

Albania today

POLITICAL AND INFORMATIVE REVIEW / TIRANA

N° 3 (58) / 1981



◀ The May Day manifestation this year was an ardent expression of the love of the Albanian people for the PLA and Comrade ENVER HOXHA. Thousands of students of the University of Tirana and Higher Institutes paraded full of enthusiasm past the rostrum set up at the «DËSHMORËT E KOMBIT» Avenue. Their representatives presented Comrade ENVER HOXHA with a bouquet of carnations, picked up with so much love for him.

The Albanian people remember with great respect the martyrs who laid down their lives for the freedom of Albania. Memorials, busts and sculptural groups, made by Albanian sculptors, have been set up to honour their memoru



Albania today



CONTENTS:

- A rich balance of brilliant perspectives* **2** PETRO DODE
- The narrowing of distinctions
between mental and physical work in the
PSR of Albania* **8** AFËRDITA STEFANI
- On the events in Kosova*
- Why were police violence and tanks used
against the Albanians in Kosova?* **12** «ZËRI I POPULLIT»
- Census in Yugoslavia* **17** «BASHKIMI»
- Who incites hostility amongst the peoples
of Yugoslavia?* **18** «ZËRI I POPULLIT»
- The status of a republic for Kosova
is a just demand* **24** «ZËRI I POPULLIT»
- From the life of the country* **36**
- The consistent struggle of principle of the PLA
against modern revisionism* **46** SOTIR MANUSHI
- Criticism and bibliography*
- G. Castellan «L'Albanie»* **53** STEFANAQ POLLO
- The ideological and organizational
degeneration of Eurocommunist parties* **57** PETRO CIRUNA

A RICH BALANCE OF BRILLIANT PERS

by **PETRO DODE**

The economic and social progress of our country, which knows of no such negative phenomena as affect the capitalist-revisionist society, has the correct Marxist-Leninist policy of the Party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha at its foundation and as its permanent guarantee

AN ATMOSPHERE OF MOBILIZATION, ENTHUSIASM AND REVOLUTIONARY DRIVE AT WORK PREVAILS EVERYWHERE IN OUR HOMELAND, BOTH IN THE CITY AND THE COUNTRYSIDE. IT IS CONNECTED WITH THE DECISION OF THE 9th PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY ON THE CALLING OF THE 8th CONGRESS OF THE PARTY ON NOVEMBER 1, IN TIRANA, AND WITH THE INCREASED EFFORTS OF THE WORKING MASSES, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY, TO GO TO THIS CONGRESS AND THE CELEBRATIONS OF THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PARTY WITH THE RICHEST BALANCE OF VICTORIES POSSIBLE IN ALL THE FIELDS OF THE SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION AND OF THE STRENGTHENING OF THE DEFENCE POTENTIAL OF THE HOMELAND.

In this splendid revolutionary situation, when under the wise and resolute leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania and its Central Committee, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, our socialist Homeland is marching ahead with sure steps on the road of its economic and social progress, we have met at this session of the People's Assembly to sanction the tasks of the plan for the economic and cultural development and the state budget for the year 1981.

This plan, which is a component part of the 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985), opens up a new stage in the great heroic and glorious struggle waged by our Party and people, in unbreakable steel unity with each other, for the complete construction of socialist society, relying completely on our own forces, and for successfully coping with and overcoming, as we have always done, the difficulties and obstacles emerging before us by the aggravation of the class struggle in the international arena, and by the

PETRO DODE — Chairman of the State Planning Commission. Parts of the speech delivered at the 6th session of the 9th legislature of the People's Assembly.

the savage imperialist-revisionist blockade on our country.

The victories achieved in the recent years in all the fields of life of the country constitute an incontestable proof of the continuous quantitative rise and of the deep qualitative transformations which are ceaselessly and steadily taking place in Albania on its road towards the complete construction of socialist society.

The economic and social progress of our country, which knows of no such negative phenomena as affect the capitalist-revisionist society, has the correct Marxist-Leninist policy of the Party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha at its foundation and as its permanent guarantee, which have led our people from victory to victory, as well as the efforts of our working people who fight untiringly to implement with consistency the directives of the 7th Congress of the Party and of the plenums of its Central Committee held in the recent years. It is based on the material-technical base built in our country, the continuous strengthening of which has ensured ever increasing material, financial and hard currency

PECTIVES

means for the rapid realization of extended reproduction.

With its achievement in the development of the economy and culture, with its correct principled Marxist-Leninist policy in its relations with the other peoples and countries, with its ceaseless struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, Albania has become an impregnable bastion of socialism and a beacon for all the peoples, big and small, who fight for national and social liberation and who aspire towards socialism.

* * *

In the past year, which was the last year of the 6th Five-year Plan (1976-1980), our Homeland took new steps forward on the road of the construction and defence of socialism. Total industrial production increased by 7.1 per cent as against 1979, more than the average annual rate of the period 1976-1979, with production increasing at an average of 5.8 per cent. The volume of investments for the development of the economy increased by 8.4 per cent as against 1979, while the volume of investments for the four years 1976-1979 increased at the rate of one per cent. Goods transport, export and import, public services, etc had rapid rates of increase.

In many important industrial products such as fuel, gas, coal and chromium extraction, production of carbonic ferrochrome, blister copper, iron-nickel ore, electric power, machinery and equipment, spare parts, some kinds of cons-

truction materials, knitwear, furniture, utensils, etc the planned tasks were fulfilled and overfulfilled and their rate of increase was higher than the rate of increase of total industrial production.

With the particular concern shown and the special measures taken for the strengthening of the bases of primary materials for industry, good results were achieved in discovering new oil deposits, and the tasks for increasing industrial reserves of coal, chromium, copper, iron-nickel mineral, etc were fulfilled and overfulfilled, opening up new perspectives for the development of the mining industry and further expanding the possibilities for the fulfilment of the plan in the future.

The achievements in the field of industry are the fruit of the joint efforts of our heroic working class, engineers and specialists for promoting production and the technical-scientific revolution, in accord with the tasks set by the Party at the 7th and 8th Plenums of its Central Committee, and resolving the many technical-technological problems which emerged in the projects sabotaged by the Chinese revisionists.

Although due to bad weather the past year was not a good agricultural year, total agricultural production was 2.4 per cent higher than the average level reached in the four years 1976-1979. Compared with 1979, in the past year the production of wheat, meat, eggs, fruit, etc was greater.

