he places the general interest above the personal interest.

Our Party carried out a series of Marxist-Leninist reforms for the development of agriculture. Many of them do not appear in the works of Marx or Lenin, but both Marx and Lenin have given us the principles, they have taught us that socialism should also be built on the basis of experience. We implemented the principles in a correct manner and solved other problems which emerged on our road, too. So, the Party knew how to build a socialist agriculture, to ward off the possibility for the emergence of capitalism or the development of a spontaneous economy, and did it with skill, with ability, by means of its policy and ideology, by applying agrotechnical measures, etc.

Every sector of our life and activity, the industry and the mines, the power industry and the cooperativist agriculture, education and culture, develop every year and every five-year plan at satisfactory high rates.

You comrade builders of hydro-power plants and all the other major projects have designed, have built and will build in the future still greater hydro- and thermal-power plants. You comrade oil-workers not only have given the Homeland a great wealth, but, also, by implementing the directives of the Central Committee of the Party, opened up new promising horizons for oil extraction. Working in the different mines you comrade miners snatch from the subsoil a great wealth of minerals. You comrade workers and specialists of agriculture have achieved many and steady successes. Despite the negative influence of weather conditions, you fulfilled and over-fulfilled your plans for all agricultural products. So-

cialist Albania this year succeeded in taking in high yields in wheat, indeed higher than in some countries of Europe. (3) A good maize harvest is expected, too. All these successes have been achieved with the work and the efforts of our working people, and our technical cadres of higher or medium training, who now number tens of thousands and who have been trained and educated in our people's educational system and have a contemporary progressive culture of a high level.

It is natural that our people should be delighted with these successes, but these should not make us think that we have achieved everything and let ourselves be carried away with euphoria. On the contrary, everything should be consolidated, achievements should be maintained and carried constantly ahead.

Every success has its source in work, in discipline at work, in the active creative and realizing work of the masses. You know quite well that on our road of socialist construction we have come up against difficulties and obstacles, which we have avoided or overcome through struggle and efforts. In the future, too, which will be much better than the present, we shall have to cope with many difficulties and shortcomings, objective or subjective, but we shall overcome them with success, as we have done Hitherto.

We all have unshakeable confidence in our glorious Party, in its Marxist-Leninist line, in its correct, resolute and far-sighted internal and external policy. In this line and in this policy lies the strength of our people who have worked and continue to work wonders.

Can we say with full conviction that Albania has made enormous strides? Yes, we can. When we come to

3 In 1983 a number of agricultural economies took in 70 quintals of wheat per hectare or more. Before the liberation of the country, the average yields were 7-8 quintals per hectare.

think of what we have been and what we have become, then we can see the great work that our Party has done, and the great ideas it has worked out. Its ideas, based on the Marxist-Leninist theory, have enlivened people, educated them, made them courageous and bold in their thoughts and actions, that is why we have achieved all those things we have and enjoy today.

We say, and we can prove it, that we are the only country in the world which is building socialism. There are no other socialist countries. We apply Marxism-Leninism in our concrete conditions. The policy of our Party in all its directions is based on the Marxist-Leninist theory and has as its aim the building of socialism and the protection of the interests of our Homeland, its independence, sovereignty and freedom. We have built everything ourselves, with the sweat of our brow, and with the toil and knowledge of our sons and daughters. Our magnificent reality could not have been created by some so-called socialist states, which, under the cover of aid, rather than help us, robbed us. Besides, we have paid them back to the last cent even for that aid which they claim to have given us.

Those who sell us their turbines, engines or other machinery, which we have paid either in ready money, or with our primary materials, cannot pretend that they have built our magnificent hydro-power plants, our railways, our combines, or developed the agriculture of our country, which has been transformed into a flowering garden. Our hydro-power plants, railways, combines and plants, our systematized fields and wonderful terraces of citrus and other fruit-trees are not the work of one or ten foreign engineers, agronomists or geologists, who have come to our country for a term of time under the disguise of «friends». They could not do anything without the strength, without the will power, without the knowledge and the tireless work of our wonderful people. But instead of helping

us, they sabotaged us badly, impeded us whenever they could, and when we got rid of them, everything came back to the right road, the country assumed a new aspect, development and progress proceeded at great strides and we ourselves built many more projects than were built before.

With the departure of the foreign specialists, the enemies thought that we would capitulate, that we would surrender. But they were greatly mistaken and deceived. They never knew the strength and vitality of our people and our Party.

We would have lagged very much behind had we not shaken off all the pseudo-friends, from the Yugoslav Titoites and the Khrushchevites to the Chinese and others. They have sabotaged us, have restrained our development, therefore, it is they who owe a debt to us, and not only a political debt, but also an economic debt.

Every discovery and progress in our country has been made through the ability of our Party and our people. Let us take up the problem of the oil, in which the foreigners claim to have «helped us». Actually they kept the data about our oil resources secret from us, just as they did with our mines. What the foreign specialists did in this field was equal to their abilities, and their abilities were limited because they had other aims up their sleeve, they had come to do something else and not to help us. Now that we have greater experience, that our miners and engineers have more knowledge, we are able to judge very readily what capacities those people had and what capacities we have. Hence, comrades, they did not come here in order to help Albania, but on the contrary, to enslave it, so that we would depend on them.

All the mines we have today, the iron-nickel, copper and other mines, have been built by our courageous and valiant miners, under the leadership of the Party.

In the past we used to say that nature had given wealth to the other countries, whereas it had given only mountains to our country. Now these mountains are a great and very valuable asset for us, not only because they conceal treasures in their depths, but also because they serve as fastnesses to defend our beloved Albania, which we have built and have made so beautiful and will make still more beautiful in the future.

We all remember that decades ago the world saw socialist Albania as a small satellite of the Yugoslavs, then of the Soviets, and later of the Chinese. However, with the passage of time those who saw and considered us as such were convinced that Albania had never been a satellite. Those who thought and judged like this were disillusioned. The others, who wished our country well and were realists, found this reality natural, therefore they defended and still defend us today. Whereas the various enemies, who failed in their anti-Albanian, conspiratorial ambitions, were compelled to change tune.

This time the defence of the freedom, independence and sovereignty by the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people was called «isolation from the outside world»! But what did the enemies understand with isolation? Just the fact that we did not sell ourselves to the foreigners, to world capital, did not allow our country's life to degenerate, did not incur debts to the superpowers and the other imperialist powers, did not sell our socialist Homeland, did not march in step with them, did not go towards spiritual, economic and military enslavement, as the gentlemen who malign and criticise us did and continue to do in order to cover up their obvious bankruptcy.

In order to cover up the tragedy which is going on at the expense of the peoples, American imperialism and its secret agency, Yugoslav Titoism, coined the political term «non-aligned countries». When the question is asked

what makes these countries non-aligned, the answer is that they are formally outside NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. However, the political, ideological, economic and military commitment of most of the non-aligned countries to the superpowers and the developed capitalist countries is an undeniable fact. This commitment has become a second nature for many leaders of these countries, who employ their so-called policy of non-alignment as a fig leaf to cover up their complete dependence on the big powers. In most of these countries, the profits accruing from enslaving loans and credits to the banks of the big capitalist states end up in the pockets of the local rich and the foreign capitalists and monopolists, while misery, crisis, degeneration weigh heavy, as always, on the backs of the peoples, the working masses.

Socialist Albania has avoided this grip, that is why the champions of imperialist plunder consider it «isolated» from the world. But we Albanians don't care at all about this «label» they stick to us. On the contrary, we are marching on the correct course under the leadership of our Party, the course of socialist construction, constant progress and improvement of the well-being of the workers and increase of the prosperity of the Homeland, a course which knows no crises or debts. The progressive world, that world which judges with its own head, the peoples who are working and fighting for freedom and the sovereignty of their lands, make a correct assessment of our course.

Our reality is the majestic work of the Party of Labour of Albania, it is the result of the faithful implementation of Marxism-Leninism. This is why the enemies oppose our Party and Marxism-Leninism. They do so because our reality makes more evident the betrayal of Marxism-Leninism by all the modern revisionists and shows the vitality of our theory. Small but invincible socialist Albania,

free from the revisionist scum which has spread throughout the world, shows the whole mankind that when the peoples rely on the Marxist-Leninist theory and their own forces, socialism is built successfully.

The Yugoslav Titoites are sworn enemies of socialist Albania. For 40 years on end they have striven with all manner of means to impede our advance. We won because right was on our side, because we were confident in the line of the Party, and relied on Marxism-Leninism. Yugoslavia is up to the neck in debts, although recently we are hearing the Titoites using the phrase «we are building socialism with our own forces». But the world is not blind and can clearly see that Yugoslavia is building capitalism with foreign forces. They do not say this, but we say this to them every day. This has made them to launch even more vicious attacks on us.

Those who are financing Yugoslavia and propping it up say so openly in their press, indeed they have admitted to us verbally, that they are giving Yugoslavia «oxygen» to breathe, otherwise, it would die. The capitalist states are competing as to who will grant more credits to this insatiable monster. This competition enriches foreign and domestic capital, while the people languish in misery and poverty. There prices are constantly rising and inflation is soaring. Likewise, unemployment and national oppression have increased.

Titoite Yugoslavia has been transformed into a chess-board for the game between two opponents, the United States of America and the Soviet Union. The outcome of this game is «check-mate» for Yugoslavia, but also a threat to peace and security in the Balkans, Europe and the world.

The world today, comrades, is going through a turbulent situation, the threat of war is great. Everybody admits this publicly. But what is done to prevent this? There

is much talk, indeed regional and international meetings are held about it. But what comes out of them? Nothing. On the contrary, the danger of a nuclear war is increasing and the capitalist-revisionist world is feverishly arming.

Who is inciting this hysteria of a new war? On the one hand, NATO, led by the United States of America, and on the other hand, the Warsaw Treaty, led by the Soviet Union.

What are the so-called non-aligned countries doing in these circumstances? Some of them, egged on by the superpowers, are fighting amongst themselves in Africa, the Middle East, Asia, Central America, and elsewhere. In these countries peoples are shedding their blood for the interests of the superpowers, which are dividing and redividing the spheres of influence, inspiring and carrying out plots against the peoples, inciting the slaves of the dollar or the ruble to encroach on the borders of one another.

Currently, the leaders of Titoite Yugoslavia are trotting about in all directions trying to envenom the situation, screaming that «the threat to Yugoslavia, the Balkans, and Europe comes from socialist Albania,» «from the dictatorship of Enver Hoxha,» «from Albania's non-participation in the Helsinki Conference, the Madrid Conference,» or any other such meetings which have yielded and are yielding no result, on the contrary, now we see that nuclear missiles are to be stationed in Europe and the menace of the outbreak of a world war is imminent.

Can a world war which threatens to break out be avoided if the policy of the Soviet Union, the United States of America, NATO, the Warsaw Treaty, the European Common Market and Comecon is not opposed and exposed? Can a world war be avoided by getting into debt to the one and the other, by smiling now at the one now at the other, by resorting to blackmail against and making concessions to the one or the other? No, in no way! On the contrary, this leads to catastrophe.

Our defence of the rights of our Albanian brothers in Yugoslavia does not mean, as the Titoites claim, that we wish Yugoslavia ill. No. We have proclaimed our stands clearly and publicly. We have never interfered in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. It is the Yugoslav Titoites who have plotted and continue to plot against the freedom and independence of the Albanian people and socialist Albania.

We are aware of and always bear in mind the aims of all those who organize secret plots of a fascist-clerical and annexionist character to destroy our regime and partition Albania. However, it must be clear to all that they will never succeed in their sinister aims. The Albanian people will smash all plots and hostile activities, just as they did with the hated criminal band of the multiple agent Mehmet Shehu. We constantly weed our garden, other weeds may crop up, but we have «herbicides» to fight them.

As we told you, when we informed you of the decisions of the Central Committee on the treacherous activities of the agents Mehmet Shehu and Kadri Hazbiu and company, we acquainted you with the strategy of our Party, which is rock-firm, as the comrade from Koman said here. Our tactics are based on Marxism-Leninism and weigh up all situations and all circumstances. We know that here we must advance that far, there that far.

Socialist Albania desires to live in harmony with all the peoples and in Leninist peaceful coexistence with all those states which are correct in their relations with it. It is for the defence of peace and against aggressive imperialist wars.

Socialist Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania, which leads it, have their own policy and views on every question, and they express these views openly and publicly. No one will be in a position to drown down our just voice or to induce us to lower our revolutionary vigilance. Those who believe that smaller countries have no right to raise

their voice are greatly mistaken. Nobody granted us the right to voice our ideas openly, always and everywhere, we won this right through bloodshed and great sacrifices.

Our rights are sacred and we'll defend them with all our might. We will allow no one, whoever he be, to violate our rights, to defend unjust actions, when they are covered by international treaties concluded by others to the detriment of the interests of the Albanian people and outside their will, or to fail to meet legitimate obligations towards socialist Albania.

The internal situation of our country is healthy in all directions, political, ideological, economic and military. Our People's Army, with the weapons it possesses in all its structures, is a force capable of defending Albania successfully against any enemy. Our people are united in a steel-like unity round the Party and its line, and our economy is stable. At a time when the whole capitalist-revisionist world is in a crisis, our economy is developing at steady high rates, the standard of living of our people is good and constantly improving, the defence potential of the Homeland is powerful and invincible.

Our socialist industry is advancing at high rates, too, passing over from one stage to the other. From a small-scale industry we have passed today over to the construction of plants and factories with our own forces. Of course, in the future, too, we shall import machinery for factories which we are not yet in a position to make ourselves, however, even today we have all the means required to advance in this field, too; we have the metallurgical combine in Elbasan. It is a huge, colossal combine, which in the future will be enlarged with other factories, and we shall cut down on the import lists of many goods, while increasing our exports at the same time.

With us everything is harmonized with our current and perspective needs, with our possibilities. In our develop-

ment there is no spontaneity, there are no useless and chaotic investments, no pointless and uncontrollable spending. Our masses are satisfied, not because we have reached the heavens, but we have convinced people of the correctness of the road of the Party. The people can see, think and judge for themselves where we have been and where we are, and they can see our daily advance. We have done and are doing everything with our own sweat and our own blood which we have been shedding since the time of the war. Your comrades have fallen in building railways, in the mines, on construction sites, but their blood has become a major mobilizing force. The people understand the situation and have unshakeable confidence in the Party and in their own future. The political consciousness of our people has risen and is steadily rising, our ideology has created and raised our new man with a clear idea of his rights and duties, who understands the proletarian discipline at work and the good conduct in life and who, before thinking about his personal interest, thinks about the common interest.

These are the invaluable characteristics and merits of our social system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, one of the most democratic, the most advanced, and most humane systems, resting on proletarian justice, the protection of personal freedoms and the defence of the general freedom of the Homeland. National oppression, prohibition of the free expression of creative ideas, genocide and apartheid are unknown in our country. Our people are neither rich nor poor, they hate luxury and corruption, their life is characterized by dignity, love of work, and affection and respect for one another. Our social system is a creative one. This is a great merit of our working class which, in alliance with the peasantry and under the leadership of the Party, guides the life of the country and has created all these material and spiritual blessings.

Now we are drafting the 1984 plan, which will bring new victories to our people and Homeland. The achievements hitherto, the favourable conditions created by the Party must be utilized so that they serve to draft an optimal and mobilizing plan, which will make the Homeland more prosperous and stronger and the living of the people better.

We must make more efforts to strengthen organization in production, planning, education, culture, science, etc., which in turn makes for bigger mobilization of the working people, increases their zeal and makes their work more fruitful. We must use to our best abilities the experience we have gained in management and organization, technique and technology, improve on this experience and adapt it to the situations which may arise. Our creative work requires this constantly, now and in the future. Likewise, saving must be on the order of the day. A thrifty people, making no wasteful spending, is a people capable of living through the centuries.

The plans of the Party and the tasks of all and sundry, wherever they work, must be carried out to the letter and on time, with a lofty sense of duty and responsibility, both personal and collective. This guarantees our construction of socialism, our freedom, independence and sovereignty, and the prosperous future of our socialist Homeland.

The enemies are constantly plotting against us, but we are prepared and have taken all the measures to cope with them. Albania is not an easy prey. This must be clear to them. True, Albania is a small country, with a small population, it does not possess such highly sophisticated weapons as our enemies have, but the enemies know, also, that the Albanians are a brave people and that they are all united round the Party, and the price for setting foot on Albania will be too high for them. Those who dare bring the fire to our soil must know that they will get burnt in it. Therefore, comrades, it is our duty to make our country, our

Homeland strong and prosperous in all aspects, bearing always in mind that this is the deed of the Party and the Party will guide us on the road of progress. The Party is our guarantee, because it is the vanguard of the working class. The Party cannot exist without the working class. It is the great strength of the proletariat which makes its vanguard as strong as steel, which creates the unity between the working class and the peasantry, among the workers, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, and enables them to overcome still greater difficulties under the leadership of the Party. Even if storms rage against us, we will breast them. Therefore, we must put the shoulder to the wheel, comrades, being always vigilant, creative and bold. This is a question of major importance. We must have the courage to act, the courage of our opinions, the courage to criticize everybody who is not on the correct course of the Party. All this is for the good of the Homeland and for the strengthening of unity. Nobody must take offence at his comrades' criticism, on the contrary, must consider it a salutary lesson.

Let us continue to work ever better, so as to show our people through deeds the correctness of the line of the Party of Labour of Albania; let the good and progressive people throughout the world see and judge the reality of our socialist Albania.

Comrades, I am 75 years old now, but I will live longer. I will live longer because you give me strength, the work of the Party gives me strength, and you are that force of mind which helps us to co-ordinate our work and reach the right conclusions. You must not think we are Zeus' mind. You exist, therefore we exist. You have elected us and we must perform our duties to the letter, as long as we breathe. The closer the leadership to the people, the better it listens to the people, the closer are its links with them, with their problems, because we have and will con-

tinue to have problems and difficulties, the more invincible it becomes. That is why this unity, the Party-people unity, must be continuously steeled.

I like to stay longer and talk with you. I am very pleased with your visit, not only because you came here for my birthday, but also because you informed me about your wonderful work. However, I am also pleased with your congratulations on my birthday.

I wish I could always be near you in all your joys.

A WOMAN COMRADE: And you are always with us, Comrade Enver.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA: Yes, with my heart I am there, with all the children who are born and grow up in creches and kindergartens, who learn at schools, with those who are treated and healed in hospitals. I am happy about all these blessings which the Party has created and which will increase in the future.

You congratulated me, and I, too, wholeheartedly wish you all: May success attend you in your work! May you always be merry and happy! Defend your country, under the leadership of the Party! The Party will always be with you and will support you, because you are the great support of our Homeland and our nation.

I once again thank you for your congratulations on my birthday and hail your victories, which rejoice me and give me fresh energies.

Hence, forward comrade workers and cooperativists, young men and women, specialists in production, workers of culture, forward comrade communists, to new successes in accomplishing the current tasks and those which the Party will set us in the future!

Best regards to all your workmates. I wish you happiness in life and in your families!

May success attend you!

Long live our people! May they advance continually!

Long live our Party! May it become ever stronger!
Let us raise a toast to the Party and to your health,
dear comrades!

«Reports and Speeches 1982-1983»

THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE YEAR 1983

Notes

December 1983

This year, too, the open political-economic rivalry, and the indirect military rivalry between the two imperialist superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, in the Middle East, as well as the problems linked with this were in the centre of international events. There were new dangerous developments in the Arab-Israeli conflict, the war between Iran and Iraq continued fiercely, the resistance of the people of Afghanistan against the Soviet occupiers assumed more extensive and greater proportions, etc. At certain moments the further evolution of the events indicated that the hotbeds of local wars in this region might lead to much greater clashes, with grave consequences for the neighbouring countries and peoples, too.