In the field of investments and fundamental constructions the past year saw the completion and commission of some projects of major importance for

the economy. The commissioning of the third generating unit of the «Light of the Party» hydro-electric plant, the completion of the first phase of the factory of heat resistant bricks and lining, the construction of the Ballsh-Fier-Elbasan gas-duct, the commission of the copper-dressing plant in Korça district, the improvement of the Karavasta e Vogël in Lushnja district, the completion of the irrigation system of the Koplík plain in Shkodra district, the construction of the Laç-Lezha railroad, the building of some socio-cultural projects, etc — these are some of the achievements which further strengthen the different sectors of the economy and culture with the capacities necessary for ensuring the carrying out of the tasks set. Rapid rates were maintained in the construction of many important new projects which are envisaged to be commissioned in the first years of the 7th Five-year Plan.

The other branches of the economy have achieved successes, too. The volume of goods transport increased by 4.4 per cent in comparison with 1979, and the volume of goods transport by rail rose 9.9 per cent. Utilization of trailers, as one of the most effective ways for increasing the volume of the road transport of goods, has increased notably. Through the network of socialist trade, supply of the population with food-stuffs and other articles was improved, and consumption per capita increased. In 1980, as against 1979, the turnover of goods in retail trade increased at almost double the growth rate of the population and in the sectors of repairs and public services im-

provements were made and, as a result, the volume of work done in these sectors increased 2.7 times faster than the population growth.

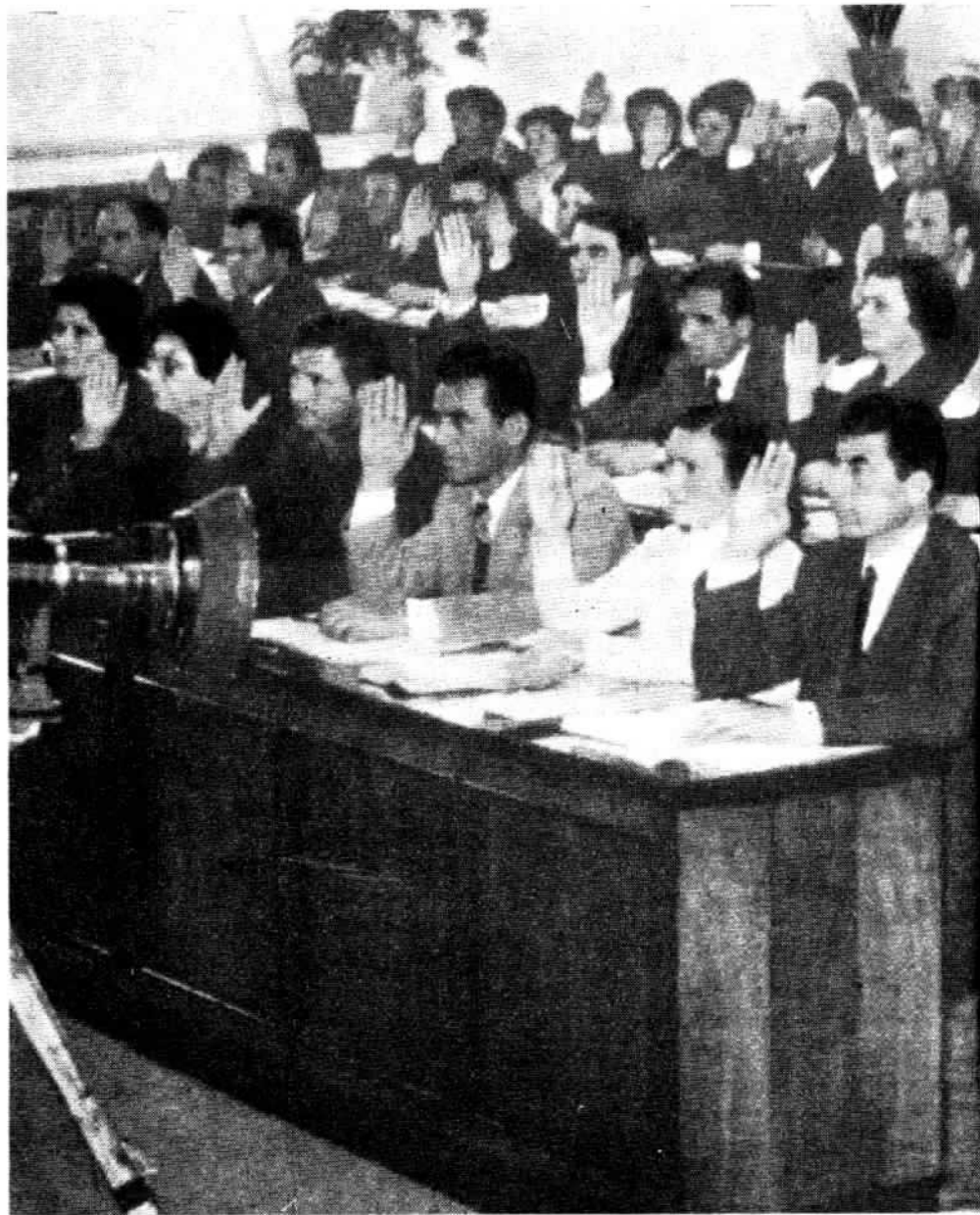
Further progress was achieved in the field of education and culture. The number of pupils and students who finished secondary and higher schools, part-time or full-time, was 11.9 per cent higher than in 1979. Further steps forward were taken in improving the measures for the protection of public health in the towns, and especially in the countryside.

Last year, on the basis of the tasks set by the 7th Plenum of the CC of the Party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Council of Ministers adopted important measures for further raising the effectiveness of the economy, by attracting the attention of state and economic organs to the problem of further enforcing a regime of thriftiness in the field of expenditure, and especially a more rational utilization of the work force and the lowering of cost in the various branches of material production and in the services.

As a result, in 1980, as compared with 1979, revenues of the state budget recorded an increase of 3.5 per cent. Only in the enterprises of the Ministry of Industry and Mining and of the Ministry of the Light and Food-processing Industry the centralized net incomes of the state and the enterprises increased by 488 million leks, or 14.6 per cent more than in 1979.

The normal financing of expenditure for the development of the economy, of the social and cultural sectors, and for the strengthening of the defence potential of the country was ensured on this basis, while at the same time achieving a surplus of over 80 million leks of income over budget expenditure.