As I have written previously, the real basis of all the inter-imperialist rivalry in the Middle East is the oil and the military strategic positions of the Arab countries. For years the United States of America and the Soviet Union have been clashing fiercely, openly and surreptitiously, over the oil of the Middle East and for strategic military positions in this region. Without oil, their economies as a whole, and their mighty military machines in particular, cannot go on for long. Without dominating the land, sea and air routes of communication which pass through this very extensive region it is difficult for them to realize their plans for

occupation and expansion in the vast territories of the continents of Asia and Africa and the boundless Pacific and Atlantic Oceans.

These are the main reasons why both the United States of America and the Soviet Union have declared and treat the Middle East region, which extends from Algeria to Iran, as «spheres of their national interests» for the defence of which, as they say publicly, they are ready to risk everything, including war. Proceeding from this viewpoint, during 1983 they have gone over from public threats to concrete actions and measures.

The United States of America dispatched a whole naval fleet and special landing detachments to the vicinity of the Persian Gulf in order to use the force of arms if Iran were to close the Strait of Hormuz and prevent the oil tankers from passing through to the ocean. In the Mediterranean it reinforced the 6th Fleet to the maximum and landed more than 2,000 marines in Lebanon. Each of these military actions was carried out under the pretext of «defending the national interests» of the United States!

The Soviet Union acted similarly. It dispatched a part of its naval fleet to the Pacific Ocean, strengthened its Mediterranean fleet to the maximum, etc. It, too, did all these things in order «to defend» the national interests of the Soviet Union in these regions!

Hence, the two imperialist superpowers, this year more than ever before, put into practice the gunboat policy in the Middle East, totally disregarding the independence, freedom and desires of the peoples of this region. This gunboat policy and the open military actions of both sides were expressions of the further exacerbation of what is called «the Middle East crisis».

At the same time, «special envoys» of the presidents and governments of the two superpowers undertook frequent journeys with top-secret special missions to Tel

Aviv, Riyadh, Cairo, Damascus, Amman and many other capital cities of the countries of the Arab world to offer «the aid and mediation» of their countries, but in reality to exert pressure and organize new plots against the Arab peoples and, first of all, against the Palestinian people.

During the year I have recorded in my *Diary* some of the moments and events which have impressed me most from the illegal and inhuman activity of the imperialist superpowers and Israel, as well as moments from the heroic struggle of the Palestinian, Arab, Afghan and Iranian peoples against the plots of the two superpowers. I have also recorded some of my thoughts and feelings, the grief which I feel over the misfortunes which have descended upon these peoples and the injustices perpetrated against them, as well as the great joy which I feel over their exemplary struggle for their freedom and national independence, against the savage Israeli, imperialist and social-imperialist occupiers and enemies. Here I am making a summary of these general events.

The Arab-Israeli Conflict and Its Complications

The year 1983 can be considered the year of the consolidation of the *de facto* occupation of Lebanon by the Israeli armies and the «multinational force», which is made up of special detachments of the American, Italian, French and British armies. This occupation was carried out, first of all, to strike a new blow against and to destroy the organized Palestinian forces centered in Lebanon. This means the practical application of the second part of the package plan of Israeli, imperialist and Arab reaction to sabotage and completely paralyse the just struggle of the Palestinian people to return to their own homeland.

After fierce fighting, the Israeli forces, armed to the teeth with the most modern weapons and comprised of about a hundred thousand men, occupied Beirut and the main part of the southern zone of Lebanon. The Palestinian fighters resisted heroically, but, abandoned by their false friends, in the end were obliged to withdraw from Beirut to the zones north of the city and in the direction of the Beqaa Valley under the «surveillance» of the «multi-national force».

Nevertheless, the occupation of Lebanon and the implementation of the plan for the destruction of the organized Palestinian forces could not be fully achieved without breaking up and damaging the unity of the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples. Thus in 1983 the world was faced with two fratricidal wars incited by Israel, the United States and certain reactionary circles of the Arab world. Fratricidal war was incited between various factions of the Lebanese people, between Christians and Moslems, and even between various Christian and Moslem sects as between the Druze, the Shia, the Sunni Moslems, the Maronite Christians, and others. This war had very grave political and economic consequences for Lebanon and, amongst other things, led to the destruction of the cosmopolitan and formerly wealthy city of Beirut. The other fratricidal war was that which was incited within the Palestine Liberation Organization, between Palestinian fighters, between Arafat and his supporters, on the one hand, and Abu Mousa, at one time Arafat's right-hand man, on the other hand. This war ended with the complete withdrawal from Lebanon of Arafat and about four thousand partly disarmed Palestinian fighters. From all this fratricidal fighting it was Israel that benefited and the Palestinian people and their liberation movement that lost.

During this year, in the context of the campaign of terror against the defenceless Palestinian population and

the attempts to drive from Lebanon about three to four hundred thousand Palestinians who had settled there since Israel drove them from their homeland, the agents of Israel in Lebanon organized and carried out in cold blood a massacre unprecedented for its ferocity in Sabra and Shatila, two undefended Palestinian camps on the periphery of Beirut. In the darkness of the night and under the supervision of the Israeli regular army which allegedly had the duty to protect these camps from surprise attacks, some Lebanese fascist gangs in the service of Israel slaughtered more than 1,500 people — men, women, old folk and children, entire families, without discrimination, in the most barbarous way.

Those who perpetrated this inhuman crime as well as their inciters and supporters covered their tracks, were taken under protection and remained unpunished. Nevertheless the whole of progressive opinion throughout the world condemned them and branded them as war criminals.

During this year a very grave situation was created, also, in the internal political affairs of Lebanon. The country remained almost continuously without a government and administration capable of running affairs, caring for the people and opposing the actions of the Israeli occupiers. The reactionary Lebanese circles took advantage of the situation, organized and armed themselves and carried out military actions against progressive Lebanese forces, especially against the Palestinians, contrary to the national interests of Lebanon.

Nevertheless the Lebanese people were not defeated. They took up arms and forcibly resisted the Israeli army of occupation and the other occupiers, especially the American and the French. Israeli, American and French military targets were attacked, and serious damage was inflicted on them.

Hence, the situation became no more peaceful, even

though the Israeli army occupied Beirut and the inspirers and supporters of Israel dispatched thousands of «peace-keeping specialists» (the multi-national force) to Beirut. Therefore the Israeli air force and navy and the air force and naval fleet of the United States of America, which included the aircraft carriers «Nimitz», «Eisenhower», and «Independence», and tens of heavy cruisers, continued to bombard and strike the positions of the Palestinian and Lebanese fighters in the mountains around Beirut and especially in the Beqaa Valley with all their fire power.

The American air force and naval artillery have also bombarded the joint Arab-Syrian forces which have been deployed in the Beqaa Valley with the approval of the Lebanese government.

As for the Soviet social-imperialists, as far as I can see from their deeds and their bombastic statements, it seems that they are doing nothing at all about these things that are occurring, about the attacks which are being made on the Palestinians and the Lebanese or even about the attacks «which are being made on the Syrians. Why do I say this? I say this because even though the Soviet Union has a «treaty of friendship» with Syria, it has played and is playing the role of the deaf and the blind. This is not the first time that the Soviet social-imperialists have betrayed and left «their Arab friends» in the lurch. The Soviet social-imperialists are interested, more than anything else, in selling them the maximum number of weapons so that they use them up as quickly as possible and then buy more weapons, rather than in carrying out the pledges they make in «the treaties of friendship» which they sign with one country or another, and in engaging in open conflict with the American imperialists.

Now there is more and more talk about a «package political plan» said to be prepared and hatched up under the personal patronage of the American president, Reagan,

for the settlement of the Middle East crisis. This plan does speak about the creation of a dismembered «Palestinian state»: under the domination of the anti-Palestinian king of Jordan, but its main objective is to guarantee secure borders for Israel. This is the third instalment in the achievement of the aims of Israel, American imperialism and Arab reaction, for the dispersal of the Palestinian people and the sabotage of their just struggle.

Our people have special sympathy for the Palestinian people, because they have waged and are waging a resolute and heroic fight, and we have supported and will go on supporting them in the ocean of loneliness and betrayal in which they find themselves today. Even betrayed and abandoned as the Palestinian people are today, they will triumph. They will triumph, for they are fighting for a just cause, for their return to their homeland the Israeli aggressors usurped with the open support of the American imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists and the reactionary forces of various Arab countries.

The Afghan People Will Kick Out the Soviet Occupiers

These days see the completion of four years since the occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet army. The Soviet social-imperialists committed this fascist aggression with the hope that everything would quickly be forgotten and that the Afghan people would be deceived and subjugated just as quickly. But they were gravely mistaken. Not for one moment have the Afghan people reconciled themselves to the occupation of their homeland by the hordes of the Soviet social-imperialists. On the contrary, they have fought and are fighting arms in hand so effectively that the Soviet government has been obliged to dispatch continual

reinforcements of fresh troops and the most modern weapons, including chemical weapons, to carry out mass bombardments by means of the air force and artillery, to depopulate, burn and massacre whole villages, to pursue the policy of scorched earth and to pack the prisons with defiant Afghan fighters. What means have the Soviet social-imperialists not used during these four years to subjugate the Afghan people? But they have been neither subjugated nor intimidated and they will not be subjugated or intimidated.

During 1983 the armed resistance of the Afghan fighters to the Soviet occupiers assumed more extensive and greater proportions. The powerful garrisons of the Soviet occupation army have been the targets of repeated attacks by the Afghan patriots and not just in mountainous regions as in the provinces of Paktya, Kandahar and Herat, etc., but also right in the capital of the country, Kabul. On a number of occasions the «fortress» Soviet embassy and the «reinforced concrete» buildings where the general command of the Soviet occupation troops is located have been attacked. Generals, other senior officers and thousands of soldiers have been killed, scores of advisers have been taken prisoner, military airports have been attacked and aircraft, helicopters, tanks, artillery and other means of warfare destroyed, while large quantities of weapons have been captured. The very ground is ablaze under the feet of the Soviet occupiers who are obliged to live in panic amongst a people who know them not as «friends» but as savage, perfidious enemies who must be fought to the death. Not for one moment can the Soviet occupiers feel themselves secure on Afghan soil, irrespective of the number of soldiers and the amount of fire power they have deployed there.

The valiant fighting people of Afghanistan, who are poor and armed mainly with weapons captured from the

occupiers, are setting a very fine example of how foreign occupiers, whoever they are, however powerful and heavily armed they may be, can and must be fought, of how the ability to fight, the qualities of bravery and self-sacrifice are acquired in the course of the fighting to defend their freedom and their homeland.

Frequently when I read reports or see on the TV shots of the fighting and daring actions which the Afghan fighters carry out against powerful formations or motorized columns of the Soviet army of occupation, jumping from rock to rock amongst the snow and ice, the rain and hundreds of other difficulties, and armed only with rifles, my mind goes back to our glorious National Liberation War, to the heroism and sacrifices of our valiant, patriotic and revolutionary people. Of course, our war was at a much higher level and much better organized and, above all, it was led by our Communist Party on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Our people, rallied in the National Liberation Front, closely united, without distinction as to region or religion, were more conscious about the ideals for which they had to and did fight and about the character of the state which they would build on the ruins of past regimes, after the victory. Nevertheless, I repeat that the struggle of the people of Afghanistan is a just struggle, and the Afghan patriotic fighters deserve to be honoured and respected by all the patriotic forces of the world, to be supported so that they can step up their liberation war even further until they drive the Soviet occupiers completely from their homeland. And, whether the Soviet social-imperialists and their local lackeys like it or not, this will certainly be realized in the near future. The people of Afghanistan will regain their freedom and independence.

On the Iraq-Iran War

The Iraqi rulers began the war against Iran from fear of the influence in their country of the Iranian people's revolution against the Shah and his patrons, the American imperialists, and also with the incitement of the Soviet social-imperialists, the American imperialists and Arab reaction in order to overthrow the new Iranian regime. It seems to me that Saddam Hussein and his clique thought that this war would be over very quickly and that the Iranians would soon surrender on account of the state of their army after the revolution, allowing the occupation of the rich oil fields near the border, in Khuzistan and elsewhere. But it did not turn out like that. The Iranian army withstood the initial attacks of the Iraqi army, launched counter-attacks which liberated the border zones occupied by the Iraqis, and continued to drive deeper into Iraq.

The war has dragged on for three years with heavy fighting and bloodshed, sometimes more quietly, sometimes simply with bombardments, with artillery, rockets and aircraft bombs, the latter especially from the Iraqi side. Already the war has caused very great losses of human life and material damage which is estimated at several tens of billions of dollars on each side.

The aims for which Iraq began the war have not been achieved and Saddam Hussein has several times sought mediation to end it, but without rendering account for his deeds and without assuming moral and material responsibility for the damage which has been inflicted on the Iranian people. Quite rightly the Iranians have not accepted this manoeuvre. However, those who incited this war and set it ablaze and who foster it with arms supplies are also opposed to the ending of the Iraqi-Iranian war.

Who are those who want to prolong this war endlessly?

They are the Soviet social-imperialists, the main suppliers of Iraq with all types of the most modern weapons; they are the American imperialists who by means of Iraq want to carry out the counter-revolution in Iran, to overthrow the present regime and reinstate the barbarous Pahlavi regime, to regain control of the great oil wealth of Iran and the fabulous privileges which they enjoyed only a few years ago; they are the arms monopolies of certain other imperialist countries, such as France, Britain, etc. who sell Iraq supersonic aircraft, missiles and chemical weapons; they are the Israelis who want the Arabs to chop each other to pieces. Finally the Arab reactionaries, who are scared to death of the revolutionary spirit and progressive movements of the Palestinian people, the Iranian people and any other people in this region, also want to keep it going.

This year the conflict not only continued, but assumed more extensive proportions and became more bitter. Iraq has hit and is hitting inhabited centres and cities outside the war zone and especially a number of oil fields and the refineries at Abadan, the Kharg Island, Bandar-Khomeini and elsewhere employing modern means of warfare, including supersonic aircraft, missiles and modern warships which it has received from the Soviet social-imperialists and the other imperialists. On these occasions the Iranian government has declared officially that if the imperialist powers continue to assist the regime of Saddam Hussein and enable it to attack the Iranian people and their property with such means, it will be obliged to take measures to close the Strait of Hormuz and stop the passage of oil tankers out of the Persian Gulf. Closing the Strait of Hormuz would mean that the western capitalist countries, including the United States of America, would be deprived of 40-45% of the oil needed to keep their industry going. Therefore, they have all ganged up against and increased

their pressure on Iran. Indeed, the United States of America has threatened armed intervention. To this end some time ago the Americans deployed a big naval fleet in the Gulf of Oman as well as other special troops and means for rapid intervention in the Persian Gulf zone. Regardless of these pressures, the Iranian government is maintaining a firm stand in defence of the interests of the Iranian people and resolutely opposing the anti-Iranian policy of the two superpowers.

The prospects for putting an end to this war are gloomy and its prolongation increases the possibility of military intervention by the superpowers at various strategic zones and points of the Persian Gulf, increases the dangers of even greater flare-ups and complications in this region of the world and further exacerbates the Middle East crisis.

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The year 1983 proved once again that the crisis of the Middle East cannot be resolved through the «package political plans» or the «mediation and aid» of the two superpowers. On the contrary, they are trying to prolong this crisis as much as possible because only in this way can they realize their plans to sabotage and undermine the movements for national and social liberation of the Arab peoples, continue to ensure colossal profits from the trafficking on arms and maintain their control of the extraction and processing of Arab oil, which entails the enslavement, oppression and exploitation of the Arab peoples.

However, the crisis in the Middle East can never be solved until the martyred Palestinian people regain their homeland stolen from them by the Israeli aggressors, and this will be achieved only when the political, economic and military influence of the superpowers and the other

imperialist powers has been dealt powerful blows and been totally rejected by all the Arab peoples. In this sense, this year showed that the primary question which faces the Palestinian people, the Lebanese people, the Afghan people, the Iranian people and all the other Arab and non-Arab peoples of the Middle East is to avoid falling again into the traps and the misleading and disruptive plots of the superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, and Israel. They must establish and strengthen genuine unity and overcome the united forces of Israel, the American imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists and the local feudal-bourgeois reactionary circles. Only resolute, uncompromising struggle, based on genuine Arab unity, will lead them to victory, to true independence and freedom so that they can utilize their colossal wealth, their oil, for their national development and social progress.

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The events of the last two years in the Middle East and their further development cannot fail to have consequences in the region surrounding this zone, too, the Mediterranean, Europe, Africa and elsewhere.

In the Mediterranean they have been exploited by the two imperialist superpowers to increase and strengthen their naval fleets to such a level as to create serious concern and grave threats to all the Mediateranean peoples. Europe has been filled with hew land and air bases and the number of long- and medium-range nuclear missiles has been increased.

The arms race has assumed still greater proportions and, even though the capitalist-revisionist world is in a grave economic crisis, the arms production industry continues to grow and bring the capitalist magnates colossal

profits. This whole arms race is being carried out mainly by reducing the funds which ought to be spent to raise the standard of living of the working people, especially in the sectors of services, health and education, the production of cheaper consumer goods, etc. The question presents itself: how long will the working masses put up with this crazy arms race of the monopolies producing arms for profits, which is at their expense?

Certainly this cannot go on for long and without doubt the peoples will rise. Then the capitalist-revisionist bourgeoisie will be obliged to take new, more severe measures of oppression and will seek new ways to get out of the crisis. One of these ways will be the threat of the outbreak of a new world conflict. Therefore, the clamour about «disarmament» which is being made by the United States of America and the Soviet Union, as well as a number of other countries such as France, Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany, which have militarized their industries and are engaged in the arms traffic, is intended to deceive progressive public opinion and keep it under control.

We see that French imperialism, too, has entered the race to capture new markets. France has begun to pursue its old colonial policy and is trying, directly or indirectly, to return to all those countries which were the French spheres of influence or, as they are called, «the French-speaking countries», in the Near East, Lebanon and some countries of Central Africa. Today, apart from selling them weapons and trying to reintroduce French culture, France has sent detachments of parachutist troops to those countries. They include the detachments which have been sent to Chad, where a bitter struggle for influence is being waged between France and Qaddafi of Libya, and those dispatched to some other African countries. Hence, France is seeking to regain the place in the sun which it had before the Second World War.

Apart from Chad, there are other hotbeds of war in Africa. They are Angola in South Africa, Namibia, Mozambique, Somalia and other countries in which the situation is critical.

In Tunisia, major clashes broke out between the masses of the people and the local police and army over the increase in the price of bread and flour. The clashes ended with many deaths on the people's side and President Bourguiba was obliged to annul the government decisions on increasing the price of bread and flour.

In Morocco there was a major bloody clash between the army and the people, mainly the student youth, for the same reasons. In fact, in both cases the main reason for the clashes was the resistance to oppressive measures and police violence.

In the Balkans the imperialist superpowers are fanning up the flames and want to turn it into a powder keg again as it was in the past. On this peninsula a particularly negative role is being played by the Titoites who, in order to escape from the grave internal political and economic crisis, in collaboration with other reactionary and fascist forces, are fanning up the flames in the direction of our country.

It is self-evident that all these developments, these events and situations make it essential to enhance the awareness of the peoples that the imperialist superpowers are threatening the world with a terrible new conflict, although they are afraid of it because it would be catastrophic for them, too.

The superpowers and the other imperialist powers have become more arrogant and aggressive everywhere in the world, in Asia, in Africa, in Central America and elsewhere. Therefore, today more than ever, it is up to the progressive and revolutionary forces and the genuine Marxist-Leninists to arouse progressive opinion world-wide,

in the first place, the proletariat, the working class, the oppressed and enslaved peoples, to cry halt to the crazy, predatory, war-mongering policy of the United States of America, the revisionist Soviet Union, all the other imperialist and revisionist powers as well as national and international reaction.

Our people, led by their Party, are standing vigilant, working for the ceaseless strengthening and flourishing of the economy and the defence of their socialist Homeland, well aware of the dangerous situations and plots of the superpowers, the imperialist and revisionist powers and all the other reactionary forces. Our country pursues a foreign policy of friendship with all other countries and peoples and especially the neighbouring countries and peoples. It does not interfere in their internal affairs and allows no one to poke their fingers or meddle in the internal affairs of Albania. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania fights to defend its rights, its freedom and independence and the victories achieved in the construction of socialism, therefore it is strong and fears no one. At the same time it has supported the liberation struggle of all other peoples and will continue to do so in the future.

«Reflections on the Middle
East»

LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE NEW ALBANIA

*Memoirs and
historical notes*

(Excerpts)

In the many centuries of the history of Albania, our people's state power and the monolithic unity of our people, embodied in the organization of the Democratic Front, are two of the greatest and most brilliant achievements, two of the most monumental works of the epoch of the Party.

These two immortal monumental works, like the Party itself, which was and remains for ever their powerful brain and heart, were not born in marble halls, were not the products of «great minds», lolling in the easy chairs of cafes or parliamentary seats. No, they were born from the barrel of the partisan rifle, in the fire of the war for freedom, were nurtured in the bosom of the people, and the humble homes of the people became their place of residence.

Today, looking back over more than four decades, we Albanian communists feel proud that ever since the days of their creation, the Democratic Front of Albania and our people's state power, under the leadership of our glorious Party, have performed their tasks and mission for the people and the Homeland with honour, have been tempered in the sternest battles and tests, have withstood and

defeated the plans of all internal and external enemies and have been turned into impregnable fortresses of triumphant socialism and the fine new life which is flourishing in Albania.

Their honour and glory will be raised higher and higher in the future, because the blood of 28,000 of the finest sons and daughters of this land⁽¹⁾ has been poured in their foundations, because they have been set up, raised and cemented with sweat, toil, countless efforts and sacrifices by our people and our Party. They have been and will remain for all time the inviolable creation of the people, defending and expressing their lofty aspirations, and the Marxist-Leninist line and ideology of our Party of Labour will always inspire them and pervade them like a red thread.

As to how we managed to create and build these immortal works, that is a whole history. Many documents of that time, besides providing vivid evidence of our work and struggle for the creation of the Front and the state power, also, comprise, to some degree, the first written history of the process of their birth and construction. Later, in the years of Liberation, we have written and spoken again and again about them and about the whole glorious period of our history, when the people, enlightened and led by the Party, succeeded in liberating the Homeland from the chains of foreigners and themselves from any kind of class oppression and exploitation.

These two colossal achievements of ours will continue to exist and function through the ages, but the earliest times, the moments when we laid the foundations, when in

¹ As one of the more active participants of the world anti-fascist coalition, Albania occupies one of the first places in regard to human and material losses during the Second World War? compared with the size of its territory and its population.

the heat of the war we created the National Liberation Front and our people's state power, shall never be forgotten. We have looked back over that unforgettable period again and again, not from nostalgia, but in order to illuminate the problem from all aspects and to make as clear and concrete as possible to the younger generations how we, their parents, managed to overthrow the old and set up the new.

This is the purpose of these notes of mine, written at various times in the form of reminiscences about historical events, which I am now handing over for publication.

On the eve of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution, they are intended both to pay great homage to the outstanding deed of our Party and people in the years of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War and to refresh the memory of the past, which has always been the foundation of the future which it has always served and illuminated.

The emergence of the Communist Party of Albania on November 8, 1941 as a powerful current enlivened the energies of the Albanian people, roused their hopes in the future and terrified the enemy.

This was a decisive event, a most important act, because for the first time in the many centuries of the history of the Albanian people the Party of the working class, the only Party which, having the revolutionary ideology as its guide, would lead the people in the struggle and to victory, had placed itself at the head of the people.

This historic moment was very quickly reflected in the struggle of the Albanian people, which grew steadily stronger, becoming ever better organized.

With joy and enthusiasm we communists welcomed this great victory of which we had dreamed and for

which we had struggled for a long time. Now we had the Party which was to guide all our efforts, which would teach and educate us, would lead us in the struggle for the liberation of the Homeland and, later, towards the realization of our ultimate ideal — communism.

The newly formed Party was faced with many great tasks.

Linking up with the people, acquainting the masses with the program and aim of the Party, the mobilization and organization of the masses in the life-and-death struggle with the fascist occupiers and local traitors was one of these tasks, indeed, one of the main and most important tasks. Without the people, without the masses, a communist party, whether newly formed or with a long period of existence and activity, can achieve nothing.

We Albanian communists understood this axiom of Marxism-Leninism. What made our work difficult was the fact that in the grave conditions of the occupation and terror we had to come out before the people, to win them to our cause, to organize and lead them at a time when we also had to organize ourselves, to build and temper the Party and to prove it in struggle as a capable, reliable and irreplaceable leading force.

This was something unprecedented in history, but as you might say, this was our «fate». Had we waited until the Party was built and strengthened, until it extended to all parts of the country, had we worked only «within the Party» and then addressed ourselves to the people with our program for struggle, this would have been catastrophic, not only for the Party, but also for the fate of the people and the Homeland. Therefore, conscious of the situation through which we were passing and the difficulties which we had, we did not wait. We went into action at once, facing up to all the tasks at the same time, including that of making the people conscious and uniting

them in that fighting union which was soon to take the name of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Front of Albania.

The formation of the Party found us in a situation when all the objective and subjective possibilities existed for the formation of the anti-fascist Front in our country. What was most important was the fact that in the ranks of the communists and cadres of our newly formed Party, as a result of the earlier work and the analyses made at the Founding Meeting of the Party, the conviction was being implanted that our Party could and must create the anti-fascist Front of the Albanian people through direct concrete work with the masses, without waiting for and without seeking agreements and machinations with the self-styled leaders, that is, as a Front formed from below.

As is known, in the Resolution which the Founding Meeting of the Party adopted, this unity was called «the fighting unity between the working masses of town and countryside», and this was nothing but the idea of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Front of the Albanian people. Likewise, the first document of our Party, which came out simultaneously with the Resolution, was the first open militant Appeal which our Party addressed to the people, making its program clear to them and inviting them to unite in the struggle for freedom and independence!

Now the Party, with organized and multiplied forces, with its clear militant program, was to intensify and further extend the work to build up that powerful fortress of the united people against the strength and vitality of which the nazi-fascist legions would smash their heads and the efforts and plans of internal and external reaction would be thwarted.

This unity of the masses, under the leadership and banner of the Party, would make possible the outbreak

and successful accomplishment of the revolution, for which the conditions existed in Albania.

The feudal regime of Zog, with its oppression, poverty, hunger, imprisonments and thefts, had angered, enraged and filled the people with hatred for that regime, bringing them to the point of revolt. Precisely when this revolt and anger of the masses was seething, the occupation of the country prepared by Zog and the feudal bourgeoisie filled the cup to overflowing. Now the hatred of the people and the antagonistic struggle between oppressors and oppressed reached its culmination. Thus, the occupation of Albania by Italian fascism had marked the beginning of a change of national importance. This situation had to be understood and handled correctly, because it was pregnant with revolution. The Albanian communists and their Party understood this state of affairs precisely and decided to emerge as masters of the situation and become the leaders of the revolution. Hence, the grave, difficult, but glorious historic task devolved on our Communist Party: to raise the people in revolution, lead them in struggle for the liberation of the Homeland and take them and the working class, of which it was the vanguard, to victory.

The National Liberation War, which the Party undertook to lead, had to have clear aims, a program acceptable to our people, a program which would mobilize and enliven healthy energies. The people, and first of all, the working class and the peasantry, had to know and understand why they were fighting and what the victory would bring them. The bitter past, when the people's wars and uprisings were bloodily suppressed by the feudal lords, aghas and usurers, was fresh in their memory. The people could not be aroused to fight and shed their blood for their aged oppressors. The Communist Party of Albania was a guarantee that the past would never again be repeated,

but this had to be proved in practice with a program, with action, with fighting and with policy.

Through its program, the Party had to make clear to the people that this would be a great, fierce, complicated and difficult war. Therefore, great political and military organization was necessary. All this the Party made clear to the people and it told them (just as it demonstrated in deeds) that the communists would be in the forefront of the fight, would be the first to hurl themselves into the flames, would give their lives fighting but the war could not be waged only by them, without the masses.

This resulted from the idea that the communists could not fight and triumph without the people. The people make the revolution.

In all this activity, the question of alliances and the definition of allies would be decisive. The leading role of the working class, on the basis of our main principles, and the alliance of the working class with the friendly class — the peasantry, especially with the poor peasants with no land or little land, is known. Precisely this alliance, to which we devoted the greatest importance and attention, was to be the key to the victory in our National Liberation War.

However, we also knew the other side of it: this alliance of the working class with the peasantry, under the leadership of the working class, which was to become the pivot of the unification of other patriotic and progressive strata, had to be created in accord with our concrete conditions and situation, and to this end, our Party had to make analyses not only of the political and economic situation of classes and strata, but also of the specific, special links of groups and clans, of the positive and negative influences, old and new, within Albanian society.

We recognized the truth that the Albanian working

class was still few in numbers and without great experience in the class struggle, but right from the outset we were convinced that this working class was and would be the first to embrace the call and program of the Party and would play, just as it did, the great role which belonged to it in the popular revolution as the vanguard class of the society. Its most faithful ally undoubtedly would be the peasantry which not only suffered under a mediaeval exploitation, but had always been the source of liberation and social struggles in the past. The brilliant patriotic and democratic traditions of our peasantry, now kindled to a fierce blaze by the intolerable state of occupation, were the most powerful argument, also, for the necessity and possibility of the creation of the alliance between the working class and peasantry and to refute those reactionary views which presented the peasantry as an ignorant, down-trodden mob, useless and unreliable in war. The fact that in the conditions of our country, this class would be the greatest source and the broadest base of manpower for the National Liberation War made our work to win the support of the peasantry for the program of the Party even more necessary.

So, while we were conscious that the working class and the peasantry would constitute the main basis of the fighting unity of the people, at the same time, we knew that the past had left its mark on our society, blemishes which were obstacles to unity and made the creation of alliances difficult. Religion had done its work and continued to poison the minds and hearts of individuals. The clergy, the beys and bayraktars(2) had striven not only to exploit but also to «subdue» and «tame» our brave and indomitable people, whom the regimes of the past had kept in cultural and political obscurantism.

2 Representatives of the gentry in the mountainous areas, especially in North Albania.

True, when the country was occupied there were no parties, either reactionary or progressive, leftist, etc., but the factors which I listed above, and many others like these, operated as if there were innumerable «parties» which shrivelled the energies of the people and kept them divided in order to be enslaved and exploited more completely.

Another danger which threatened the struggle and fighting alliance of the people was that section of political emigrants, sons and representatives of oppressing and exploiting classes who, like scores of revolutionary patriots and democrats, had gone abroad when Zog came to power, (3) but unlike the true patriots and democrats, had never been linked with the troubles of the Homeland and the people. They remained abroad for 15 years and the majority of them degenerated completely politically, becoming the trusted men, allies and agents of that foreign power which fed and paid them. They posed as anti-Zogites, but were also anti-communists, and they returned to Albania together with the Italians in 1939. Their pretensions that they «should govern the country» were categorical. They were completely divorced from the life, opinions and aspirations of the people. They thought that the outdated ideas of corrupted bourgeois democracy, which they nurtured, were appropriate to the time and applicable to the country. And when? After the world had undergone such great changes. They had returned to Albania as «the cream of Albanian nationalism» and, regardless of the fact that many of them received fat salaries from the occupiers and had completely entered their service, they maintained contacts

3 After the triumph of the June 1924 Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution, Ahmet Zog, who had taken refuge in Yugoslavia, in December 1924 suppressed the June Revolution and established his reactionary regime with the encouragement and assistance of the reactionary Serbian government and the support of its troops as well as of internal Albanian feudal reaction.

with those «anti-fascist and anti-Zogite» elements who thought that these emigrants, who returned from abroad, were politically as they were 15 years earlier(!). The danger which these individuals posed to the National Liberation War became clearer later, when they created the traitor organization Balli Kombëtar, which, to the very end, assisted the fascist and nazi occupiers with demagoguery and arms against the Anti-fascist National Liberation Front and its leadership, the Communist Party of Albania.

Being rabid anti-communists, they in no way welcomed the formation of the Communist Party of Albania and its program proclaimed in the Resolution.

These elements, together with the fascists, called the Communist Party of Albania «a party of foreigners and not of Albanians», «a party of Slavs, Russians, etc., and not of Albanians». They described the National Liberation War as «a crazy war, without prospects and harmful to Albania». They said that the leaders of the Communist Party of Albania and the Anti-fascist War were «hotheaded youths who do not know how to conduct politics», and spread a thousand other slanderous rumours.

This was the situation at that time amongst this collection of individuals, a situation which the Communist Party of Albania and its leadership studied many times both during 1942 and later.

During this period the Party also had to carry out a similar study in regard to religious beliefs in Albania. We analysed the religious beliefs in two directions: the concrete influence of religion among the broad masses of the people, and the danger from the religious hierarchy. I shall not go into these analyses at length, but it is necessary to define certain main features on which the Central Committee of the CPA based itself in its work with the masses immediately after the founding of the Party and through the whole period of the War.

It is known that there were three religious beliefs in our country: the Moslem faith, which was the most widespread, the Orthodox Christian faith, which ranked second, and the Roman Catholic faith, less widespread, was centered in Shkodra and extended to the highlands of Shkodra, to Lezha and down to Durrës, where there was a bishopric. In Albania there were also some Moslem believers included in minor sects, without influence among the people, with the exception of the Bektashi sect.

In regard to the clergy, their influence was as follows: the Catholic priests, irrespective of their various «orders», such as Jesuites, Franciscans, etc., were men without a Homeland who depended on the Vatican even for the smallest thing. In Albania, as in other countries of the Catholic world, the Catholic Church had the same pyramid organization, the same organization of churches, parishes, monasteries, religious or state schools, the same rites and liturgy, the same method and style of work in general. Their incomes, their salaries and everything else came from their plunder of the believers in the forms of donations, or even through compelling their believers to bequeath their liquid and fixed assets to the Church.

All the clergymen of the Catholic Church, from the upper ones down to the deacons and parish priests, were learned people who had gone through theological schools with iron discipline, had learned the methods and tricks of suppressing the will of people through the fear of God, Christ and the apostles. The Catholic believers had to obey the church *perinde ac cadaver**. The spider's web had entangled the believers in the laws of the church, the canons and laws of the reactionary bourgeoisie, and these were all a collection of chains which bound and oppressed the believers. The Catholic Church and its clergy were

* as a dead body (Latin in the original), in this context, blindly.

extremely obscurantist and conservative, as well as adaptable and flexible when necessary, but always in alliance with the reactionary regimes like those of Prince Wied (4) and Ahmet Zog (indeed, they did not fail to poke their fingers into the bourgeois-democratic regime of Fan Noli), as well as with every foreign occupier of Albania, including the Austro-Hungarians, the Italian fascists and the German nazis.

Only our regime of the dictatorship of the proletariat put an end to the evil, reactionary and collaborationist activity of the Catholic Church.

But let us not depart from the period that we are analysing. This was the situation in the hierarchy of the Catholic faith and its believers in this historical period. The senior priests were double agents of the Vatican and the Italian occupiers. For us, however, for the National Liberation War, there was a broad field, the people of the North, the Catholic laity. There were also some poor members of the lower clergy, who, following in the footsteps of outstanding figures of our national cause and culture such as Budi and Bogdani, Ndre Mjeda and Shtjefën Gjeçovi, might now listen to what we had to say, because they lived closer to the sufferings and problems of the people. In these directions we were to work and make progress.

The Moslem religion and its hierarchy were not a serious obstacle to the struggle against the Italian occupiers as the Catholic religion was. Even before the occupation of the country, but still more so after it, the hierarchy

4 Wilhelm Von Wied (1876-1945). A prince of German origin. In 1913 the European great powers appointed him as the head of the Albanian state. In the time of his reign (March-September 1914), he supported the policy of the imperialist powers, especially of Austro-German imperialism, and the interests of local landowning reaction, and acted to the detriment of the sovereignty of the Albanian state.

of the Moslem religion was weak, without any experience to worry us. The mosques existed. They had a hodja, but those who practised the religion were very few. The rites had been abandoned, no marriages were conducted according to the Sheriat and everything else, such as the observance of Ramadan and the feast of Bajram, had become routine customs which were practised here and there in certain regions mostly «from force of habit.» The hodjas were all ignorant, none of them was able to propagate the philosophy, ethics and the morality of the Koran, and no one understood the Koran, because it was recited in a foreign language (Arabic). Although the hodjas were conservative in their customs, they had neither the ability nor the political capacity to exert any influence through the Islamic thought. The broad masses of the people were virtually liberated from the bonds of religion, the development of the intellect of the Moslem believers was more extensive, and there was much greater liberalism and tolerance. Hence, the work of the Party in arousing the people to fight encountered almost no serious obstacle in this direction.

Among the Bektashi sect, also, a large proportion of the believers traditionally have displayed patriotism and have fought for the liberation of Albania.

The situation was similar with the Orthodox Christian faith, too, both in the hierarchy of the church and among the believers.

Historically, a section of the Orthodox priests, especially the simple priests in the villages and even some in the cities, those who lived close to the people, who after religious services laid aside their priest's hats to take up the hoe or some other tool to do some work, have fought and striven both to gain the independence of the Church and, especially, to introduce the Albanian language into the church services. It is self-evident that these efforts

of theirs would run into opposition from the Patriarchate of Constantinople and later, especially from the reactionary Greek Church, and it was by no means rare for the latter to commit monstrous crimes against patriotic priests who loved the people, the Homeland and the Albanian language, who wanted the independence of the Albanian Church. Their efforts and aims in these directions, in the historical context, had great value and were expressions and components of the struggle for independence which was waged in all the Albanian territories. Our people honoured and respected these martyrs, not simply of the Church but of the cause of Albania. They include Papa Kristo Negovani, Father Stath Melani, Dhimitër Misha, Papa Llambro Ballamaçi and others who, like other outstanding patriots who strove for the Albanian language and school, Naum Veqilharxhi, Petro Nini Luarasi, Koto Hoxhi, Pandeli Sotiri and tens of others, were poisoned or murdered in the most barbarous ways by the Greek Patriarchate.