The achievements of 1980 are further evidence of the vitality and stability of our economy in front of the imperialist-revisionist pressure and blockade and show the complete failure of the attempt of Chinese revisionism which, joining the blockade against socialist



The deputies of the People's Assembly approve

Albania, unilaterally cut all credits and rescinded all economic agreements with our country.

In spite of these successes, in some branches and sectors of the economy and culture the tasks were not fulfilled according to the plan for 1980. Much of this is accounted for by the difficulties and obstacles created as a result of the imperialist-revisionist economic encirclement and blockade. However, great part of them is connected with shortcomings and weaknesses in organization and direction on the part

of the ministries, executive committees of districts and the economic enterprises and agricultural cooperatives, with insufficient measures taken by them for the fulfilment of the planned tasks.

Some plan deficits have made themselves felt especially in agriculture, in oil and coal extraction, in some sectors of the light and food-processing industry, in construction and export. In order to overcome the consequences of these deficits in the process of extended socialist reproduction, the Central Com-



Law on the state plan for the year 1981 and the law on the state budget for the year 1981.

mittee of the Party and the Council of Ministers have had to adopt some specific measures.

These were some of the achievements and some of the main problems arising in the work for the fulfilment of the plan for 1980. Basing ourselves on the achievements in the development of the economy and culture for 1980 and for the whole last five-year period, on the major work done by the working collectives of town and countryside, as well as on the many studies conducted by the central organs on the

possibilities of development of the various branches and sectors of the people's economy and culture, the Council of Ministers drafted the plan for the development of the economy and culture for the 7th Five-year Plan and for the year 1981.

The new five-year plan will open new and more brilliant prospects for the economy of our country on the road of the complete construction of the socialist society on the principle of self-reliance. In all the branches and sectors of the economy and culture, the

productive forces will develop at rapid rates, the socialist relations of production will be further perfected in a revolutionary way, the defence potential of the country will be further strengthened, and the standard of living of the population will be further improved.

* * *

The tasks of the draft-plan of development of the economy and culture and the draft-state budget for 1981 take

account not only of the growing needs of the population, the economy and defence, but also of the real possibilities of the country to achieve them. It is well-balanced, in both material and financial means, combining the sources of materials with their utilization, that is, with the needs of productive consumption, of individual and social consumption, of export and accumulation necessary for extended reproduction, of the defence of the country and the increase of the material reserved in all the links. In the draft-plan, which is presented here, are defined all the directions for financial accumulation to be converted into material accumulation, on the basis of the highest possible effectiveness.

Total industrial production in 1981 is envisaged to increase by 7.2 per cent against 1980, with priority given, as always, to the increase of production in the branches of heavy industry and, in the first place, to the development of the electric power industry.

Oil extraction is envisaged to rise 19 per cent above the 1980 level. In defining the tasks for oil extraction, the Council of Ministers, provides that they should be realized through the exploitation of the existing deposits, those already discovered and known.

The plan for 1981 envisages a further increase in the extraction of coal and the production of electric power. The Council of Ministers has charged the Ministry of Industry and Mining, the executive committees of district people's councils and the mining enterprises with the task of further raising the degree of mechanization of work and organizing on a more scientific basis the work for the extraction of coal, according to the conditions of each mine, so that the waste occurring in the process of coal digging be reduced to the lowest possible level.

The increased production in the electric power industry in 1981 will be accompanied with the implementation of more measures for the strengthening of the savings regime in consumption. Parallel with the improvement of the consumption rate of fuels, liquid, gaseous

or solid, and of electric power, greater work should be done to improve technical-technological processes in order to bring about a considerable reduction of their consumption.

Growing tasks are envisaged under the draft-plan for 1981 in the other branches of the mineral extracting industry, such as in chromium and iron ore mining, in the «Steel of the Party» metallurgical combine, as well as in the chemical, building materials industry, etc. This is to be achieved mainly from better utilization of the productive capacities in use.

Along with the development of the heavy industry, the draft-plan envisages the rapid rate development of the light and food-processing industry. The production of consumer goods (group B) in 1981 will increase by 6.8 per cent or nearly 3 times as rapidly as the growth of the population. These tasks will be realized through improving the structure of consumer goods, in order to ever better fulfil the needs of the population in quantity, range, quality of production, etc. Similarly, important investments will be made in the extension of productive capacities for the production of some new articles of the light industry.

In 1981 total agricultural production, compared with 1980, is envisaged to increase by 13.1 per cent. In some agricultural and livestock products, such as sunflower, cotton, potatoes, tobacco, milk, etc the increase of production will be even greater.

There is a powerful material-technical base at the disposal of agriculture, which completely meets the needs for the fulfilment of the planned tasks. But this alone would be insufficient, were it not coupled with correct scientific criteria in its utilization with high effectiveness. Many examples show that in those economies, where good work has been done in this direction, utilization of the material base has been twice as effective as in the other economies working in relatively the same conditions.

In the course of this year, work on the projects not yet completed in the

past year and on those that will be started will be intensified with the aim of reducing to the maximum the term of their construction, as one of the main ways for increasing the effectiveness of fundamental investments. The bulk of the projects of this plan is envisaged to come into complete or partial production in the course of the current year.

Through the fulfilment of the tasks envisaged for increasing the goods turnover in retail-trade and expanding communal services and repairs, the population will have more goods and better services. The organs of home trade and public services are charged with clearly defined tasks for the further improvement of the supply of goods in quantity and structure, as well as for the expansion of communal services and repairs, according to the needs of the population.

The state plan and the budget provide for a number of tasks concerning the development of the social and cultural sectors. In the framework of the tasks for the development of education and culture, special attention will continue to be attached to the increased improvement of the quality of teaching for a better ideological, technical-professional and military training and physical tempering of pupils and students, in order to make them workers and specialists capable to meet the needs of the country. Likewise, important measures are envisaged for the further improvement of health and sanitation work. Efforts in this field will be directed towards raising organizational work to a higher level on the part of health institutions, especially through the best possible implementation of prophylactic measures in the health service.

On the basis of the tasks envisaged for the development of the branches of material production and the other sectors of the economy, as well as through raising work productivity and lowering material expenditure for every unit of production, construction, transport and services, the income of the state budget for the year 1981 is en-

visaged to increase by 9.1 per cent. Measures have already been taken to achieve this objective and the ministries, as well as the executive committees of the district people's councils, enterprises and agricultural cooperatives are working hard to ensure a more operative checking up of the financial indices.