The «reasons» for which the Greek clerical reaction acted in that way towards these patriots were astonishingly cynical! It murdered and eliminated them simply because these sons of Albanians proclaimed that they were Albanians, that they wanted Albanian spoken in the church just as in the homes, the streets, fields and the schools, murdered them because they defended the legitimate right of the people to their territories. In reality, however, behind the «reasons» and «religious motives» of the bishops lurked political motives and aims, the territorial ambitions of Greek chauvinists towards Albania. This anti-Albanian chauvinism was so unrestrained that it «linked» its territorial pretensions with and «based» them on the extension of the Orthodox religion! Their chauvinist blindness went so far that reactionary bishops did not want to see that the Orthodox religion extended not only to certain zones on the border of our territory with Greece (which

include the villages of the Greek minority with about 20,000 inhabitants in the first years of the National Liberation War and about 50,000 inhabitants today), but this religion, like the Moslem religion, extended all over Albania, to precincts and regions of Gjirokastra, Saranda, Përmet, Korça, Vlora, Tepelena, Fier, Lushnja, Berat, Elbasan, Durrës, Tirana and so on! Precisely on the basis of this absurd logic, certain reactionary bishops of Great-Greek chauvinism pretend now that 400 thousand Albanian citizens, formerly linked with the Orthodox religion, are Greeks. Hence, were the religion to be the basis for determining the national identity of a people, according to this crazy logic of the chauvinist bishops, more than half of Albania would belong to Greece(!), a thing which the Greek chauvinists, the champions of Greater Greece⁽⁵⁾ have always dreamed of and demanded! Precisely in favour of these dreams of occupation and annexation they had persecuted and murdered our honoured patriots, including patriotic priests and believers, who had risen, together with their brothers of the Moslem and Catholic religions, to defend the territorial integrity of Albania from the annexationist appetites of neighbouring chauvinists.

Hence, this close combination of the cause of the Church and religion with the national cause, giving priority to the latter, had brought about that not only the laity of the Orthodox faith but also most of the simple priests, were brought up and educated with the feeling of patriotism.

So, the Party had the question of religious beliefs at the centre of its attention during the whole period of the National Liberation War, but also after the war,

⁵ Ideological platform of the Greek chauvinistic big bourgeoisie which sought to create a great empire including a good part of the Balkan Peninsula, which was considered Greek only because it was of Christian Orthodox faith.

because in order to arouse the people to fight for the liberation of the Homeland and build a new Albania we had to avoid hurting their feelings.

In regard to the intelligentsia, extensive, qualified, differentiated work at various levels had to be done. In general, the terrain of the work with the intellectuals was suitable. The exception to this were the top officials, who not only accepted fascism but also secured fine material gains from it. In general, «cultured» officials of this category were corrupted by all the regimes and were among the first who willingly enrolled in the «Albanian» Fascist Party set up by the occupiers.

However, generally speaking, the intelligentsia of our country was patriotic, anti-fascist, and opposed to the occupation of the country, therefore the Party was to give great importance to this stratum of the people, too, because by means of it, the patriotism of the boys and girls would become more and more tempered and encouraged.

Such wide-ranging and detailed analyses of situations, the ratio of forces, etc., were the fruit of debates which we held in the meetings of the leadership, in meetings with comrades of the Party in the capital or from the terrain. They were a great assistance in our day-to-day and future work, because the first and indispensable thing in order to accomplish our tasks as communists, that is, as leaders of the masses, was to orientate ourselves correctly in that difficult situation of enslavement, terror, intrigues and spiritual and physical suffering and hardships which had descended upon our people.

Thus, its unshakeable loyalty to and faith in the revolutionary theory of the proletariat as well as its thorough knowledge of the reality of our country were two fundamental factors which enabled our Party to determine a correct line, to give precise instructions on ideological, political and organizational matters including building the

militant unity of the masses around the program of the Party and all the other problems.

In speaking about these analyses and studies which the Party carried out and on which it relied, it should never be thought that first we waited until these were carried out in complete and final form and then began the work with the masses, or that we charged working groups or mobilized specialists and experts to do them. No, the «specialists», the «working groups», were we ourselves, all the communists, from the rank-and-file members to the main leaders, who acquainted ourselves with and summed up the situations along with the concrete day-to-day work.

All of us, then, from the main leaders and cadres of the Party to the ordinary members, set about this great task with determination. Now, after the founding of the Party, the very situation in which we were obliged to live and fight helped us to enter more widely into contact with the working people. Almost all of us were sons and daughters of the working people, many of us were illegal and as such we spent days and nights in the poor quarters, going from one house to the other, amongst the common folk, workers, and craftsmen, some of whom were unemployed or plied their trade from their homes. Everywhere we were surrounded and protected by the love and care of the ordinary people for our fate and we felt that in essence this was an expression of the love and concern of the people for the fate of the country.

Basing ourselves on this situation, we worked and instructed all the comrades to exploit every possible opportunity, personal acquaintance and friendship, celebrations, funerals, weddings, chance or organized meetings, and, you might say, in a natural and daily conversation with the masses we propagated the line and program of the Party at every moment. And the fact is that what we said was readily accepted, because we touched on the most

sensitive problem of the nation. War against the occupier, war, merciless war against the occupier traitors! — that is what the communists and our sympathizers propagated day and night and, of course, this could not fail to warm the hearts of our people who have always distinguished themselves as great fighters for the cause of freedom.

This intensive propaganda, day by day, by word of mouth, with leaflets, communiques and appeals, was made clearer, more credible and acceptable to the people, because the communists accompanied their words with deeds. They were propagandists and fighters at the same time, they attacked fascism and were pursued by fascism. This could not fail to make a profound impression on the masses. Our comrades in the cities fought, organized actions, acts of sabotage, executed enemies, at a time when the rifle fire of guerilla units and partisan çetas was being heard increasingly everywhere.

Right from the outset our Party correctly laid down that the whole people, all social classes and strata, without distinction as to political, ideological, religious and other views, should be included in the war for the salvation of the country. The main thing which could and must unite these forces was the stand towards the foreign occupiers, the uncompromising war against them. This was the basis on which the Anti-fascist National Liberation Front would be organized, a front in which, apart from the working masses of town and countryside, all the other forces and elements, all those who were interested in the freedom and the existence of Albania and the Albanian nation would take part. And in this context, a major, wide-ranging job, frequently extremely complicated and wearisome, was that which we had to do with the patriotic elements or those who posed as patriots, that is, with all those who at that time were called nationalists.

The term «nationalist», as we used it in that period, must not be confounded with the meaning which this term has assumed today in political literature to denote elements with bourgeois-nationalist views, as opposed to the Marxist-Leninist principle of proletarian internationalism. The term «nationalist» was applied to those fighters who in past times had fought against foreign occupiers who aimed to eliminate us as a nation. Precisely from the word «natio» taken from the Latin language, emerged the term «nationalist» which we used during the war and is found in my writings of that period.

The truth is that this was a term which included a wide range of people, from the elements with a patriotic past and activity to the intellectuals who were known or proclaimed themselves as people with patriotic and democratic sentiments. Thus, in a certain sense with the term «nationalist» we made a differentiation between communists, on the one hand, and other people with whom we had contacts and worked. As early as the time of the communist groups, but especially after the founding of the Party, the work with the «nationalists» was a sector in which all the communists were involved. Naturally, this was done according to the possibilities which each member had, according to his social circle of acquaintances and relatives. In the cells to which we belonged we reported on all our work, including the work with intellectuals and patriots, exchanged opinions and consulted one another about our activities. When some member encountered difficulties with the person with whom he had been appointed to work, then he handed over the job to another comrade and found the way to introduce him to that person.

The formal aspect of the work was a problem in itself: you had to be introduced to them and then to enter into their circles, to take part in the conversations which they

held and to manage to understand as far as possible, for example, what political inclinations a person might have, how far you could go with him, when you should go ahead and when you should stop at general conversations in order to disguise yourself from a spy. Because we should not forget that the regime of Zog, and subsequently the fascist regime, were regimes of spies who watched and saw with whom you associated, with whom you talked and what you talked about and who «branded» you accordingly. From this aspect at that time there had to be both a special strategy and tactics, because amongst the intellectuals, teachers, professors, merchants and nationalists, there were good people but also weak ones, as well as all kinds of rogues down to outright spies and collaborators of the enemy.

In the talks which we held with them, after we were convinced about their predisposition, we put forward our stand as communists and as a Communist Party. Our fundamental thesis was that in this grave situation for the Homeland, all Albanians had a common aim — the fight against the occupiers for the liberation of Albania. In the face of this imperative duty all the differences in ideological convictions and political sympathies, religious and regional differences, had to take second place. This was the moment, we communists stressed, when we must reflect deeply on the words of the patriotic poet (6) that «the religion of the Albanian is Albania.»

This was one of the most difficult tasks which the Party and its members, from the leadership to the individual communists, had to do. Here I am not referring to the danger that threatened us in this work, the possibility of being spied upon or betrayed, or the probability of the introduction of some agent provocateur element into our

6 Pashko Vasa (1825-1892).

ranks. Of course, these dangers existed, but what work could the communists and honest patriots do without danger? They had taken these dangers into account since they had entered the struggle against a savage, cruel and cunning enemy.

The greatest difficulties were in another direction, in which mere bravery did not count for much, but which required tact, political acumen, cool-headedness and prudence. The Party comrades had to stand up to great tension, not only physical, but also nervous and psychological. We had to talk and quarrel for whole hours, time after time, with all kinds of blockheads who were not only unconvinced by our correct arguments which were as clear as the light of day, but also tried to convince us of the opposite with ridiculous «arguments» and pettifogging sophistry! Apart from other things, it took great patience and self-restraint to avoid telling these «patriots» bluntly, «To hell with you!». However, the work of the Party and the cause of the war demanded something else. Sometimes a comrade would come to us filled with disgust to report about a meeting which he had had and ask us to relieve him of this task and seek our approval to brand this or that person as a traitor. «No,» we would tell him, «the day will come when the cup is filled and then we shall do this, but meanwhile, carry on with the work, refute and expose his arguments and when you are convinced that he truly does not want to fight, then we'll give him up as hopeless.»

The readers, and especially the young ones, may open their eyes and ask why such niceties were necessary with these elements, who should be put in their place. Of course, the moment would come when the Party and the people would also turn the rifle on all those who united with the nazi-fascists in words and deeds, but before this, efforts had to be made to turn them from the road of betrayal and involve them in the war against the occupier.

In working with the nationalists, the Party had in mind the strategic aims of the war it was leading, the major interests of the people and the Homeland. First of all, the Party proceeded from the view that the broader the mass participation was in the Popular Front the more furiously the war would be waged and the more certain the final victory would be. Then, it must not be forgotten that many of the known nationalists of that period had, to various degrees, a certain influence in different districts and cities of the country or among the circles of the intelligentsia. The incorporation in the Front of tens and tens of outstanding patriots, known to the people for their progressive sentiments and democratic opinions and as anti-Zogite fighters, was a victory of the policy of the Party, because these people, besides their contribution, their personal abilities and capacities, possessed great authority among the people, which they put at the disposal and in the service of the National Liberation War.

The struggle of the Party to unmask such pseudo-patriots as Lumo Skëndo, Ali Këlcyra, Qazim Koculi and others, and to bring them out in their true colours, yielded similar results. Many of these individuals were neither stupid nor without influence. Some of them profited from the reputation of the families whose names they bore, some from the two or three shots they had fired in Vlora in 1920,⁽⁷⁾ some others from their stands, adopted in opposition to Zog or the momentary participation in the June Revolution of 1924.

It would have been political short-sightedness to have turned the rifle on all of them as early as 1941, as some might think. This would have been harmful both to the war and to the Party. This human «ore» had to undergo

7 Reference is to the War of Vlora of 1920 against the imperialist Italian invaders which ended with the victory of the Albanian people.

a process of selection and from it, apart from the filth which would be thrown aside, pure metal would emerge, and time and the war would do this sorting out. The line of the Party was correct: the patriotic elements should be brought into the war and their influence amongst the masses used for the benefit of the war; the demagogues, the disguised tools of the occupiers, should be unmasked by asking them the question: «Are you going to fight for Albania or not?» And the people would see, as they did, who were true patriots and who pseudo-patriots.

In the context of extending the work with the nationalists we devoted special attention at that time, especially, to work with the intelligentsia, aiming to make the patriotic and democratic elements participants in the war.

The Albanian intelligentsia at that time was numerically small and this was a result of the low level of economic and cultural development and the obscurantist policy of the regime of Zog. Apart from all the other evils which they perpetrated on the country, the «august» monarch and his circle did their utmost to leave Albania in darkness and ignorance, because the darkness and ignorance of the masses are the best allies of oppression and exploitation. Zog and his regime did nothing for culture, art and science, however much he, together with his degenerate and corrupt sisters, who ironically, despite their utter ignorance, took the arts, culture and sport, which virtually did not exist in Albania, under their «patronage», posed as supporters of these things.

Nevertheless, through the efforts of the people, of the sons and daughters of the people and contrary to the desire of the feudal-bourgeois regime, it was made possible to set up an education system with primary and secondary schools to teach the sons and daughters of the people, who with their unerring intuition and their broad horizon of history prepared the youth for the new days. With great

difficulties and coping with many economic privations, some of the young people went abroad where they attended higher studies. All these people comprised the soundest part of the Albanian intelligentsia which was opposed to the anti-popular and reactionary section which originated from the beys, usurers and merchants.

At the time of which I am speaking the teachers and professors comprised the majority of the intellectuals, while there was a smaller number from other professions, such as doctors, engineers and jurists. The intelligentsia was not a homogenous mass, either from its social composition or from its political convictions, which were ill-defined. Besides this, with the exception of one section, especially the village teachers, the intelligentsia was not so closely linked with the people and was acquainted only superficially, at second-hand, with their problems. This does not mean it was not patriotic. No, in general the Albanian intelligentsia was patriotic and anti-Zog, and subsequently proved its patriotism in its stand in the war against the occupiers.

Those closest to the people were the teachers who were more intimately linked with their sufferings and problems. Under the regime of Zog they were at the bottom of the small pyramid of the education system, scorned by the intellectual «aristocracy», regarded with suspicion by the regime, and received a pittance. And even that tiny salary was paid once in five months, and occasionally once in nine months. So, in order to live they had to go and sell their pay vouchers to the money-lenders, of course, at a discount. I myself did this during the few months that I worked in the secondary school in Tirana at the end of 1936 and the beginning of 1937, for which I was paid by the hour without any fixed salary and received nothing at all when I was sick or during school holidays.

In general, the teachers had completed or half com-

pleted their secondary schooling within the country. Rarely one of them knew some foreign language, but there was no foreign literature which they could read in order to develop themselves. The intellectuals of this category were with the people and detested the regime of Zog and its top functionaries. They were closely linked with the pupils and their families, were patriots and democrats and when Albania was occupied they united with the workers and pupils in demonstrations against the occupiers and most of them took part in the partisan war.

The «professors», as we called the secondary school teachers of that time, figured higher in the hierarchy of the education system and the intelligentsia, in general. Unlike the ordinary teachers, generally speaking, they were more remote from the people and the work with them was more complicated. Of course, even among the professors there were many who loved the Homeland and the people, who hated the feudal-bourgeois regime and the fascist occupation and linked themselves with the National Liberation Movement and the Party. But the majority of them were integrated into the oppressive system of Zog and fascism, were content with their own situation, and as for the condition of the masses, they did not worry their heads about that. Intellectuals of this type considered themselves the «élite» of the education system and boasted that they were the «intelligentsia of the country» and that «the regime had need of them». Many of them had been abroad where they had graduated from higher schools, some in Italy, some in France, some in Austria or Germany, some in Greece, a few in the United States of America. Some of the older ones had graduated from Turkish schools.

Other members of the «intellectual élite» were the doctors, engineers, architects, agronomists and others, without forgetting either those who had graduated in law and became advocates or judges, or the journalists, in the

ranks of whom there were some who were well-known, a section with progressive democratic tendencies and views, while the remainder were completely in the service of the reactionary and anti-popular regimes. Of course, here I exclude such intellectuals as Medar Shtylla, Omer Nishani, Xhafer Kongoli, Gaqo Tashko and tens of others who I mention in these notes, and who knew the difficult situation of the masses and who proved themselves with deeds to be democrats and patriots. Here I am referring to those intellectuals, who after gaining higher education, through the money which their fathers had fleeced from the workers and peasants, came back to Albania with the pretension that they were bringing culture and civilization, but who, in fact, came to share in the exploitation of the masses. They had taken nothing of real value from European civilization, apart from some foreign language, a certain amount of knowledge of the craft they had learned and «modern etiquette» along with the top hat or bowtie, without which they were never seen in the streets or cafes. And these civilized intellectuals were not ashamed to put themselves up for auction on the marriage market, because almost all of them were fortune-hunters. It is natural that many of them became bourgeois, were «pushed» into high offices and became «examples» for the less fortunate. These individuals were lost to the cause of the people, were superficial «democrats», «liberals» only in certain manifestations which were hangovers from the countries where they had attended school.

In general, the intellectuals with higher schooling and in top positions either integrated themselves with and became pillars of the regime or, even when they were democrats and anti-Zog, did not see the future of the country clearly. There were some of them who did not like Zog and his regime and who deep down were anti-Zogites, but who did not have the courage to act or even to express

their views openly. There were only a few of them who spoke openly, of course not out in the street, against Zog and his regime. But even these few engaged in «academic» talk about laws, measures, prices, ministers, and so on. But it was extremely difficult, not to say impossible, to find in them a consistent spirit of resistance, or even less, any attempt at resistance. Of course, this came about also from the fact that Zog, whom they abused, had shut their mouths because it was a time when economic misery reigned among the people, when the worker toiled the whole day breaking stones in the heat of summer for two to three leks a day, while people of this category received ten to fifteen gold napoleons a month, and were well-dressed, owned comfortable homes, furniture and radios. Thus, these elements with some democratic and anti-Zogite veneer found it more suitable to take a comfortable position, to enjoy the blessings which the regime provided for them and to whisper the occasional criticism against it.

In general, these intellectuals, as soon as they returned from abroad, aimed to get a good job and especially in Tirana. At that time, whether you had graduated as an agronomist or an engineer, the place for you was in the ministry, and if there was no job for you, it was created, because neither the agronomists nor the engineers had anywhere to work, agriculture was at a very low level and no investments were made to boost it; nothing was built except the odd prison and homes for the wealthy. Thus, the agronomist was found a job in some office, while the engineer residing in Tirana drew the plans for the home of the big merchant. The doctors, for their part, set about making money, while the professors competed with one another to get a job in Tirana or in the Ministry, or if they could not manage this, went to the few cities in which there was a secondary school.

There could be no talk about organization in the ranks of the intelligentsia. Especially amongst the soundest part of it, of course, there were efforts to do something, to change the existing situation. Some of them established links with the communist groups, but these were sporadic or on an individual basis. In the ranks of the intellectual «élite» which included the professors, the doctors, the jurists, the journalists and individuals of other professions, there was a kind of division, on the basis of their links and affinities created by the type of culture and the country in which they had received it. Hence, opinions circulated that «so and so is of Deutsche Kultur» because he had been to university in Austria or Germany, «so and so is of French culture» because he had been in France, he who had been to university in Italy was of «Italian culture», and so on. This tendency, which created formal affinities between groups, encouraged a spirit of xenomania and brought about the isolation of the intelligentsia from the main problems which were preoccupying the Homeland and the people.

When I was in Tirana, prior to the occupation of the country by fascist Italy, apart from contacts with progressive and democratic intellectuals, I was given the opportunity to come into contact also with the milieu, opinions and psychology of that section of intellectuals that the regime pampered. In the *Royal Road* there was a small café, which at that time seemed a big one, called *Bella Venezia*. This *Bella Venezia* was frequented by the «élite» of the capital and the major sycophants of the regime from Fuad Asllani, the foreign minister, and other ministers, to the «top personalities of culture». They gathered there according to the English custom, at five o'clock. Once or twice, a comrade took me with him to this club of the intellectual «élite». And what did I see there? A circle of arrogant, conceited cosmopolitans. It was sickening to

watch them eating cake and drinking tea with their «aristocratie» ways and whims like ladies in drawing-rooms. There you could hear all sorts of languages spoken, according to the particular clans, and Albanian was spoken mixed with whole phrases in foreign languages, just as we have read in Tolstoy about the Russian aristocracy which mixed Russian and French. The talk in these circles was about «politics on a grand scale» and discussions about art. There you could hear judgements delivered with «absolute competence» about Chamberlain, about Titulescu, about Hitler, about Nietzsche's *Zarathustra*, about Goethe's *Faust*, about the *Niebelungen*, but not a word was said about the suffering of the peasant of Myzeqe, whom Zog, the Vrionis and the Vërlacis fleeced and who died of malaria.

To speak openly with these people was dangerous. They would hand you over to Zog or the occupier, if not directly, indirectly, by denouncing you. As I said, however, the whole intelligentsia was not like this.

I personally was aware of this truth from the contacts which I had established with a whole circle of teachers and intellectuals of various professions during the years I worked in the secondary school of Tirana and the Lycée of Korça. The fact is, however, that our links with the intellectuals were extended further and placed on a sounder basis after the Group of Korça shifted the centre of gravity of its work to Tirana, at the beginning of 1940, and especially after the founding of the Party, when we evaluated the work with the intellectuals as one of the most important fields of the work of the Party with the nationalists.

We have always mentioned the fact that the Communist Party of Albania was the only political party which operated in Albania as a positive factor and aid for our

work. But while affirming this truth, it must in no way be thought that the leading role in the war, in the Front, etc., belonged to our Party and would be given to it automatically, since there was no other party to «compete» with or anyone else to whom this role could be given! No, the reality was quite different, extremely complex, difficult and with major problems.

True, there were no bourgeois political parties of various hues in our country, but there were all kinds of groups and circles and trends of the most varied hues and tendencies all of which, to a greater or lesser extent, had influence and connections. True, these groups and trends did not rise or express themselves against the occupiers, but they were not and no one allowed them to remain inactive, aloof from politics and activity. And since, in general, they were not against fascism, necessarily they would be against us, against our Party, and its program and line about the Front, the national liberation councils, the war, etc.

We were bound to clash with all of them and this clash became extremely complicated because, just as they did not come out openly against the occupiers, at first most of them did not come out openly against us, either, but on the contrary, engaged in trickery and manoeuvres.

Let us not forget, either, that the inherited backwardness and ignorance, backward mental outlooks, both feudal and bourgeois, and in this context, the feverish propaganda against communism carried out by Zog and fascism for many years, were to remain major obstacles to our work.

Hence, all these groups, tendencies and mental outlooks stood alongside fascism, confronting our Communist Party as expressions of the bourgeois and feudal partisanship. Therefore, although in our work we were not confronted with organized political parties of the bourgeoisie and

reaction, we were confronted with the class interests of the bourgeoisie and reaction and their aims to safeguard their dominant positions, which were no less fierce and complex, no less cunning, undermining and dangerous and the outlooks and backwardness of the past. We had to do battle and fight against these, to clarify the minds and win the hearts of the people in order to make them aware of the right road which had to be followed.

It was essential that the Party increase its struggle and efforts a hundred-fold with the aim not merely of extending its leading role in the Front and the national liberation councils all over the country, but also, and most importantly, of safeguarding and ceaselessly strengthening it and ensuring that others did not seize this role from the Party. We had foreseen clearly that even that section of internal reaction which still had not declared itself as such, also, would organize itself and try to destroy the Front and the national liberation councils with the aim of sabotaging the people's war for freedom and democracy. So, it can be imagined what a catastrophe would have occurred in these new situations had our Party, after the Conference of Peza, considered its tasks for the Front and the councils «completed», and subsequently concentrated its own forces, let us say, simply as an «assault force» to carry out combat actions. With the Abaz Kupis and Halim Begejas not only would Ali Këlcyra and company never be brought out in their true colours, but on the contrary, Balli Kombëtar, which was to be set up with all its criminals and gentry, would seize the reins and the Party would suddenly find itself faced with the organized and lethal attack of the forces of fascism and reaction.

At the moments when we were in the heat of the work to put into practice the decisions of the Conference of Peza, especially in the month of November, a number

of comrades from Tirana and other districts reported to us about many movements, meetings and contacts of certain «nationalist» chiefs, prominent amongst whom was Mithat Frashëri. We were certain that something was being prepared and issued instructions that the greatest vigilance must be displayed and everything must be reported to us.

Not much later, about the end of November and the beginning of December, through the first issue of the paper, *The War for National Liberation (8)*, which had been published and distributed «illegally», we learned the news about the formation of the «nationalist» organization called the Balli Kombëtar. As soon as we received the news about this organization and its leaders, as well as a little later, when we were acquainted with its program, the notorious «Decalogue», we were convinced that we had to do with an organization spawned by the enemy occupier which had thrown this «reserve» into the struggle against the Communist Party of Albania, the Anti-fascist National Liberation Front and the partisan National Liberation War.

The name of the Balli Kombëtar itself explains the whole plan of the local feudal-bourgeois reaction and the aims of the occupiers. «Balli» is not simply a literal translation of «front» and likewise «Kombëtar» is not simply a translation of the word «national». No, the term does not have a patriotic or linguistic character but has a profound ideological significance. For reaction the «Balli» would not mean «war» as the «Front» meant for us. For them the «Balli» meant the «head», the «pre-destined national leadership», that is, the old unchangeable world «without end», the conservative world with oppressors and oppressed, the «Albanian national» world which rejects and fights progress and communism. This was the meaning of

the Balli Kombëtar created by the Italian occupiers and by means of which the heads of Albanian reaction dreamed of how they could organize and run Albania in the future. The word «war» did not exist in the name of this organization or in its content, because it represented a world in its death throes. The Balli was to engage in war, both with propaganda and with arms, not against the occupier, however, but against the Communist Party of Albania, against the National Liberation Army and the new state power of the national liberation councils.

Mithat Frashëri, an arch-traitor, was placed at the head of this assembly of traitors, and around him such notorious elements as Ali Bey Këlcyra, Kolë Tromara, Faik Kuku, Nuredin Vlora, and others such as Fuat Dibra, Hasan Dosti, Lef Nosi, and so on, but in fact the Balli Kombëtar was led by Jacomoni, the viceroy of King Victor Emmanuel III and General Dalmazzo, the commander of the Italian army in Albania.

As to the local scum who formed and led this organization, which they advertized as «patriotic»(!), the majority were precisely those pseudo-patriotic nationalist elements with whom we had been trying for more than two years on end and had done everything possible to win their support for the war, the National Liberation Front and the cause of the freedom and independence of the Homeland.

Earlier, when I mentioned the meetings and fierce debates which we had with them, I also said something about their character, origin and their political and ideological baggage. Now, however, I want to dwell somewhat more extensively on this aspect, to indicate the essence and origin of these individuals who, at the end of 1942, were advertizing themselves as the «head», the «cream» of the nation, and what Albania could expect from their organization, the Balli Kombëtar.

The bulk of these «certified patriots» comprised the caravan of the «anti-Zogite» elements who after a 15 years asylum on foreign soil had returned to Albania in the wake of the Italian army and under the protection of fascist bayonets. In the past they had been deputies to the Albanian parliament, prior to the government of Fan Noli, and had been present at the funeral of Avni Rustemi and taken part in the Revolution of 1924. They had differences in their political convictions because they expressed the most varied opinions in a number of newspapers which they brought out during the bourgeois-democratic regime which the coalition of beys and feudals headed by Ahmet Zog overthrew. The democratic views of some of them were superficial and quickly faded, while the most of those who had posed as «partisans of *Opinga*»⁽⁹⁾ were in fact champions of the aghas and the mercantile bourgeoisie which was building itself up by buying the lands of bankrupt feudal families. All of them, even including those who posed as farthest to the «left», were far from being revolutionary democrats, like Avni Rustemi, Halim Xhelo and others who were loyal sons of the people and consistent fighters for democracy.

All the elements of the «anti-Zogite» emigration with the exception of the communists, or «reds», as the «anti-Zogites and democrats» in exile called them, claimed to be supporters of Fan Noli.

But after the failure of the 1924 Revolution that erudite writer, Fan Noli, travelled from place to place, visited the Soviet Union, spoke and wrote well about it, stayed in Germany, wrote beautiful and powerful anti-Zogite verses, went to the United States of America where he became head of the Church, became more bourgeois, assumed all kinds of colours, and from being an

9 The common people.

anti-Zogite came to terms with Zog and his men. True, he did not become a convinced and active Zogite, nevertheless, he accepted money from Zog. He never fully understood our National Liberation War, did not prove to be a zealous champion of it to the end, while, when the people were driving out the occupiers and traitors and establishing their own power, Fan Noli approved the British plan for the formation of an «Albanian government in exile». Nevertheless, we appreciate Fan Noli as a bourgeois democratic writer and politician, limited in his views, it is true, but who, on the whole, loved Albania.

Whereas these «disciples of Fan Noli» in exile were not even supporters of his, and before they worried about Albania, they hastened to ensure the manger from which they would eat. Mussolini's Italy paid some of them, Alexander's Yugoslavia others, while still others were paid by the French secret service, the British Intelligence Service, the Greek Asphalia, the American secret service, and so on. They were divided into groups, but not according to their political tendencies and views, each with its own program and organization, newspaper and other publications. Although they tried to present their political squabbles as originating from differences in their political views, in fact they were grouped according to the sources from which they received their subsidies, their flow of income. Each group had its «premises» in a café which the members of other «groups» did not enter. All their activity as «great politicians» amounted to reading that newspaper which was provided by the café where they sat all day indulging in idle talk and «academic» discussions about international problems which were accompanied by a few curses about Zog. When they ran out of words and their «opposition» spirit dried up. they began playing poker and bridge and each tried to rob the other at gambling.

The chiefs, of course, conducted the financial policy,

sharing out the money according to the orders of the centre from which they received it, as well as according to their personal sympathies. The pockets of some of them were full but there were others who had nothing to eat for days on end. This undoubtedly created quarrels amidst groups feeding from the same manger and frequenting the same café. Of course, there were some who received income from more than one source, came afloat again, and if one of them were asked where he found this money, he would reply, «I won it at gambling.» In fact, however, these individuals were spies for various agencies.

I am not exaggerating these things. When I was a student in France, on my way back to Albania for holidays or on the return journey, I stopped both in Bari, where I caught the ship, and in Paris. During these transit stops I have seen how they lived with my own eyes. For instance, I was several times in the *Stoppant* café in Bari which was one of the «best known» cafés of these emigrants in which the «honourables», former deputies and other members of the «Zogite opposition», like Bahri Omari, Sheh Karbunara, Muharrem Vllamasi, Qamil Çela, whom they considered a «red», an officer called Lekë Margjini and others of the same type gathered. In Bari there were other emigrants who came around, but these were the main ones, the «heirs to the anti-Zogite policy» and the *Stoppanti* café was their «parliament». Allegedly to protect their lives the Italian government had openly appointed an official police guard for these «honourables» apart from others who shadowed them. When I passed through Bari on my way to France, they asked me: «What's the news from Albania, what is going on? Do they or do they not like Zog? When is he going to die?» and lots of other questions like these. I don't remember any time when they asked me about the troubles of the people, the workers and peasants, or expressed revulsion about the way the workers and

peasants were plundered and exploited. When I spoke about these things they listened to me with indifference, because the situation and movements of the masses were of no importance to these «partisans of *Opinga*»; for them the best news was if you told them that Zog had been ill, because it seemed to them that the way was being opened for them to take power in Albania.

In the *Stoppani* café they dealt in «grand politics». Each of them expressed his own tendencies and sympathies in their conversations. Sheh Karbunara, for example, apparently ate the bread of the Italians but had a special admiration for the English. The Sheh was lively in conversation and attracted attention with his manner of speaking in the Myzeqe dialect and his loud laughter. He was clever and cunning but had not the slightest culture. He waited for Bahri Omari to read him a newspaper because Bahri knew several eastern and western languages. Bahri's culture, however, was «a little of everything», and of no depth. In his political views, he posed as a radical socialist because he had great admiration for Edouard Herriot, one of the leaders of the French radical socialists. *Le Temps*, a liberal newspaper with great influence in France at that time, was the source of Bahri's information and interpretations. Sheh Karbunara and the others waited for him in the *Stoppani* café with the newspaper *Le Temps* in front of him.

These pseudo-politicians, these supporters of the mercantile bourgeoisie and aghas had hatred for communism in their blood stream and this they demonstrated later. As for any organization on their part within the country, not only did this not exist, but they had not sent any newspapers, pamphlets or even a single leaflet into Albania. Their «activity» could not be compared even with that of democratic elements among the exiles like Omer

Nishani or Fan Noli himself, whose disciples they claimed to be, let alone with the activity of revolutionary communist militants like Ali Kelmendi, Halim Xhelo and Riza Cerova, who worked abroad but also entered Albania legally or illegally, and worked under the threat of imprisonment, internment and murder. But what sort of organization could the habitués of the *Stoppani* café claim to have when their links with the country were non-existent? Apart from a few former acquaintances, men of the bourgeoisie, aghas, top officials or some old intellectuals, no one in Albania remembered them.

The latter had considered it more advantageous to make their peace with Zog than to rove the cities of Europe, had submitted to the regime, lived and carried out their activity under the protection of the Krosis and Zog's ministers and had even gained some posts in the capital or were appointed its prefects in the districts. The Skënder Pojanis, Reiz Selfos, Vehip Runas, Qemal Vrionis and many others were of this type. Now even their opinions were unified, they had become convinced Zogites, although some posed as apolitical, others as neutral and when they went abroad, especially to Italy, because that is where they went mostly to strike trade deals, they did not forget their old friends. They would meet in the *Stoppani* café, crack a few jokes, pose as democrats, relate some of the crimes of the regime and, as «friends and acquaintances», put a bit of money in their pockets.

Hence, the contacts of the emigrant «politicians» with Albania were made through men of the Zogite regime who went abroad, through officials, big merchants, land-owners and aghas, and these contacts were maintained not in order to conspire or do something against the regime, but in order to get some economic aid from it and to delude themselves by saying that they had not lost contact with Albania. This was not surprising. Even in the time of the

Fan Noli government when these men were members of it, or elected as deputies, their links were not with the masses of the people but mainly with the liberal gentry of the city and, up to a point, with the gentry of the countryside. It was not the idea of the progress of Albania which linked them with the gentry, but their family and marriage links, and chance friendships which were widely developed in the social life of that time.

The «anti-Zogite democrats» of Paris comprised another group of this category of political exiles. That included Ali Këlcyra, Kolë Tromara, Qazim Koculi, Sejfi Vllamasi, Rexhep Mitrovica and others, but Tromara, Ali Bey, Koculi and Mitrovica posed as leaders. In fact none of them recognized the other as leader, because they all «led», but they were leaders in words, commanders without an army.

Their centres were *La Coupole*, *La Source* and other well-known cafés. There they gambled, played politics, «overthrew Zog», «aroused the Albanian people», and shared out the francs and the dollars which the course of betrayal on which they had set out secured for them. The «anti-Zogites» of the *Stoppani* café had good relations with this group while they quarrelled with the group of Mustafa Merlika which Mussolini kept in Dalmatia and prepared for his future plans of invasion.

As soon as fascist Italy invaded Albania all these exiles returned from the cafés of Europe. Naturally, they were pleased to see their friends and established political contacts with other «anti-Zogites» who had remained within the country or had returned earlier. Now, with the occupation of the country, these so-called anti-Zogite democrats either still held the posts which they had had in the time of Zog, or had been raised in responsibility, and with the aid of fascism, were further enriching themselves at the people's expense.

The «outstanding patriots» returned from Europe, sounded out the terrain, sniffed out where the lire came from and how, sounded out the quislings, the Italian and Albanian fascist hierarchs, posed as politically «undefiled», as «able men and politicians,» as «men who had made sacrifices for this nation», while «languishing» on foreign soil, so now that the «sea had turned into youghurt» they ought to be given not spoons but ladles. They were installed in homes, their salaries continued, but in what way, nobody knew. The occupier wanted to legalize these salaries, but the «fathers of the nation» put up resistance in this direction because this would mean that the pseudo-patriots would be compromised in the eyes of the people and committed to the dance. However, fascist Italy was to allow them to retain their disguise, just as long as it was in its interests, because it had taken into account the role of the reactionary chiefs of the political exiles in its plans for the occupation of Albania. It was not for nothing that Zog's «great friend» had long been working to organize them, had kept and subsidized them, allegedly in secret ways, because Zog did not dare make the slightest protest. Fascism had considered and was to use these men as a reserve for the domination of Albania and they were an important card in the Italian game of «the liberation of Albania from Zog». These elements had become puppets and as such nobody was going to ask them what role they were going to play in the prepared plot. And fascism divided the roles amongst the groups of these political exiles. Some of them, such as Mustafa Kruja and others, it used directly to govern its «colony», while the others it kept in reserve.

It was not that fascist Italy had no need of them, but it knew that it could not bring them into use before Vërlaci, Mustafa Merlika, Eqrem Bey Libohova, Maliq Bushati, and so on. They were «the first violins», while the others had

to submit to the quisling regime of the occupiers and work for it and, moreover, at first shed the odd tear for Albania and Albanianism. All this was a puppet play, but the captor Italy had not staged it for nothing. In this way, these pseudo-patriots, pseudo-democrats and fascists were brought into the dance of the Italian fascist occupiers. Some of them were made members of the «Council of State» created especially for them, while, as I said, the others became local fascist chiefs, and others still received «pensions» and bribes without occupying any definite post, so that they could retain for a while the reputation of «unblemished patriots» although all the time they carried on disguised propaganda against the people's resistance. The elements of this group temporarily left in reserve were closely linked with fascist Italy, but their role was to carry out subversive activity within the struggle of the Albanian people and to co-ordinate their demagoguery with the bludgeon which Mustafa Merlika wielded openly. Their mission was to link the maximum number of people to the fascist band-wagon through deception and threats and to win over the peasantry and the intellectuals. In the end this dangerous activity of theirs had some results, especially among vacillating and cowardly elements. Thus, in order to suppress the people and their struggle, the fascist occupier worked from both sides: from the side of the Albanian fascist officials placed in government posts from which they oppressed and exploited the people, and from the side of the pseudo-patriots, pseudo-democrats and Zogites allegedly fallen in disgrace. These latter were the «politicians» of the *Kurrsaal* café and gambling clubs like the *Savoy* and other notorious establishments.

The fascist secret agency, which was everywhere and reported everything, turned a blind eye and a deaf ear when one of these «politicians» expressed some «criticism» of persons in power or the fascist regime in the country.

The whole lot of them were a filthy scum among whom it was hard to find even one, however insignificant, who was undefiled.