The expenditure of the state budget is envisaged to increase 9.7 per cent against 1980. About 59.6 per cent of it will go to finance the development of the people's economy, 24.4 per cent to implement socio-cultural measures, and 11.5 per cent to strengthen the defence of the country.

In laying down the tasks for the plan of the year 1981, the Council of Ministers has instructed and is taking measures, for the state organs and economic enterprises in the districts and in the centre to further improve their work so as to be able to respond properly to the tasks of the plan and budget for 1981.

* * *

The international situation, in which our people are embarking on the work for the realization of the new five-year plan, is fraught with serious dangers to the freedom of different peoples and countries. This situation is caused by the grave all-round and hopeless crisis which has the capitalist-revisionist system in its grip and which, on the one hand, has affected all socio-political, economic-financial and other activities, while, on the other hand, has led to the aggravation of all the contradictions of this rotten system in the throes of death. At present, US imperialism, So-

viet social-imperialism and Chinese social-imperialism are carrying out feverish activities, even open aggression, against the countries and peoples struggling for freedom and independence, in order to divide and redivide the spheres of influence, to the detriment and at the expense of the peoples.

The government of the United States of America, which defends the interests of the most reactionary forces of US imperialism, has stepped up its efforts in order to regain at all costs the positions it has lost in some directions in the international arena, as a result of the defeats it has suffered through the just struggle of the peoples of various countries of the world, such as Iran and others. Likewise, Soviet social-imperialism continues to pursue its aggressive policy and to interfere in various forms in the internal policy and life of other states, as is the case of Afghanistan, Poland, etc, while Chinese revisionism, aided and abetted by international imperialism, and especially US imperialism, is feverishly intensifying its attempts to come out as a superpower on the international arena, becoming a serious threat to peace on the Asian continent.

The imperialist policy of the superpowers has resulted in grave situations being created in many regions of the world, especially in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf, in South-east and South-west Asia, in Poland, Central America, etc.

However, although the superpowers are cracking more than ever the whip of the international gendarme, the struggle of the oppressed colonial and semi-colonial peoples and countries for freedom, independence and social pro-

gress is mounting ever higher and scored fresh victories.

Capitalism and revisionism also failed in their attempts to disintricate themselves of the grave economic-financial crisis which has them in its grip, on the contrary, last year the economic-financial crisis, the energy crisis, and so on, were further aggravated. Prices and inflation continued to rise at galloping speed in the capitalist-revisionist countries. Millions more of workers swelled the ranks of the unemployed, while production in many branches of industry continued to fall, and many small, middle- and large-size enterprises, unable to cope with the competition of the monopolies, went bankrupt. Last year witnessed the intensification of the class struggle of the working class and other working masses in the capitalist-revisionist countries, which is directed against the exploitation and attempts of the bourgeoisie to saddle the working masses with the burden of the crisis.

The Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania have always correctly assessed international developments and taken constant measures to ensure that our country is never caught by surprise or falls into the snares of the imperialist-revisionist policy and the illusive conditions the superpowers try to create.

The Council of Ministers has instructed the state and economic organs that, by deepening their analysis of the international situation, they should ever better define their tasks in order to solve them successfully, and especially, link them better with the intensification of their efforts for the fulfilment of the plan.

THE NARROWING OF DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN MENTAL AND PHYSICAL WORK IN THE PSR OF ALBANIA

by **AFËRDITA STEFANI**

In Albania the contrast between mental and physical work has been wiped out, while the process of the systematic reduction of the distinctions between them is being carried on uninterruptedly

THE HISTORICAL STAGE OF THE COMPLETE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY LAID DOWN BEFORE THE ALBANIAN STATE THE TASK OF INTENSIFYING THE STRUGGLE FOR THE NARROWING OF THE ESSENTIAL DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN MENTAL AND PHYSICAL WORK.

THIS IS A PROBLEM WHICH THE PLA HAS CONSTANTLY SEEN IN CLOSE CONNECTION WITH THE ENTIRE IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONTENT OF THE PROCESS OF THE STRUGGLE FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM.

The objective of the Party has always been to implant revolutionary concepts on work and to consolidate the alliance between the working class, the working peasantry and the people's intelligentsia. The gradual reduction of these distinctions is contributing to the further development of the productive forces and to the ceaseless improvement of the relations of production. The achievement of this goal is directly connected with the further steeling of the sound moral-political unity of the Albanian people.

AFËRDITA STEFANI — *Economist*

However, the acuteness of the all-round struggle the PLA has been waging for the reduction of the distinctions between mental and physical work made itself felt with particular strength following the great tragedy which happened in the Soviet Union and in the former socialist countries. The advent to power of revisionism in these countries was accompanied with the emergence and aggravation of many social and class contradictions. The most strikingly acute among them is the contrast between mental and physical work which, in the context of the polar-

ization of society into classes with diametrically opposed interests, grows ever sharper with the passage of time. In socialist Albania, thanks to the vigilance of the PLA and of the proletarian state, as well as the faithful implementation of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, this phenomenon, which is typical of the bourgeois-revisionist order, is non-existent. In Albania the contrast between mental and physical work has been wiped out, while the process of the systematic reduction of the distinctions between them is being carried on uninterruptedly.

In order to prepare the ground for the reduction of the essential distinctions between mental and physical work, the PLA and the people's power, immediately after the liberation of the country, waged a struggle on a broad front for the establishment of socialist

PLA has constantly devoted great attention to the implanting of correct concepts and attitudes towards any kind of work. In its struggle to educate the working people with a new socialist attitude towards work, the PLA has never reconciled itself with vulgar, formalist, ouvrierist concepts, as Marx described them, which make the masses of workers and cooperativists under-rate mental work. On the other hand, successes were also achieved in the struggle against concepts overrating mental work, against aristocratic concepts and attitudes towards physical work.

For sound concepts on mental and physical work to be implanted, Comrade Enver Hoxha instructs us that the entire society, especially the school and the family, should regard the education of our new man, since his childhood, with the art of work, as a task of primordial importance, endow him with the art of mastering and utilizing the most effective means and ways to carry out both physical and mental work, with the feeling of love for work at the earliest age. A special contribution to the reduction of the essential distinction between mental and physical work was made by the development of the cultural revolution and people's education. Achievements of major historical importance were made in the liquidation of illiteracy and in the revolutionization of the school system. Our new school, with its three components — lessons, productive work, physical and military training, has been transformed into place for the cultivation of correct concepts and stands towards mental and physical work among the younger generation. By ensuring an organic combination of school with life, of general and polytechnical knowledge with general habits of productive work, the Albanian school has clear prospects of development. It has already succeeded in achieving the gradual but steady growth of those new elements of the future communist society who will work and fight actively for the progress of socialist society and social production, as people with an all-round physical and mental development.

relations of production and later, after the 4th Congress of the Party, for their further improvement. The construction of the economic base of socialism represented one of the decisive conditions for the rapid development of the productive forces. The industrialization and electrification of the country, the intensification of agriculture, the all-round and ceaseless development of the productive forces gave a fresh impulse to the process of drawing together mental and physical work and strengthening the links between them.