Of course, apart from the knowledge which we had from the period prior to the occupation, we created a more complete and accurate opinion about them during our many attempts to «fan up» their patriotism, that is, to unite them with the war, with the Front, with the great cause of the Homeland. As I have already shown in detail, however, initially they treated us with total disregard, and, indeed, implied that they could hardly deign to talk with us «hot-headed young reds». There were two main reasons for this stand of theirs towards us in the initial stage of our contacts with them:

First, among these «nationalist-democrats», who lived on fascist hand-outs and who were neither nationalists nor democrats, the idea prevailed that they were the «most capable», were «proven politicians», that «the people loved and respected them» and, hence, they thought they were destined, when the favourable moment came, to take power and govern the country. Thus, with their delirium and these absurd illusions they had about themselves they could not even think, let alone accept, that their time had passed and that now new men were emerging from the ranks of the common people, ready to take over responsibility for the fate of the Homeland. Second, this «disdainful» attitude towards us in this first phase of the war was dictated to them by the fascist occupier and open reaction, with the aim that we, «young people», would be overawed by their «profound reasoning» and lose heart, hence, would «come to our senses», as they advised us, reconcile ourselves to the situation and, while swallowing the misfortunes of the Homeland, «enjoy the blessings of the fascist order»!

After years of idle talk and dreams in cafes, however,

their calculations went even further than this, for them the occupation of the country by fascist Italy was a passing phenomenon for Albania and they thought that, when the Italians left they «would still have them as a support, provided we don't annoy them, as these boys are doing». Their ideas went further still: «If nazi Germany replaces Italy, that will be even better and it will help us; on the other hand, if both Italy and Germany are defeated, then Britain and the United States of America will triumph, they will make the law and in that case we shall be even better off.»

As a result of these dangerous views and the economic and political interests they regarded the war of the Albanian people against the occupier, for which we were appealing and striving, as something terrible. In no way did they want to fight the fascist occupier, therefore they did their utmost and employed every means to strangle the revolution in its embryonic phase.

Of course, regardless of the «disdain», «gibes» and «remonstrances» of these old men, harnessed to the fascist plough, we carried on with our work and were to witness all their metamorphoses which appeared ridiculous but, in fact, were done on orders. When, to their astonishment, they saw that we were really taking the reins of the war in hand, they were obliged and ordered to come and seek us out, to try and persuade us «for the sake of suffering Albania» to proceed no further on the course of «adventurism» which we had taken. Quietly and patiently, we explained our stand to them once again and continued on our course.

Taken from «Laying the Foundations of the New Albania», Alb. ed., Tirana 1984

**CONGRATULATIONS TO THE BELOVED ALBANIA
ON THE NOVEMBER CELEBRATIONS!
CONGRATULATIONS TO OUR WONDERFUL PEOPLE!**

*Message of greetings on the occasion
of the 40th anniversary of the
Liberation of Albania*

November 29, 1984

Ah, my beloved Homeland! Seventy-two years have gone by since the proclamation of independence. For 40 years you have been living and advancing in socialism, liberated forever from oppression and exploitation, from the intrigues and villainies of foreign occupiers and the internal enemies. All through the centuries, you, my Albania, have experienced endless suffering and hardships. Your life has been filled with bloody wars, which have been waged in every corner of your territory, in the mountains and on the plains, in the castles and the humble cottages. You shed your blood, my people, in order to live free and independent like the mountain eagle that you were, with your freedom-loving spirit and dauntless character, with your clear mind and wisdom, your great, courageous and generous heart, your desires and ardent aspirations. You were never afraid to fight against the enemy and slavery, never intimidated by occupation, despite the trickery, the burnings and killings which the

enemy engaged in; you never bent the knee to foreigners or accepted betrayal, but always stood proudly and fought back. In your belt you carried the silverchased pistols, on your shoulders rifles, in your hands the drawn sword and you fought furiously. Attacked from all sides, you were often defeated, but never conquered, my Albania and my people!

It is hard to find in the world another small country like our Albania, with a people such as the Albanian people, who have fought so much, who have dared so much, who have displayed such great courage and wisdom, who have smashed all the enemies and emerged proudly in history, who have emerged free and sovereign, and have seized power through the strength of their own arms, without seeking or enjoying the aid of anyone else. The most ferocious enemies have attacked this valiant people and sought to wipe them from the face of the earth, to eliminate Albania from the map of the world, to partition it and divide it amongst its neighbours, the rulers of which were agents of Great Powers. But in vain. Albania and the Albanians fought and triumphed, they were, are and will be immortal.

Ah, my Albania, my people, history speaks of these great merits. Now history speaks more loudly, but it has spoken in the past, too, although the foreign enemies have done their utmost to stop your voice from being heard. Nevertheless, this voice could not be smothered, because the echo of the Albanians' wars reverberated from the mountains, spread through space and told the world how a dauntless people, with Skanderbeg at the head, became the terror of the Ottomans. While Europe trembled before the Turkish sultans' hordes, in the mountains of Albania a people, led by a hero who defended the Homeland and Europe from invasion, fought and resisted. My valiant people, you shed torrents of blood but no one was grateful

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to you, and despite this, you were not discouraged, because life had taught you that you must take your fate into your own hands and defend and liberate your Homeland.

Many enemies have violated our mother soil — the Romans of Caesar and Mark Antony, the Ottomans, the Serbian hordes, from the time of Stephan Dušan to the Karageorgevićs, the Greeks of Venizelos and Zographos, the Italians of the First World War and those of Mussolini, the Austro-Hungarians of Francis Joseph and the Germans of Hitler. But you, the Albanian people, faced up to all these invaders emerging after each occupation more united, more rejuvenated, more determined to refuse to bow your head to anyone.

The archives of the chancelleries of the states of Europe have been filled with documents which testify to your struggle, to your valiant deeds and your ardent aspirations for freedom. But these archives are not open, to this day they remain closed. The archives of Istanbul, Belgrade and Athens, Italy, Austria and France remain closed. But, my heroic people, your majestic history has been written better and more clearly than in the memoranda of foreign chancelleries with your blood and sweat and you yourselves have sung about it generation after generation. Your songs faithfully describe your great history, your customs, habits and costumes; they are hymns to your valour, endurance, loyalty and nobility, to your life in its harmonious development.

Thus you sang to yourselves, to your blood, to your immortality. These songs inspired the generations that came, armed them with love for the Homeland and for freedom, told them of the courage, determination and dauntless spirit of their forefathers, told them that their freedom, honour, language, customs and culture could be defended only with blood and sweat.

Your songs evoke the aid which you, the Albanian

people, have given other peoples in the course of history. They are songs to Skanderbeg and his valiant Albanian fighters who assisted Hunyadi, who assisted in the liberation of the Kingdom of Naples; they are songs to your sons who went and fought as far away as France with Marshal de Querc; they are songs to the valiant fighters of this land who assisted the revolution for the independence of Greece. Where has the Albanian not fought for freedom, not displayed valour, not displayed vitality and wisdom!

From your ranks, my people, great men have emerged, men who have fought with the rifle and the pen, who have inspired the generations and imbued them with patriotism, with their sense of freedom. These men have dreamed, worked and striven for the Motherland to live free, for the Albanians to gain learning, to assimilate knowledge and build the free Albania, unhampered by chains or by foreigners, in which the Albanian language would flower, «our language so beautiful, so pure», so tuneful in the songs of the inhabitants of the highlands and the plains, of the courageous women and the girls and boys. How greatly that language was loved and valued by the outstanding patriots of all periods, especially those of our National Renaissance, who, with their keen minds, desired that this language should be written and taught in the Albanian schools and that these schools should wipe out from amongst the people the ignorance, the influence of languages of countries which oppressed us, should wipe out the ignorance of the Middle Ages and religions which poisoned the spirit of the Albanian people. These pioneers of the Albanian language sacrificed themselves at the altar of the Homeland, their blood became a beacon-light, their work took root, grew up and developed amidst storms, amidst the suffering and poverty. From the Albanian schools, which were opened through the efforts of these

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outstanding patriots, emerged people who collected the songs of our history and the customs of the people, which strengthened the determination of the Albanian to liberate himself, which gave us light and the strength of knowledge, until in the end, you, my beloved people, overcame all these hardships.

History had taught you that those peoples who do not fight are eliminated, therefore, you, my people, fought for freedom, for your language, for your customs, for your sacred soil, and you were not eliminated, but triumphed. Centuries went by in ceaseless wars in which you suffered death and destruction but you did not yield and were not quelled, and eventually, on November 29, 1944, together with your freedom you also won power, became masters of your own fate and emerged in the light for ever, because at the head of your struggle you had the heroic Communist Party, to which you, the people, gave birth and which you defended and nurtured with the blood of your finest sons, so that it would grow strong as the moments and your future and that of our Homeland required. This was a well-earned victory.

Rarely has any other people deserved such a victory as you deserved it, my people, because you have been strong, courageous, and optimistic and you have always loved life. You brought forth noble sons and daughters, fiery-hearted, eagle-eyed and strong as the rocks of the Alps, who fell upon the enemy like thunder and lightning. Such were your sons and daughters who led you in battle with songs on their lips together with the war cries, of whose history, battles and sacrifices you, my valiant and great-hearted people, sang.

Not just one or two, or a few thousand individuals, but a whole people were inspired at every moment, in every period, at all the troubled moments of history, by your glorious past, my Homeland. Never was the head of

the Albanian confused in storms and blizzards. Never were the Albanian people conquered, but they forged ahead through the storms and conquered the enemies, however mighty, ferocious and well-armed they were.

You, my dear people, were not barbarians, others behaved like barbarians towards you; you, my people, were not without culture, others wanted to impose their enslaving culture on you. You had not only strong muscles, but also keen minds and great hearts, and that is why the invaders could neither assimilate you, nor wipe you out. The enemies have left nothing unsaid against you, but life, struggle, history, has proved them wrong. You have been superior to your enemies from every standpoint.

Your whole life, my people, has been revolution, even when you were starving, naked or dressed in rags, with your bodies bleeding from wounds, but fiery-spirited and unbowed. At no time has your life been meaningless, but on the contrary, every year, every day of your life, has been filled with struggles and strivings for freedom, justice and economic and social development and progress. This way of life has always kept us vigorous, and the Party of Labour has always had this on the order of the day. The Party has made the revolutionary traditions of our people an inseparable part of our life: the outstanding dates, events and figures of the people are celebrated, sung and written about. A marvellous situation has been created everywhere, the political enlightenment and outstanding patriotism of the people are immortal. As a result of this sound state of affairs Albania is advancing and building socialism successfully, people are conscientious in work and in action, fighters for the great cause of socialism and communism, and young and old love our heroic Party wholeheartedly.

All the blessings which we have created and are enjoying during the years of socialism stem from the

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National Liberation War of the people led by the Communist Party, which has always been enlightened by Marxism-Leninism — its unerring guide. Guided by this ideology from the time of its creation, the Party was able to imbue and temper the new man of socialist Albania with the patriotism of centuries, to unite and mobilize the whole people in the sacred war for freedom, to lead them on such a course that, besides winning their freedom, the people took power in their own hands, established the people's state power and set to work to make our beloved Albania a flourishing garden, the free country of free people.

We fought and triumphed, the whole of Albania rose to its feet during the National Liberation War. All our villages became nurseries of partisans. The whole people was able to unite firmly around the Party, drove the barbarous foreign invaders from our soil once and for all, overthrew the power of the feudal lords, beys and capitalists, and punished the traitors as they deserved. Many of the finest sons of this people fell with honour on the field of battle, but they became torch-bearers and today all over Albania their remains rest in monumental cemeteries to which the people go continually to pay the greatest homage, because the blood they shed cemented the foundations of the new Albania.

All the friendly foreigners who visit our country bow with respect before the graves of our heroes and say with conviction and admiration that our people have fought, have shed their blood and that war has been waged on every inch of this soil.

After Liberation you, my people, continued the struggle heroically. The Party led you in even greater, even more difficult battles, the battles for socialism which you had to win through toil and sweat, through knowledge and determination. Day by day, you are working, triumphing

and advancing without laying down the rifle and without bending the knee to old enemies or to new ones in all kinds of disguises.

The Party, the people and socialism filled Albania with great factories, combines and hydro-power stations, made the plains flourish, beautified hills and mountains with terraces, planted forests up to the Alps, and developed the livestock farming and agriculture of which Naim sang with such passion, filled the country with schools, cultural and scientific institutions, wiped out the illiteracy, the darkness and backwardness of the past, and brought the light of learning, development and scientific progress everywhere. Socialist Albania today is the only country in the world which is building socialism entirely with its own forces, without accepting credits from anyone and without being indebted to anyone, a country without taxes, without inflation and unemployment, a country where schooling and the medical service are free of charge. Every corner of Albania has been transformed to its foundations, the life of our long-suffering people has changed radically and has become secure, enlightened and prosperous. Above all, during this whole process, the Party united all the people more firmly and made them conscious of their great and decisive role in history.

This beautiful Albania which you, my Party, have built amidst so many storms, struggles and intrigues, this happy life which we enjoy today, this new man whom you formed, are your glorious works which you achieved through the strength of your people, through your determination and maturity, and through your mind enlightened by Marxism-Leninism, without holding out your hand to foreigners. Not only has the aid of foreigners been very restricted, but as experience has proved, although provided under the disguise of proletarian internationalism, in essence it had an enslaving imperialist character. Believing

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that it did not have an enslaving character, the Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania accepted this aid in order to set the country on its feet again. But when we saw that with the aid that they provided the Titoites, the Soviet revisionists and those of the countries of Eastern Europe, and Mao Zedong's China had ulterior, hostile, enslaving aims, or intended to turn Albania into an appendage dependent on them, so that it would lose its freedom and independence, we tore the mask from them and told them bluntly and clearly that socialist Albania, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people were not for sale for a handful of rags, or for a few rubles, dinars or yuan, just as they had not sold themselves to the Anglo-American imperialists for their handout of rags or for their pounds sterling and dollars.

For 40 years on end, my valiant Albania, you have kept the honoured flag of Marxism-Leninism flying, just as through the centuries you have kept the flag of freedom flying, the red flag with the two-headed eagle, to which you added a five-pointed star, the star of freedom, the star of socialism and communism.

Not for one moment during the 40 years of life in socialism have you, my people, with the Party of Labour at the head, allowed the new perfidious and powerful enemies to conquer you. Once again you drew the sword, which was now keener-edged, tempered in the fires of repeated battles, and forged on the anvil of history. With this sword you, my Party, mercilessly struck down the imperialists and reactionaries, struck down the modern revisionists of all hues, and compelled those secret revisionists, who, for their own hegemonic aims, seemed to be, and from time to time posed as if they were, Marxist-Leninists and our friends, to throw off their disguise. With these stands and your lofty example, you, my Party, performed your internationalist duty and, at the same

time, told others that the struggle against the revisionist currents must not cease, that there could be no agreement or compromise with them, because they were renegades and traitors. The word of our Party, its clear thinking, its courage and determination, shone forth and became beacon-lights for the peoples and revolutionaries in the world.

You, my socialist Homeland, led by the Party of Labour, waged this heroic struggle with astonishing vigour, and your powerful voice was listened to because you rose resolutely against Titoism which was unmasked in the eyes of the whole world as an ideological and political agency of American imperialism and world reaction. Over a long period you have always struggled and raised your voice against American imperialism and all the reactionary bourgeoisie of the world which seeks to keep the peoples and the proletariat of the whole world under its heel, and in the same way you have raised your voice against the Soviet social-imperialists who are struggling for world hegemony, to oppress the peoples by threatening them with the force of arms and atomic bombs. Later your powerful voice rose to the skies of this troubled world against the practice and theory of Mao Zedong and the entire Chinese leadership which betrayed Marxism-Leninism and set out on the revisionist course to make China an imperialist world superpower.

Infuriated by the just stands, the determination and the courage of a small people and a valiant Party, the imperialist and revisionist enemies left nothing unsaid against us. They speak and write angrily and with evil aims, «What is this people, what is this Party which is making such a clamour, what are these stubborn creatures who are not afraid to oppose powerful states?! They must be crushed, they must be liquidated, they must be brought to their knees, starved into submission through blockades...» However, they are gravely mistaken, as they have

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always been, because they have not known and have not wanted to know the history of the Albanian people, the manly character of the Albanian, because they have not wanted to recognize what lofty meaning the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the Homeland has always had for the Albanian. As the capitalists, imperialists and reactionaries they are they have thought and still think that nothing can withstand their economic and military strength and their ideology. But, you see, the peoples, whether big or small, have the strength to resist enemies. The peoples who fight always triumph; the enemies are quite unable to destroy the Marxist-Leninist parties which stand unwaveringly on their principles. Marxism-Leninism, which guides the proletariat, the genuine communist parties and the peoples who are demanding liberation and their rights, is invincible.

The struggle against Soviet revisionism and all modern revisionism is one of your most brilliant epics, my Party. This heroic struggle is an honour and pride for you, the working class of Albania, for you, the Albanian people, for you, our socialist Albania! All the states of the world, of whatever regime, all the peoples, all the political currents, friendly and hostile, cannot but admit that you are completely free, independent, and stand as firm as granite.

Our socialist Albania, you withstood the furious waves of enemies and did not yield. Your just, courageous, revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist stands have made numerous friends and admirers from all countries rally round you; even though you were small, the world proletariat looked and looks to you with hope and trust, because in your course and determination it sees its great idea, Marxism-Leninism, the struggle for the revolution, the struggle for the overthrow of the reactionary forces which oppress and exploit it, accomplished and invincible. You have told and tell the proletariat and the peoples the truth, and

the truth has extraordinary importance. The truth gives you vigour, does not allow you to fall into the abyss and break your neck, illuminates the way, opens new paths, causes mighty forces to emerge from the bosom of the people to overcome all the enemies, all the difficulties, and all the intrigues.

With their stands and opinions, socialist Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania have given and give heart and confidence to all and tell the proletariat and the peoples: stand as we stand, fight as we fight, because you will triumph as we have triumphed and are triumphing. Our victory is certain, our victory is a common victory, therefore, we must close our ranks in the heat of the war against enemies. Open fire on the revisionists, betrayers of the working class and the peoples, destroy the imperialist plans of big world capital, because only in this way can the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the Homeland be won, and the revolution develop and triumph. All the talk about taking power by means of reforms is poppycock. The bourgeoisie and capitalism can never agree to allow the working class, the most advanced class in the world to which the future belongs, to take power. On the contrary, every day the enemies of the peoples and the proletariat are preparing sugar-coated poison pills and forging new chains of enslavement, therefore only by fighting against the old system of the power of capital can the peoples and the proletariat triumph step by step and take power into their own hands. The Party of Labour followed this course and thus the Albanian people were liberated, and so socialist Albania has been built and is advancing.

In all your actions, you, my heroic Party, have had a lofty aim, and have always proceeded cautiously but without fear. Your stand has never been one of crawling, you have never been opportunist, but neither have you been sectarian,

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you have always marched forward on the Marxist-Leninist course. Your sole aim throughout has been the good of the peoples. You have sincerely loved the genuine Marxist-Leninists, have defended them to the end, and will always defend them in this way. You have always stated your opinions openly, gently when necessary, but you have raised your tone when this has been required. With those who have made mistakes, you have tried patiently to correct them, have advised them wisely, and at the same time, you have listened attentively to any valuable advice and have learned from it. You have supported their correct actions, but when they have been wrong you have criticised them. This is the course you have always followed, but when the cup has been filled and you have been convinced that there is no way other than that of struggle, you have not been afraid but have declared war on enemies and have never ceased this struggle.

We have never retreated or made any concessions to enemies. History has taught us this, we have learned it not only from our own sufferings and hardships but also from those of all the peoples of the world, from their countless struggles during the centuries.