Nevertheless, reduction of the distinctions between these two main divisions of the socio-economic activity required that, first of all, the PLA carried out an intensive and diversified activity for raising the ideo-political level of the people. In the course of its clarifying and convincing work the

Thanks to the major educative and clarifying work of the PLA and the technical-organizational measures taken by the socialist state, the Albanian school has increased the number of working people with certain level of schooling. In 1980, as against 1938, the number of working people with higher education has increased about 110 fold, and the number of those with medium professional education over 50 fold. So 25 per cent of the working people today have lower and medium professional education, and over 55 per cent of them are qualified workers. Before Liberation only a few trades, and they could be counted on the fingers of one hand, were exercised, while today our working people have over 2,000 different skills and specialities. These facts are ample proof to reject the bourgeois «theories» which consider the working class and the peasantry incapable of doing mental work. The working class and the working peasantry in Albania combine physical work with mental work. Socialism is a system under which even the ordinary peasant cannot act in a mechanical manner, but must think and work according to agricultural science, apply advanced methods in a creative manner.

The present stage of social development in socialist Albania is such that appropriate conditions exist for ordinary workers and cooperativists to raise themselves to the level of medium cadres, to raise their degree of qualification and get closer to the level of the engineering, farming and other cadres. The necessity of the uninterrupted qualification of every worker is conditioned by the present tasks of the socio-economic development and the complex problems of the perspective development of the country. The important tasks connected with the deepening of the technical-scientific revolution, with the uninterrupted quantitative growth and qualitative improvement of the social product, for a more scientific organization and management of the economy and every sector of social activity, cannot be conceived outside the efforts of the working people to ceaselessly raise their level of qualification. This demand becomes

even more imperative in some branches of production and construction, in the services and other fields, in which the level of the workers' qualification does not adequately respond to the requirements of the respective work places and operations. The very advance of technique and technology in socialist production requires the acceleration of the rates of qualification of the working people. An important method, among the many and diverse ways and forms which are being used with success in this field, such as qualification courses set up all over the country, the massive movement of innovators and rationalizers, etc is the new form of the cultural and professional attestation of working people's skills. The strict requirements regarding the all-round ideological and professional level of working people, in general, and especially of workers, cooperativists, specialists, and others, play an important role in the reduction of some essential distinctions between mental and physical work.

In the preparation of material conditions, which ensure an ever higher productivity of social work, as well as a more harmonious combination of physical work with mental work, a special role is being played by another component part of the socialist revolution in Albania — the development of the technical-scientific revolution. Through the increased degree of mechanization, electrification, automation, chemization, cooperation, massive experimentation, etc this revolution is directly contributing to the uninterrupted increase of work productivity which in 1978 was nearly 8 times as great as in 1950.

The deepening of the technical-scientific revolution has brought about the large-scale engagement of the people of the technical-scientific sphere in the productive activities of the country. On the other hand, the deepening of this revolution makes work easier for people doing manual work. However, in spite of the achievements made so far, the technical-scientific revolution

can be further deepened and extended through the continuous mechanization and automation of the processes of production. In this manner, it can do more to further facilitate work in such sectors as the mines, saw-mills, construction yards, agriculture, etc.

The measures adopted by the PLA for the further revolutionization of the consciousness of the working people, in general, and of the cadres of the intelligentsia, in particular, are of first-rate importance for the reduction of the essential distinctions between mental and manual work. Effective and systematic participation of the people doing mental work in the physical productive work is part of this series of measures.

It is more than two decades now that, in a special decision of the Central Committee of the PLA (November 1958), the guidelines were given for the participation of the people doing mental work in direct productive work. This decision was immediately supported by the working collectives of the country. The initiatives of the workers of «Enver» plant, of the Troshan agricultural cooperative, of the student youth to link lessons more closely with life, with production and labour actions, heralded this qualitative step which was taking place parallel with the process of the reduction of the essential distinctions between mental and manual work. This progress was the result of the great work done to bar all paths to the bourgeois-revisionist degeneration of the people doing mental work. Education and tempering of cadres, their drawing closer to the workers and peasants, efforts to protect them against the danger of bureaucracy, technocratism and intellectualism, represent an absolutely necessary link in the chain of revolutionizing measures.

All the achievements made in the field of the improvement of relations of distribution have vital importance for the present and the future of the socialist revolution. With its policy of distribution the PLA has aimed to

prevent great differentials in the standard of living of the different sections of the population, so that people doing mental work should not live much better than their worker and peasant counterparts. Reduction of pay differentials, which at the present stage have been brought down to the ratio of 1:2, is a measure of a marked political and ideological character, which at the same time, exercises a powerful influence to prevent the emergence of new bourgeois elements. This is sanctioned in the Constitution of the PSR of Albania. «Officials serve the people», says the Constitution, «and render account before them, participate directly in work in production, and are paid salaries in fair ratio with those of the workers and cooperativists, with the aim of preventing the creation of a privileged stratum. The pay ratio is set by law.» (The Constitution of the PSR of Albania, Tirana 1977, Article 9.)

A rich experience in the field of the gradual reduction of the essential distinctions between mental and manual work has been gained through the policy of the circulation of cadres, the raising of cadres from the ranks of the workers and peasants, etc. Thousands of leading cadres in important branches of the economy, from local production enterprises up to central organs and departments, have emerged from the ranks of the workers and cooperativist peasants. In all these measures we see the implementation in practice of Comrade Enver Hoxha's words on the need of socialism for loyal cadres, capable of integrating themselves into the masses, of living with the working class and the cooperativist peasantry.

It is important to point out that for the revolutionary process of the reduction of distinctions between mental and manual work to be carried out with success, the PLA had to wage a stern struggle of principle against opportunist views and stands of every colour. From its principled positions, it fought against bourgeois-revisionist «theories» about the present-day «de-

proletarianization» of the bourgeois society, against the views considering the working class the same as the intelligentsia, under the pretext that a «new set» of people of both mental and manual work has been created.

In their penetrating analyses from the proletarian class standpoint the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha have exposed and criticized the stale views of the revisionists, and especially those of the Yugoslav revisionists, that in the conditions of their «specific» socialism it is allegedly possible to realize the free conversion of labour and to reduce and mitigate the contradictions between mental and manual work. By such statements, which are not borne out by their bourgeois reality, these revisionists try desperately to cover up the deep social and class antagonisms in their own countries, in which the contradictions between mental and manual work are inherent.

The facts show this clearly. In all the revisionist countries pay differentials between people doing mental work and people doing manual work are even greater than in the capitalist countries.

The PLA has never allowed itself to slip into such erroneous positions, nor has it been over-hasty in its actions. It has never slipped over stages artificially stepping up the process of reduction of the essential distinctions between mental and manual work.

For the PLA it is clear that the final liquidation of these distinctions can be ensured only after reaching the high stage of the communist society, when work, as Marx pointed out, will no longer be a means of ensuring one's livelihood, but will become a necessity of life, when the all-round development of all individuals will bring about a sufficient increase of the forces of production and sources of social

welfare. For this to be achieved, it is necessary to make continuous efforts even now, in the socialist society, in which the sapplings of communist society are planted and begin to grow.

The results achieved in Albania in these 37 years of socialist construction are the most convincing proof of the determination of the PLA to gradually proceed towards that future society in which, as Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «...every one will be in a position to operate and utilize modern automatic machinery and factories in the general interest of the classless society, ie when every one works in production, being at the same time in a position to study, think, create and direct.»

With its achievements, our struggle for the complete construction of socialist society serves as a preparation for the realization of this brilliant perspective.

WHY WERE POLICE VIOLENCE AND TANKS USED AGAINST THE ALBANIAN

ZËRI I POPULLIT

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 events in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, but we are raising our voice and we are not silent when injustices are being done to our brothers, when violence and oppression are being used against them.

THE YUGOSLAV PRESS, RADIO AND TV HAVE SET UP AN EXTRAORDINARY CLAMOUR OF MISINFORMATION ABOUT THE REASONS WHICH IMPEL THE WORKING PEOPLE AND STUDENTS OF KOSOVA TO COME OUT IN DEMONSTRATIONS. A STRIKING FEATURE OF 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 OF OR OBJECTIVE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE TRAGIC EVENTS IN KOSOVA. NOT ONLY THE SHADES OF RANKOVIC, BUT ALSO THE OLD GHOSTS OF THE KARAGEORGEVIC HAVE BEEN AROUSED. 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 staffs in Belgrade are trying to do. Any objective person, any unbiased observer can see and immediately understand that the basic cause of the recent events in Kosova are the great backwardness of this district, the poverty and suffering of its people, and the lack of democratic freedoms and political rights. The demonstrations have erupted as the re-

sult of an intolerable situation which has been going on for tens of years and the increasingly gloomy prospects of ever emerging from the situation.

According to figures published in the Yugoslav press, the per capita income in Kosova is about six times less than in Slovenia, 5 times less than in Croatia, 3.5 times less than in Serbia. In recent years, the growth rate of industrial production in Kosova has been about one quarter or one fifth 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 Kosova and Yugoslavia know and admit these facts. In a speech delivered in Prishtina, V. Djuranovic, 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 becoming deeper... Economic investments in Kosova are about 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 in December 1980, M. Bakalli, chairman of the leading body of the League of Communists of Kosova said that «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 gap has become even more pronounced... As a result, instead of the dynamic of the development of the region being

ENCE

S IN KOSOVA?

*Yugoslavia.
events in Kosova, we are not interfering
have the right to do so,
are being used against them*

60 per cent above that of the whole country as planned, the dynamic of the development of Kosova was 46.9 per cent below the average of the country. This tendency for these differences to increase," he said, "has been going on from 1947 to this day." "This process of the deepening 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 on demonstrations to express this dissatisfaction in what they consider 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 communiques have admitted publicly and officially that in the demonstrations of the March 11th 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 Kosova 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 Trepce, the chrome, nickel, and magnesium ores are stacked in mountains, the wheat of Kosova is transported in train loads and the fine flavoured meat of Kosova is sold on all the markets of Europe. Then why 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 the so-called socialist self-administrative country, the Federal Socialist 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 has hindered 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 freedom and democ-

cratic rights and the establishment of the status of a Federal Republic for Kosova. In this direction, too, a question might be asked: On the basis of the so-called self-administrative democracy, do the peoples of Yugoslavia have the right to demand such things?

Dushan Dragosovac, secretary of the Presidium of the CC of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, in his speech about the events of Kosova, which he made on the 3 April, said, «Experience has shown that we have always suffered damage when we have neglected the moments of historic importance to step by.» This «valuable» advice, which he gives, is not only appropriate for the leadership of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, but is also a reminder to the PSR 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 that the bitter past reoccurs. In this same speech, Dushan Dragosovac 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 Vidic, chairman of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, also stresses the same thing when, after venting his spleen and pouring out indignation about Kosova, he said, «The Autonomous Socialist Regions have complete independence and equality in the framework of the Socialist Republic of Serbia.» In other words, «complete independence and equality» but under the wing of Serbia!

These statements by Yugoslav leaders show that even after the National Liberation War of the peoples of Yugoslavia the old history was not forgotten; Kosova remained «an autonomous region» and the Albanian population, compact in both nationality and

territory, split up between three republics of the Yugoslav Federation. Why did this occur? It is up to Dragosovac, Vidic and company to explain this ideologically, politically, geographically and economically. If such an analysis is made, then it will emerge how worthless are such declarations as those of Dragosovac, 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 in Yugoslavia, the secretary of the Presidium 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 perfect solution to this and there will be no problems between nationalities.» He admits clearly that lasting and perfect solutions have not been found to this very complicated problem of nationalities. Hence, the conclusions must be reached that the peoples, who make up Yugoslavia, must make efforts to improve these problems, thus it is up to the peoples of Yugoslavia to find better solutions to these problems democratically, within the framework of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

What crime have the people of Kosova committed with this demand which is so 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 regions in which they live should have. Other persons have decided this. And when after many peaceful requests they demand in loud voices so that the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia can hear that Kosova is seeking 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 attack them with tanks. And that is not all — they accused the brave Kosova students of allegedly acting like the gangsters of Chicago and putting little children in the front of the demonstration. Others may have such filthy customs, 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. This claim implies that, if there had not been a great crowd of school pupils, the Serbian police would have moved people down with machine-gun fire. These things are not easily forgotten. They do not indicate strength but weakness, do not indicate prudence but stupefaction.