Marxism-Leninism has opened our eyes with the conclusions drawn from the analyses which it has made of the development of society through the class struggle. It teaches us that the class struggle is the motor of society, which keeps you alive, gives you strength, gives you victory. If you extinguish this struggle the bourgeoisie and capitalism will strangle and enslave you, and our people have never liked slavery. On the contrary, our people have always fought against the grip of slavery. Therefore, our Party has never ceased the class struggle, either internally or in the international arena, and never will cease it, even for a moment. For 40 years on end our people and Party have resolutely opposed and combated everything

old and conservative, opportunist and liberal, all those who have tried openly or secretly to divert us from our correct course, we have fought any force or ideology which has aimed to infect the consciousness of our people, to hinder our march towards better days, towards the present and the more secure future. We have always kept the class struggle ablaze, and it is precisely this great and revolutionizing motive force which has made our small Homeland unshakeable «either by the cannon, or the bomb», as the folk song says, that is, either by revisionism, capitalism, or reaction.

We have many friends and admirers in the world. Our friends are all the peoples of the world who have a great love and respect for Albania, speak with admiration about our country and our socialist reality, and want to know where we find this strength, because they still do not understand how this reality has been achieved. Therefore, it is our duty to make the victories of the Party of Labour, the Albanian people and socialist Albania known in all their aspects to the peoples, to explain them not only with the present, but with all the glorious past history of the Albanian people. These victories are like a steel chain, the links of which are the revolutionary events inseparable from each other, which represent, at different stages, the permanent ideals of the freedom, independence, democracy, and unity of our nation, of our well-being, culture and ceaseless progress. We must explain to our brothers and admiring friends that this chain of the life of the Albanian people has achieved unprecedented toughness at the present day thanks to Marxism-Leninism which we are trying to understand profoundly in all its aspects and to faithfully apply its principles in the conditions of our country and the international situation.

We have not permitted the principles of our foreign policy to be subordinated to the momentary changes in the

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world situation. We always take the international political and economic situation into account, but in our relations with other states, in our stands, we have always been guided by the Marxist-Leninist principles because they are the key to the correct understanding and assessment of world events, circumstances that arise, the intrigues and aims of imperialism towards the aspirations of the revolutionary forces, the peoples and the proletariat of each country and the whole world.

Because of all these things, when the red-letter days, the 28th and 29th of November, draw near, socialist Albania celebrates in the full meaning of the term. Everywhere there is rejoicing over the work, the achievements and the fine new life. The whole people sing about and rejoice over the great victories that have been achieved in all fields, the new socialist life, the security and great and clear prospects for the future.

I feel boundless satisfaction when I see on the TV, hear on the radio, or read in the papers about the great construction work that is going on all over the Homeland, about the triumphs and successes which have been achieved, one after the other, in all fields. It warms my heart when I see our tireless and skilful workers and specialists building dams, constructing machinery, and setting modern plants and combines in action with competence and skill; when I see the cooperativists in the plains, the hills and the mountains, carefully cultivating the crops and getting yields of world level: when I see the great army of our new socialist intelligentsia, the pupils and students, bending over books, or in laboratories, working on sketches and designs, when alongside men, everywhere, I see the Albanian girls and women whom the Party drew into life, working and singing, producing and managing, and raising healthy happy children, the future of the Homeland. The whole of Albania is in movement,

in development, in constant progress. Today every inch of it is the scene of construction and creation, and a school, and a barricade insurmountable to the enemies, and a stage where our people, the creators of everything, sing to the Party, to their life, to freedom and socialism.

The people themselves, with the Party at the head, have created such a situation, that is why when they are working and rejoicing, especially when they come to celebrations, our people express with astonishing force the fine pure feelings which inspire them to even greater deeds.

For us, the soldiers of the Party, there can be no greater satisfaction than this, when we see you, our people, masters of your own fate, happy, contented, and free in a sovereign and independent Albania, in an Albania transformed into an impregnable fortress, and with ceaseless socialist development. The satisfaction and pride which we feel is the fruit of the great victories we have achieved, of our uninterrupted efforts, of our permanent concern to ensure that our Party is always at the head, as our tested guide.

We have lived through the past 40 years as revolutionaries know how to live, build and defend. In these years of the epoch of the Party our dear Albania has been transformed to its very foundations, has known that growth, that renewal, that all-round development which it had not experienced for whole centuries. Everything about it is new and healthy, its appearance and content, its life which is flourishing and gaining new dimensions, the new man endowed with the lofty virtues of the communist ideology, happy and proud about what has been achieved, convinced and conscious about the continuity of our course, of our efforts, our honour and prestige.

During the coming decades the people and the Party,

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firmly united, as always, will do even more for this dear land, for this country of eagles. Hence, let us guard what we have achieved as the apple of our eye, let us go on consistently to develop it further, to leave the coming generations an Albania ever stronger, always red, like the undying flame of the hearts and ideals of communists and partisans, an Albania which will live and progress through the centuries. I am convinced that the people and the Party will raise our triumphant flag higher and higher, will raise the honour, prestige and name of socialist Albania higher and higher in the world.

Congratulations on the November celebrations to our beloved socialist Albania!

Congratulations on the celebrations to our heroic people, to our wonderful people!

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PANORAMA

December 30, 1984

Today is the last day but one of the year 1984. For us 1984 was the year of the glorious jubilee of the 40th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution, a year of new victories in the building of socialism, in increasing the prosperity of the people, in strengthening the defence and in boosting the authority of our country in the international arena. Of course, this year we have had to cope with and surmount objective difficulties and obstacles, such as the severe drought which lasted more than any other year before, although there were also difficulties and shortcomings due to subjective causes, connected with questions of organization, discipline, etc. What I want to touch on briefly in this panorama of the year 1984 is the general situation and the various developments in the international political situation, which exert their influence on our country, too.

In foreign policy our country continued the line defined at the 8th Congress of the Party: uninterrupted persistent struggle against imperialism, and first of all, against the two imperialist superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, against their vicious policy towards the peoples; support for the Marxist-Leninist forces, the progressive movements, the struggles for national and social liberation of various peoples;

i.e., support for the class battles of the world proletariat and the oppressed peoples for national and social liberation; collaboration with the neighbouring countries on the basis of reciprocal benefit, non-interference in the internal affairs of one another and respect for national sovereignty. The same for the other countries which want to have good relations with our country. With the revisionist countries — collaboration in the field of trade exchanges, without the slightest ideological or political concession or compromise.

Thanks to this correct policy of our country and the good desire of the Greek government, improvements were made in our relations with neighbouring Greece, some agreements of reciprocal benefit were concluded, which, in my opinion, will open up the road of strengthening the ties of the ancient friendship between our two peoples. Our relations with Italy have proceeded somewhat better, although there are possibilities to do more. With Turkey we have good relations, and so have we with some West-European countries and various Arab and African countries, etc.

With Yugoslavia we have had and continue to have problems which are the direct result of the hostile stand of its leadership and of Great-Serb chauvinist circles. Even though the Yugoslav leading circles suffered defeat in the international arena, they continue to slander and accuse us, holding us responsible for the grievous events and the ensuing bloodbath which occurred in Kosova in 1981, calling us instigators of these events, supporters of nationalism and irredentism in Kosova and saying that we want the disintegration of the Yugoslav Federation. With this pretext they have intensified the repressive measures and persecution of our brothers in Kosova and in the other Albanian regions in Yugoslavia, and are trying by all manner of means to damage and impede the building of socialism in Albania.

We have continuously made it clear, in an official and public manner, in speeches, articles and government documents, that we have in no way been involved in what occurred in Kosova in 1981. The events in Kosova at that time were the consequences of the chauvinist policy of repression and discrimination against the Albanians, of the exploitation of the colossal assets of Kosova and the abandonment of its Albanian population of Kosova in economic, cultural and social backwardness, they were the consequence of the negation of their historic past. We have done nothing other but have defended their just demands for the preservation of their national patrimony and traditions, human dignity, their demand for proclaiming Kosova a republic, etc., rights which are recognized even in the Constitution of the Yugoslav Federation. We have given and will give this support in the future, too, without backing down an inch. Our stand over this question is based on international law and this does not constitute an interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. We have rejected and again reject the accusation that we want the disintegration of Yugoslavia. No, we have never said so and have never desired such a thing. On the contrary, we have declared several times officially that we are against the disintegration of Yugoslavia, indeed, we have said that the Albanian people will go to assist the just war of the peoples of Yugoslavia if they are attacked by the imperialist superpowers or anyone else. The Yugoslav chauvinists have never pledged to do such a thing. On the contrary, their anti-Albanian policy has posed and continues to pose a grave threat to our people.

The Yugoslavs themselves, who sabotaged and then broke off the cultural relations with us, and especially those we had with the Autonomous Region of Kosova, hoped that we would not accept their «proposal» for new cultural relations. But when we not only accepted them,

but also presented our concrete proposals for the continuation, and indeed, extension of them, if they desired so, they made an about-face, raising many obstacles so that such an agreement should not be concluded by any means.

Our country has respected and fulfilled the joint agreements which we have signed with Yugoslavia. One of them was about the building of the Shkodra-Titograd railway. We completed with success our part of this railway. They raised many obstacles. Now they promise that they will complete their part in 1985. Let us wait and see!

Our stand towards Yugoslavia is clear-cut and completely correct. It has met with approval in the international arena, too. There is no reason why the Yugoslavs should expect us to make a change, or demand that we open up. The ball, on this question, has been and remains in their half of the lawn. If they really want it, many things can be settled and relations can be placed on healthy and correct bases. But for this to be done, the Yugoslav leadership must desist from its anti-Albanian policy and from the denationalizing and repressive actions against the Kosovars and the Albanians who live in their own territories in Yugoslavia and should recognize the rights which the Yugoslav Constitution gives them.

Why do the Yugoslav chauvinists maintain this negative, totally illogical and reactionary stand towards our country and people?

For their part, they have done nothing against our country without being conscious of it. The rabid Serb chauvinists are anti-Albanian in their very blood. They have never thought well of our people. On the contrary, they have thought and worked openly and under cover in order to subjugate them completely and, as documents show, to turn our country into the seventh republic of their Federation, that is, not to cede Kosova, but to gobble up

the PSR of Albania, too, and to have them under the Great-Serb predatory and denationalizing savage rule. There is also another reason for this. The Tитоites cannot tolerate that a socialist country such as Albania, a completely independent country, with economic and political stability, with clear perspectives, without debts and credits, which does not submit to the military-political-economic blocs and groupings of one or the other superpower, a country which serves as an example to the international proletariat and the freedom-loving peoples of the whole world, hence, to the peoples that make up Yugoslavia, too, should exist and flourish on the border with them.

Yugoslavia today is the worst example of social, political, economic and national degeneration in the Balkans and in Europe. We Albanians say this not because we want «to malign and discredit» Yugoslavia and its ideology, Titoism. No, this is said also by the Yugoslav press, officials, economists and politicians even in open talks and at official meetings, or even in their top-level organs. Sometimes the one, sometimes the other, they sound the alarm in order to avoid the economic catastrophe which threatens them at every step. Self-administration is now considered the root of all evils. Tito has become a target of attack, even though not quite openly as yet. Strife among nations has broken out all over the country and today the problem does not boil down to the question of Kosova and the Kosovars, or the Albanians in Yugoslavia. The Croats, the Slovenes, the Macedonians and others are now demanding more rights and secession from the Great-Serb rule. The influence of the Catholic Church and the Pope has increased in Croatia, that of Islam in Bosnia, the pressure of the Orthodox Church in Serbia, etc.

The movement of dissidents, of those who allegedly demand more radical reforms and who, in fact, want to take the government of the country into their hands, is now

under the protection of definite internal and external circles. International monopolies require and get double guarantee for the credits they have accorded and for the profits they expect to make, otherwise they threaten to turn off the tap.

This is not the place to make a comprehensive analysis of the catastrophic political, economic and social situation in which Yugoslavia finds itself today. I have made several such analyses, some of them even during this year, and, in general, the opinions of our Party about the situation in Yugoslavia have proved to be thoroughly true. Here I just want to stress that this situation of complete disintegration is the consequence of the capitalist-bourgeois system itself which the Tito clique set up with so much ado and which it advertised throughout the world as the most democratic, most liberal, most advanced socialist state of a specific type. How liberal, how democratic and to what extent socialist this state is, this was revealed and is being revealed in the barbarous, oppressive and denationalizing actions which the Great Serbs have perpetrated and are perpetrating against the Albanian population in Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro.

During 1984, apart from the usual plots and sabotage activities of the imperialist superpowers, we have had to cope not only with the anti-Albanian attacks and actions of the Great-Serb chauvinists, but also with those of reaction and, mainly, the Greek bishops and the Vorio-Epirote chauvinist circles, that have left nothing undone in order to poison the atmosphere and impede the rapprochement between Greece and our country. The Pope of the Vatican, the Pole Woytyla, also, joined the campaign of slanders and attacks against our country and people, and against the construction of socialism in Albania. In all this it is not hard to see a secret malevolent collusion between the Great-

Serb chauvinist and reactionary forces, the Greek fascist forces and the centre of international obscurantism, the Vatican. But we have become hardened to such slanders, attacks and conspiracies. We know them, we have coped with them and we have defeated them mercilessly. That will happen in the future, too.

World capitalism calls Albania an «anachronistic» country, because it stands face to face with imperialism and revisionism, with their intrigues, diversion and deceptions. We are not impressed by their economic and military potential. We do not and will not forget what J. V. Stalin said about this question in 1928:

*«It would be sheer madness to think that international capital would leave us in peace.»**

We are optimists, because we are Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries.

Our foreign policy, our stands, analyses and conclusions about various international events have completely justified themselves. The life, the development of events around us and all over the world have shown that we were right, not our opponents and enemies.

Let me return to the positive developments that occurred in our relations with Greece, about which there was great repercussion in international public opinion.

I want to stress right from the beginning that what has been achieved, which, through goodwill, should certainly be carried ahead with the repeal of the absurd law on the state of war with our country on the part of the Greek government, is the result of the consistent stand of our country based on the principles of its foreign policy of good neighbourliness with all the countries around us, on

* J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 11, p. 55, Alb. ed.

the basis of reciprocal benefit, non-interference in the internal affairs of one another, while making no ideological or political concessions. As soon as we make known an official visit to Italy, to Greece, to Turkey or some other place, indeed, even when we send our athletes to participate in some international event, as happened in the case of the international athletic meeting in Nice of France, the bourgeois and revisionist propaganda, as usual, begins to rumour that Albania is «opening up» to the West. Now, too, it continues to blow the same broken bugle.

How much wrong are those who always mistake our resolute and clear-cut political stands. From the founding of our People's Republic we have pursued this policy which we are pursuing today. We have always been in favour of rapprochement between our country and our neighbours and understanding with them. It is the others who have shown no understanding for our policy of good neighbourliness, or have responded to it hesitatingly, because, as our people say, they «had the devil in their bowels». So, whenever the lofty interests of our Homeland have required it, we have been for such «opening up» and will continue to be for it in the future, too, but not for «integration», for «selling out the freedom and the wealth of the Homeland,» for «relations and alliances» with the aggressive political-military groupings of the one or the other superpower. Let no one deceive himself on that score.

As the propaganda has it, we have been compelled to make this «opening up» for our internal needs, in order to get over the difficulties which emerged for us after our «rupture» with China, and for modern technology. This is cock-and-bull story. First thing, it is not true that we «broke away» from China. It is the revisionist and capitalist leaders of China who went over to anti-Albanian actions which ended with the Chinese unilaterally breaking off the agreements of economic collaboration with our country,

and all this because we strove to convince them that they were pursuing a counter-revolutionary foreign policy and were sliding more and more deeply into reprehensible actions and alliances with American imperialism. And we knew what might be the consequences of this stand of our Party and country towards China, that is, we were conscious that there would be economic consequences for us, just as there were when we exposed the treacherous actions of the Khrushchevite revisionists. Therefore, we had taken the necessary measures.

We began to have trade relations with the other countries, not this year or last year, but since we founded our new state. Our trade has had at its basis the principle of reciprocal benefit, give and take, without credits and loans conditioned on political concessions, except for the period when we thought that the Yugoslavs, the Soviets, and the Chinese later, were our friends and that their countries, as socialist and internationalist countries, were duty-bound to assist us as a small country we were. We accepted credits, which we intended to pay to the letter, and that is what we did, and today in fact we are not indebted to anyone. On the contrary, they are indebted to us, because with their actions they behaved as revisionists, as traitors to Marxism-Leninism, and sabotaged and damaged our economy. Their credits represented only a very small part of the economic-financial potential of our country. Hence, we have been and are for balanced trade exchanges, without discrimination and restrictive measures, without any political commitment, without putting up for auction the lofty national interests of the country, of socialism and of Marxism-Leninism, at any time and under any circumstances.

As I said earlier, they now bring up the improvement of our relations with Greece as an example of our «opening up» to the West. It depends on how and from what

angle the question is seen, from what positions and with what aims it is commented on, because the improvement of our relations with Greece occurred in definite political moments and circumstances which facilitated this process.

Each state has its own political strategy and pursues a well-defined tactics depending on the conditions and circumstances created by unforeseen factors, or those which result from the previous actions on the basis of a given strategy. Our country, too, has its own strategy and tactics in foreign policy. They have been defined and proclaimed publicly at the various congresses of the Party.

In the concrete case we have always been for relations with Greece, indeed we have requested and waited patiently for relations of good neighbourliness to be established with this country, because such a thing is in the interest of our two peoples. Now that the Yugoslav chauvinists, anti-Albanian to the core, in unison with imperialism, international reaction and any other fascist force, are throwing all the stones they can against socialist Albania, hatching up plots in order to impede our constructive work, we had to and did take the necessary defensive measures. We could not allow the Titoites to do as they liked with our rights, to try to isolate us, to sabotage us, as they did when they interfered with our vehicles carrying our goods to the markets of Western Europe, etc. That would be impermissible. So, in these conditions we negotiated and concluded an agreement with the Italian government for the opening of a ferry-boat line to transport our goods to the countries with which we have trade agreements; we talked and reached positive results with the Greek government for the signing of some agreements of reciprocal benefit; we decided to open the border cross-point at Kakavija as a gesture of friendship, etc. These measures were required by the lofty interests of our Homeland and we did this without allowing any concessions and without making any

compromise to the detriment of our ideology and policy and without jeopardizing and interfering in the least in the internal affairs of others.

During this year the reactionary Greek forces, the representatives of the Orthodox Church, the Vorio-Epirote reactionary circles and their supporters, the American imperialists, were a cause of concern for us. They brought pressure to bear on us, they organized provocations up to the point of blowing up the cars of our embassy in Athens and demonstrating threateningly in front of it against the supposed ill-treatment of the Greek minority in Albania, etc. In these grave moments, some circles, including the Titoite ones, hoped that we would fall into the trap of reaction, that is. we would cut diplomatic relations with Greece. But we did not fall in for it. We knew that such situations were temporary, that they expressed the disarray and defeat of the Greek and foreign reactionary and anti-Albanian forces. They were not and could not be the work of the friendly Greek people, with whom we have fought together not just once, for the same aims. And we were not wrong. The storm spent its rage and the days of calm set in. when the Greek government itself took the first steps towards concrete relations, towards rapprochement and good neighbourly relations. On this basis and with common understanding we reached those results which I mentioned above. All this was in the interest of the Greek people and in the interest of our people.

The positive fact for us is that the reactionary Greek forces, the bishops, the most reactionary representatives of the Vorio-Epirote circles, their supporters and backers in the United States of America were isolated; the honest and progressive Greeks rejoiced. The Yugoslav Titoites, who incited and expected explosions between Greece and Albania were isolated and suffered a fiasco; their propaganda in the international arena that «Albania is against

peace and represents a war-mongering country in the Balkans,» etc., suffered a complete failure.