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 nor interpret them as demands which stem from the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, but rush in to describe them as «hostile, counter-revolutionary demands which ruin the stability and destroy Yugoslavia?» Do the Albanians of Kosova, not 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 will 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 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 jeopardizes 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 fill 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. One must probe deeper to find them, into the subjective and objective reasons and the policy pursued by the Yugoslav leadership.

The demonstrations and just demands of the students and the Albanian 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 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 unemployment and poverty, matters should be talked over calmly and reasonably and not with ill-intentioned pre-judgements. These people ought to enjoy all the rights and full equality with the other peoples within the Federation of Yugoslavia.

Every proposal and every just demand of the Albanians, who live in Yugoslavia, but which upsets the Federal or the regional leadership is unhesitatingly described as «hostile, Al-

banian-chauvinist, irredentist,» etc. Likewise, any protest against injustices, which have been and are imposed on 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 Yugoslav mean, when it is applied to the Albanians? The word nationalist comes from the word nation, 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 this, then the words nation and nationality, which the Yugoslavs are talking and writing about everyday are sheer demagoguery. 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 and scientific socialism, the theory of Marx, Lenin and Stalin provides a correct solution for national problems. In the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia things have gone so far that in the Republic of Bosna-Herzegovina, Kosova and other places, where Albanians live, a «Moslem» nationality has been created. It is said that the Moslem nationality is something specific to Yugoslavia. But surprisingly 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 consultant in the monarchic regime, former minister of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and now an academician of Yugoslavia, addressed to the royal government of Stoyadinović in 1937.

If one reads this memorandum, one

can understand better why every action of the Albanians of Kosova within the Federal Constitution 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 in 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, 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 emigration of Yugoslavia to foreign countries, must be explained. The situation of Kosova cannot be explained through the «world crisis» as certain Yugoslav leaders, allegedly theoreticians in the Federation and in 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 indicates the opposite of that for which the Albanians of Yugoslavia are accused. The Albanians have never oppressed or exploited other peoples, have never attacked or 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 PSRA, who constitute one people and one nation. This chauvinism must be sought precisely among these 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 daughters of the heroes of our people. Isa Boletini, Bajram Curri, Abdyl and Naim Frashëri, Sulejman Vokshi, Ymer Priçreni, Azem and Shote Galica, Çerçiz Topulli and Selam Salaria, the brothers and cofighters of Hajdar Dushi, Hysni Kapo, Miladin Popovich, Emin Duraku and thousands of heroic Albanian, Montenegrine 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? No, 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. But, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «don't anger the Albanian people, they are patient, but when the Albanian becomes 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 the Albanian 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 themselves 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 the others about «moderation, the peaceful solution of conflicts, and the human rights and 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 wounds will not be healed but will become much worse. We do not want this to occur, and we are ready to give sincere assistance with all the forces of our noble hearts and mind to preserve 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, as we do with the other

peoples of Yugoslavia, on the basis of agreement concluded jointly between the PSR of Albania and the SFR of Yugoslavia.

This is required in the interest 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 do so, when injustices are being done to our brothers, when violence and oppression are being used against them, when such slogans as Albanian chauvinism, irridentism, etc are being 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 passed 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 progressives people should understand this clearly.

CENSUS IN YUGOSLAVIA

«BASHKIMI»

In a new item released from Prishtina on April 8, the Yugoslav news agency informs that «the regular census which began on April 1, is going on in Kosova,» and adds that because of the recent events in Kosova «the census showed a slight slow-down in recent days, but now has regained speed to make up for the lost time.» This is all the news from TANJUG. However, it is now known that this census is carried out after the use of savage police and military violence against the population of Kosova, where, according to information from foreign news agencies and press, 308 people were killed or wounded, apart from many arrests. The census is carried out in a savage

state of siege, in which people are not allowed to meet one another and no foreigner is permitted into Kosova.

In this atmosphere the results of the census are a foregone conclusion. However, according to the Yugoslav circles, the census will be carried out «in complete calm», «in exemplary freedom of decision», «in a high spirit of self-administrative socialism.» In this manner success will be guaranteed for the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Serbia and Yugoslavia and another heavy blow will be dealt at «the Albanian counter-revolutionaries, chauvinists and irredentists.» This will be a success not only for the Serbs, Macedonians and Montenegrins, but also for

the hodjas and muezzins who will be rewarded for the religious and secular services in strengthening their Moslem nationality.

But all direct or indirect pressure to force the Albanians living in Kosova, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and in different cities of Yugoslavia, as well as the great mass of hundreds of thousands of those, who have emigrated, to write themselves as Turks, Moslems, Rumis, or Yugoslavs are pointless and condemnable.

Whatever the manipulations and distortions, whatever the results of this census, the Albanians do not change their nationality, they are born and die Albanians.

WHO INCITES HO AMONGST THE PEOPLES OF

ZËRI I POPULLIT

It is easy to explain the revolts and the demands of the people of Kosova with abusive statements that «the Albanians have shown that they are counter-revolutionaries, chauvinists and irredentists». However, abuse is no argument and it never can be. The uncontrolled use of insulting and discriminatory epithets about a whole people in place of a realistic and objective analysis can neither explain nor improve the situation in Kosova

THE TRAGIC EVENTS IN KOSOVA CONTINUE TO FILL THE PAGES OF THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS. THERE IS LITTLE REAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE SITUATION IN KOSOVA, WHICH IS STILL UNDER POLICE AND MILITARY SIEGE, BUT THERE ARE PLENTY OF COMMENTARIES. THE NEWSPAPERS AND THE AUTHORS BELONGING TO THE MOST VARIED POLITICAL TENDENCIES ARE ALL ASKING ONE QUESTION AND SEEKING ONE EXPLANATION FROM THE YUGOSLAV LEADERSHIP: WHAT ARE THE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CAUSES THAT UNDERLIE THE EVENTS IN KOSOVA?