The Greek press now writes that the slanders of the reactionary circles about the ill-treatment of and the denial of rights to the Greek minority in Albania are devoid of any basis and that the Greek minority people in our country live in normal conditions, enjoying all the constitutional rights, are happy, etc...

We do not forget the bitter lessons of the history of our country, either. The bourgeoisie and the reactionary, chauvinist and fascist groupings in the countries bordering on us have more than once in the past collaborated to divide up Albania into their zones of influence and have clashed whenever one of them has tried to violate «the tacit joint agreement on Albania». Even though many years have gone by since that time and Albania is no longer what it was and allows no one «to take an interest» in its destinies, the policy of these reactionary circles towards socialist Albania has not changed much.

Likewise, we notice that our policy of good neighbourliness and reciprocal benefit towards this or that country makes this bourgeoisie and these reactionary circles jealous and angry, as though Albania were their «estate». This strange jealousy and anger is being manifested by the Yugoslav chauvinists over the further improvement of our relations with Greece and Italy, over the strengthening of our relations with some European countries, with the countries of the Arab world, etc.

Why does it seem strange to them? Why are they concerned? This is their business. We have not consulted, do not consult and will never consult Belgrade or any other capital, whichever it may be, about what we do and what we intend to do in the interest of our socialist country and Homeland.

The hopes which are nourished and propagated again

now, as occurred when we put the Khrushchevites and the Chinese revisionists in their places, that the day has come for «someone else» to set foot in Albania, or that Albania would fall under the control and influence of the Americans or the Soviets, the French, the British or the Germans, not through force, but through «well-wishing» offers of aid on «favourable terms» to enable us «to make progress», «to correct» and «to modernize» our industry and economy, etc., etc., are futile. We are not in need of that kind of «modernization» about which Tito and the Yugoslav Titoites boasted so much, about what the Chinese revisionists are talking or the bourgeoisie and the revisionists are suggesting now, modernization on credits, with smothering debts on denigrating and enslaving terms. We shall never put such chains round the neck of our people. Today we have built an advanced economy and are in a position to march ahead with our own forces, that is, to modernize and equip our economy with advanced technology from its own income, with its own fine goods which are in demand everywhere.

The question of Albania and its future is discussed in the leading circles of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. Both the one grouping and the other from time to time prompt this country or that to offer us «sincere aid» in order to get over difficult situations. They pity the rider because his feet are dangling, as a saying of our people goes.

We put it clearly for all the short-sighted dreamers that neither the one nor the other, neither Soviet social-imperialists nor American imperialists or anyone else, can ever set foot again on the Albanian soil; they will never again be given the right to set up military bases and concentrate their troops here. We have our experience with foreign military bases. As long as the Soviet military base set up in our country, in the framework of the former socialist camp, had defensive aims, we accepted it, but when

Khrushchevite revisionism showed its aggressive imperialist teeth, we denounced it and drove it out. In that case we did our internationalist duty. It is up to the neighbouring peoples to take a stand towards foreign military bases in their own territories, which are directed against the neighbouring peoples and countries, otherwise there are great dangers in store for them, too.

Their direct and indirect pressure, as well as that which is exercised through their tools, whichever they are, have no effect on us. We are afraid of nobody, we molest nobody, while, on the other hand, we allow nobody to molest us, but we have always demanded our due and will demand and defend it to the end. We have borne up so many years, we shall still bear up, but we will not renounce our due. Those who killed and massacred our people during the Second World War, who damaged us materially, will have to respond materially. Those who withhold the gold which was robbed from us must return it to us. The enemies of socialist Albania and its heroic and indomitable ancient people are striving and waiting in vain for such an «opening up», which would lead us to their clutches and their pen.

We will go ahead. We do not deny that we have difficulties. They are difficulties of growth, but they are also connected with the obstacles which the imperialists, social-imperialists and revisionists, and the chauvinist and reactionary forces of all colours raise on our road. Anyway, we have now got used to this situation. The victories, which have become the basis for our further advance, have been achieved with our own forces, with our own wealth, with our own toil and with the knowledge of our sons and daughters. We shall proceed on this road in the future, too, because today we are stronger and have more experience than in the past, we are always on the ascent, we have our glorious Party which leads us with wisdom

and Marxist-Leninist determination, we have our working class, a healthy intelligentsia, a revolutionary and healthy youth, we have a wonderful people. We are preparing the 8th Five-year Plan of our economic and cultural development full of optimism. This plan, precisely because of the conditions in which we are living and working, is based entirely on our internal material, financial and human resources. Albania has chosen its road and nothing and no force, neither adulation, nor promises, pressure and plots of the superpowers and of their allies and vassals can swerve it from this road.

As we have said, the present international situation is complicated, indeed, very complicated and grave. We are going through a period of dangerous provocations. The armaments race between the superpowers has grown and extended into the outer space, and with the preparations for the so-called star wars, is posing an extremely grave threat to mankind; the hotbeds of local wars have increased, the policy of armed aggressions, of the threat of the use of modern destructive weapons by the United States of America and the Soviet Union, has been intensified: the liberation wars of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America continue to be sabotaged; the just struggle of the Palestinian people and the other Arab peoples continues to be sabotaged; the fascist forces continue to increase and grow stronger, etc., etc. Nothing impedes the two superpowers from elbowing out one another even in the cases when millions of people fall victim to ill-administration or natural calamities, as is occurring in Ethiopia, where under the pretext of the famine which is threatening some millions of lives, whose urgent needs for food the Soviet Union, the «great ally» of Ethiopia, is in no position to cope with, the imperialist states, and in the first place, the United States of America, have intervened in order to give their «aid».

I have written sundry notes and analyses in my *Diary* about all these problems. Today I want to dwell a little on the development of events in China, on the evolution of this country towards capitalism and its links with the world capitalist system, and on the deals between the two imperialist superpowers.

Our Party's forecasts about the road on which the Deng Xiaoping clique and company would lead China and its people is being confirmed to the hilt.

China has ended up completely in the orbit of world capitalism. Its links with the United States of America, in particular, are all-sided, they extend into all fields. Political, economic and military delegations are shuttling back and forth. Time and again, for the sake of making some demagogic noise, there is the odd word about some «disagreement» and «discordance», whereas, in fact, there is only agreement and accord between them.

The western capitalist-monopoly world is fully satisfied with the internal developments in China. Why should it not be satisfied? By decision of the plenum of the Central Committee of the Chinese revisionist party, it was officially decided to change the existing economic structure with the main objective of opening China up to the outside world, that is, to foreign capital; Titoite self-administration has been established in factories and plants; private property and even the use of hired labour has been restored in the rural areas; the private market and trade and the right of the private exercise of handicrafts have been revived; political rights have been recognized to 20 million Chinese, former rich peasants, landowners, counter-revolutionaries and evil elements; special economic regions, foreign capitalist enclaves, have been created in almost all the big coastal cities; the international banks and the big monopolies have been given the right of opening their

agencies in Beijing and in the main Chinese cities, and many many other things.

In November of this year, Dalian, one of the big cities of China, was the venue of the «International conference on foreign investments and their legal aspects in China», with the participation of 250 Chinese and American experts, firm managers, legal experts and bankers, among them there was also the former American secretary of State, Cyrus Vance.

From 1979 until today, purchasers' loan credits from foreign governments and international organizations have reached to 12 billion and 500 million dollars, and direct foreign investments to 8 billion dollars. The Chinese minister of Finance, as the HSINHUA news agency reports, at a meeting with a delegation of the commission of the American Senate for banking, housing and town-planning, declared that «China will continue to open its doors to all countries, big and small», and that «measures have been taken and will continue to be taken to protect the interests of foreign investors.» According to him, «until the end of 1984 the foreign trade companies have invested up to 3-4 billion dollars for the setting up of enterprises with joint or separate capital in China.»

That is how the counter-revolutionary clique of Deng Xiaoping flung open not only both doors, but all the four doors of China to international monopoly capital and, in the first place, to American capital.

What are the consequences of such a situation?

About the internal situation in China we hear today the same things as those we hear about the United States of America and some other capitalist countries: the youth are going down the road of full degeneration, and violence, hooliganism, rape, etc., etc., are becoming widespread.

Deng Xiaoping and his followers, who have apparently eliminated their rivals for power, are trying under sundry

disguises, including here even some theses of scientific Marxism and Mao Zedong's thought grafted on Buddhism, to find and apply a «socialism with Chinese features», that is, a monstrous socialism originating from the grafting of classical capitalism on Titoite modern revisionism.

The West describes these efforts, changes and decisions of Deng Xiaoping and his clique in China as «victories of the course of Deng Xiaoping», whereas the Titoite revisionists, in their newspaper *Politika*, appraise them as China's entry «into the epoch of the most revolutionary changes in its socialist history»!

The turn in the capitalist direction in China, just as occurred in Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries, leads to the deepening of the polarization in policy and in the economy between the ruling class of the new bourgeoisie, which is growing ever richer, on the one hand, and the working masses, which are becoming ever poorer, on the other. Deng Xiaoping says that in China there is no room for the «emergence of a new bourgeoisie and for millionaires». Nonsense! The example of Yugoslavia, which he has as his guide, shows not only that a new bourgeoisie, just as oppressive and savage towards the peoples as the capitalist bourgeoisie in any other country, is emerging and fattening, but also that millionaires who make the law in every field are emerging, too. We have this example in the Soviet Union, where a new revisionist bourgeoisie has emerged which is fattening at the expense of the glorious peoples of this country which formerly was the cradle of the proletarian socialist revolution. China has been ruled by a cunning bourgeoisie and by internal and external millionaires. This rule today is expanding and growing ever stronger.

In the case of China we have to do also with a specific characteristic due to its very great geographical extension, its huge population and its colossal natural wealth. The

imposition of capitalism and its mercilessly enslaving laws on the Chinese working masses will create much greater problems there than in Yugoslavia. The Titoite capitalist economy, for instance, until now has needed 20 billion dollars in order to remain on its feet. The Chinese economy will need several hundred billion dollars, which, just as in Yugoslavia, will bring along the shackles of capitalist enslavement, the ruthless plunder of the national wealth and political subjugation up to the loss of national independence. Will the hundreds of millions of Chinese, the Chinese working class, the proletariat and the long-suffering peasantry, tolerate this subjugation? Will Deng's rivals for power in the Chinese leadership allow him to go in this career?

Our Party has never made unfounded allusions and forecasts. The analyses it has made hitherto have been based on concrete events and facts about China or any other country, relying on historical and dialectical materialism, on Marxism-Leninism. As I have written above, they have never proved to be false, but have been confirmed fully for the overwhelming part of them. We are convinced that the ideas expressed here in connection with the future course of events in China, after the rapid career of Deng Xiaoping towards the restoration of capitalism, which Deng calls «socialism with Chinese features», will find their confirmation in practice.

As for the «tense» relations between the United States of America and the Soviet Union, that is, between the two imperialist superpowers which think to be the only ones who can ravel and unravel all the problems of the world, can rule and repeal any decision on any question which it is up to other peoples and countries to solve, there was an «easing» in the end of 1984. To this end, after Reagan's election for a second term of office as president of the USA, the «red and black» direct telephone lines between Moscow and

Washington were ticking to give the world the «good tidings»: At the beginning of 1985 Schultz and Gromyko will meet in Geneva in order to come to an accord about starting negotiations for concluding an agreement on stopping the armaments race of nuclear missiles «on earth and above the earth», that is, a «gentlemen's agreement», or, better say, an agreement among hucksters.

The «good tidings» were instantly accompanied by reciprocal smiles, propaganda and demagogic statements about the «desire and goodwill» of the United States and the Soviet Union for «peace», «disarmament», etc., etc.

However, the peoples today are not easily deceived by these repeated «rapprochements» and «cooling» between the two imperialist superpowers, with the «smiles and grins» of their topmost representatives. Experience has taught them to expect nothing good and favourable from the superpowers, pretenders to world domination.

What is hidden behind the recent diplomatic and political steps of Moscow and Washington? What are the rulers of the United States of America and the Soviet Union hatching up against the peoples and the world? Why will they sit at the table of top-secret negotiations in Geneva? Only to defend the interests of their predatory policies.

Fearing the superiority one might have gained over the other in the feverish armaments race of conventional and sophisticated weapons, in the first place, they will try to worm into each other's secrets of a general or specific character about some weapon or system of weapons, to the extent this is possible, of course, because, as our people say, the snake never shows its feet. Second, they will try to bring pressure to bear on one another through the threat of the use of new weapons, for a redivision of the spheres of political, military and economic influence, etc. Since the division of the spheres of influence between them on the earth has already ended, now they are trying to

elbow one another out of new spaces, that is, the struggle has begun for the division of spheres of influence in the endless outer space, the occupation of this or that planet of the solar system in order to prospect for and find even there valuable strategic minerals which they need for their war industry, and set up military bases from which they can strike at one another.

The superpowers have filled the outer space with spy satellites, with missiles and anti-missiles equipped with systems of lethal laser rays, with means of communications, etc. A real chaos with high risks of collision. The imperialist-revisionist chiefs will meet in Geneva in order to talk about this, too, and try to put some «order», to reach a kind of *modus vivendi* in the «administration» of this infinite space, until the psychosis of losing the race overcomes them again.

At the same time, with the demonstration of the potential of their weapons and with the noise they make about the threat these weapons pose, they try to intimidate the peoples of the world who fight for national and social liberation, and the revolutionary forces, the proletariat and the other working masses.

Thus, the two superpowers strive to maintain an equilibrium of their destructive military forces, so that the one is as strong as the other in amounts of armaments, means and effectives, so that they can impose themselves on the other countries and peoples, and can cope with the deals for the division and redivision of the spheres of influence through huckstering, without the risk of the outbreak of a war that would lead to their mutual destruction and annihilation.

Our Party has expressed its opinion long ago: there is and can be no disarmament by the imperialist superpowers. They neither want disarmament nor think about it, otherwise, they would have to give up their policy for

the conquest of the world, the colossal profits they make from the armaments race, stirring up and organizing hotbeds of fratricidal wars and sabotaging and disrupting the just wars of the peoples and the social revolutions. Yes, they are for «disarmament», but for the disarmament of the freedom-loving peoples, the world proletariat, and the working masses, so that they can carry out their sinister plots more rapidly and more easily.

The illusions and hopes which the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists want to create about the blessings that may be expected from the American-Soviet meetings in Geneva or elsewhere, are very dangerous and fraught with grave consequences for the destinies of the peoples, for their freedom and national independence. The show of the economic, political and military might of capitalism, whether American or Soviet, despite all its weapons, should not intimidate the peoples who are languishing under colonialist and neo-colonialist domination and fighting to win their freedom, the genuine Marxist-Leninist forces and the revolutionary proletarians. Capitalism is strong only when it is not fought with force and resolve. Its «strength» is smashed to pieces when confronted with the colossal strength of the revolutionary and freedom-loving sentiments and aspirations of the proletarians and the peoples. Socialist Albania will never get caught in the cobweb of the demagogic propaganda about disarmament. On the contrary, it will employ all the means at its disposal to ceaselessly strengthen and increase its defence capacity in order to be in a position to cope with any aggression which might come from its enemies of all hues.

The two imperialist superpowers are compelled to take a «wise» and «logical» course, because they have another great worry, which came out very clearly during 1984, namely, the alarming situation in their rear area, within the political, military and economic groupings of NATO

and the Warsaw Treaty, the European Common Market and Comecon. With this I am referring to the opposition not only by the peoples of the member countries of these groupings to the dangerous political activities and economic pressure, the trampling underfoot of the national independence and dignity on the part of the United States of America and the Soviet Union, but also by some governments and leading circles in these countries. Of course, opposition by these governments and leading circles is not an expression of a revival of genuine national feelings, but rather a manifestation of fear of the further extension of the revolutionary spirit and actions of the peoples, the working masses of the European countries.

On some occasions we have seen that the dictate of the one or the other superpower on this or that «ally» has become so intolerable as to arouse open disagreements with the «big boss» who tightens the screws continuously on them. It is not accidental, for example, that the stationing of the «Euromissiles» («Pershing-2» and «Cruise» by the American imperialists and «SS-20» by the Soviet social-imperialists) in the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Britain, Czechoslovakia, and the German Democratic Republic did not proceed without resistance, without much political and diplomatic pressure and manoeuvring. Indeed, the government of some country, as is the case of Holland, Belgium, Denmark, etc., continues to this day to make resistance and accept the stationing of these missiles on its own territory only on some conditions. The «allies» are now clearly understanding that in an eventual conflict between the two superpowers, their countries are destined to become the battlefields of a thermonuclear war. Thus, they see that Washington and Moscow may suddenly and perfidiously raise atomic mushrooms, with their uncalculable consequences, in the skies and over the territories of these countries at any moment in order to avoid reciprocal

strikes of the territories of the United States of America and the Soviet Union.

Faced with this mortal danger, heads of state and government of the NATO member countries have gone to Washington to demand «explanations», to get «guarantees» and express the opposition of European public opinion to the unwise and arrogant actions of the United States of America. For their part, the president and vice-president of the USA, the secretaries of the State and Defence Departments are shuttling back and forth in the capitals of Western Europe in order to convince their «allies» to accept the accomplished fact, through economic and political pressure and dictate, even through the threat of withdrawing the American military forces from Western Europe and leaving it exposed to the pressure of a possible aggression on the part of the Soviet social-imperialist armies.

The situation within the so-called socialist community has been no less troubled. Some of the «allies» of the Soviet Union are demanding more freedoms to link up with the rich countries of Western Europe and carry out economic «reforms» of the Titoite type; some demand more rights within the framework of the military Warsaw Treaty. News agencies and the press, in general, are talking, and there must be some truth in all this, about «disagreements» within the Comecon, about «voices» raised against excessive dependence on the Soviets, and about a «lack of desire» to renew the Warsaw Treaty, or demands to soften at least some of the conditions which make absolute the dictatorial and one-sided control and direction by the Soviet officers.

There is no smoke without fire. In Poland the fire and the smoke have leapt up over the roof. At the moment of the exacerbation of the grave economic crisis which has the capitalist and revisionist world in its grip, the Soviet Union has many a time used the economic relations with

its allies in the Warsaw Treaty as a means of political pressure on some «disobedient» ally, or too inclined towards the West which, of course, has caused reactions. Honnecker, Ceausescu and Zhivkov had planned to pay official visits to the Federal Republic of Germany, with whose leading political, economic and military circles they have traditionally had good relations and are ready to renew them to the highest possible level. None of them denies the fact that they are especially attracted by the economic potential of Bonn. But Moscow intervened and the visits were put off *sine die**. Some of the «personalities» I mentioned made a protest, raised their voices, showed signs of discontentment, kicked up a little, etc., but gave in under the threat of the Moscovite conductor's baton.

Hence, there are «prodigal sons» within the political, military and economic groupings of the two superpowers. Some are more vexatious, some are mellow, some act openly and some in disguise. Anyhow, life is proving what our Party has said many years ago, namely, that these kinds of grouping are like basketfuls of crabs quarrelling and biting one another without mercy or ceremony.

The perspective, the prognosis, is gloomier still. The forecast for the year 1985 for the two superpowers has no clear sky, but an overcast one accompanied with local rain and snow fall, as well as storms and strong winds!

Taken from the «Diary»

* Indefinitely (Latin in the original).

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