IN AN INTERVIEW GIVEN TO FOREIGN AND YUGOSLAV JOURNALISTS IN BELGRADE IN CONNECTION WITH THE EVENTS IN KOSOVA, THE MEMBER OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE CC OF THE LCY, STANE DOLANC, WHO IS FROM SLOVENIA, WHERE THE STANDARD OF LIVING IS THE HIGHEST IN YUGOSLAVIA, SAID NOTHING AT ALL ABOUT THE GRAVE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN KOSOVA. NOT ONLY SHOULD HE HAVE MENTIONED THIS, BUT HE SHOULD ALSO HAVE EXPLAINED TO THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS THE REASON WHY SLOVENIA, CROATIA AND SERBIA HAVE SO HIGH A STANDARD OF LIVING AND KOSOVA SUCH A LOW ONE, WHY THE GULF BETWEEN THEM IS GROWING DEEPER, ALTHOUGH THE POTENTIAL WEALTH IN KOSOVA, BOTH ABOVE AND BELOW THE GROUND, IS GREATER THAN IN ANY OTHER REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA.

Does Dolanc not know that the economy, economic relations in general, play the decisive role in the existence of states and peoples? Why did he not bother to speak about the principal economic problems which are worrying Kosova and which determine its general situation?

It is easy to ignore such things and to explain the revolts and the demands of the people of Kosova with abusive statements that «the Albanians have shown that they are counter-revolutionaries, chauvinists and irredentists.» However, abuse is no argument and it never can be. The uncontrolled use of insulting and discriminatory epithets about a whole people in place of a realistic and objective analysis can neither explain nor improve the situation in Kosova. The situation remains unchanged, the problems remain un-

solved and give rise to phenomena of a sort that Dolanc and other Yugoslav leaders either do not want to see or are afraid to face up to.

The Yugoslav leaders, from the most senior down to the lowest in rank, claim that «equality in political and economic rights» and «unity and fraternity» exist for all the nations and nationalities in their country. But who can believe them when one republic or region is treated as «mother's favourite» while another region is treated as a cinderella, when one «brother» eats from a silver spoon, while the other has only a tittle wooden spoon? This indicates neither «unity» nor «fraternity.»

Can it be that the blame for this situation, for this reality falls on the article published by «Zëri i popullit» which expressed its own opinion, as the whole of the world press has done about the events in Kosova, and condemned the Yugoslav leadership for the

OSTILITY

YUGOSLAVIA?

barbarous repression which it resorted to against the Albanians?

The Yugoslav press accuses us of ignoring the positive changes which have been made in Kosova. But this is not so. Whatever is right we admit and defend, whatever is unjust we denounce and condemn!

We have asserted and assert again that during the past decade Albanian education and culture in Kosova (and to a lesser extent in Macedonia and Montenegro) have taken a laudable step forward. The opening of Albanian schools and the important University of Prishtina, the use of the Albanian literary language, the development of Albanian songs, dances and folklore, and elaborated music, of Albanian literature and Albanological sciences, etc. along with the culture of the peoples of Yugoslavia, have received an impulse such as has not been seen for a considerable time. The reasons for this are known and we do not want to dwell on them here. Hence, we look and compare the past with the present and we see the positive changes made in these fields.

But such a thing cannot be said for the economic development of Kosova and the other regions inhabited by Albanians, which have advanced extremely slowly in comparison with the other parts of Yugoslavia. The differences between them in economic development and the standard of living are colossal. These differences cannot be explained away on account of the "world crisis," as the Yugoslav leaders are trying to do. The differences in the standards of living in different republics and regions must be attributed to other major political, ideological and economic causes.

The large number of economic emigrants is evidence of the low level of

the development of the economy in Kosova. About 250,000 of the Albanians who live in Yugoslavia have been obliged to emigrate to Turkey alone, apart from tens upon tens of thousands of others who have gone to other countries of Europe, to America, Australia and elsewhere. You can find Albanian emigrants from «self-administrative socialist» Yugoslavia everywhere, but not one economic emigrant from «étatist-bureaucratic, Stalinist» Albania! The youth of Kosova cannot find work, can hardly earn a living in the Yugoslavia of Tito and post-Tito time. It is in these problems that the reason must be sought and the diagnosis made with the purpose of curing the illness properly and as quickly as possible.

Socialist Albania and the newspaper «Zëri i popullit» have greater right than anyone else to express their opinion about the situation in Kosova, about the murders and savage tortures which are committed by the UDB and the Serbian army against the Albanians of Kosova. This is not the first time that such things have been done in Kosova. History is not forgotten, it is written. Scripta manent.

The twisting and hiding of the truth by «leading» personalities of the Federation and the republics, the hysterical claims of the Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian press, which go so far as monstrous accusations such as that «socialist Albania has a finger in the demonstrations in Kosova,» or «socialist Albania has united with the Croatian-Slovenian-Albanian reaction in exile,» or «Albania aligns itself with those states that want the destruction of the Yugoslav Federation,» etc. etc are slanders worthy of scoundrels. The louder and more frequent these screams, the more clearly the world understands that hopeless efforts are being made

to cover up the truth. Verba volant. This clamour will die away leaving no trace, because there is no truth in it.

In the interview which we mentioned, Dolanc said that eleven people were killed in the demonstrations in Kosova. One of his Albanian lackeys, from the leadership in Kosova, said nine. Apparently, they had no time to come to agreement about the figure. However, they are all deceiving Yugoslav and world opinion. The foreign press is speaking about hundreds killed and hundreds missing, injured and arrested in Kosova. But the best informed about these things are the people of Kosova themselves, because it is their blood that was shed. They know, likewise, why this blood was shed and who caused this disaster.

The minimizing of the numbers killed, injured and arrested, on the part of the Yugoslav leadership, does not come about «as a result of inaccurate information,» but is the result of efforts to hide from the world the terror which it has launched in Kosova, and to preserve the disguise of the false democracy of Yugoslav self-administration. However, the truth will break through the walls of the state of siege and the Yugoslav censorship which has been established in Kosova. Then the world will see what massacres and tortures on a mass scale were carried out by the Serbian army and police, and will come to know the true face of «Yugoslav self-administrative, human, socialism.» The truth about the killings in Kosova, which Belgrade is trying to cover with lies, will soon come out.

All those who are speaking and writing in Yugoslavia now about the events in Kosova say that «only a small number of youth took part in the demonstrations and they were misled.»

If there were only a few in the demonstrations why then did Belgrade send in the army, the militia of the capital, the tanks and the aircraft? Why were so many people killed and wounded when the troops opened fire and why was the state of siege declared? For a «small handful of enemies,» for 10-15 people, whom the Yugoslav leadership described as «reactionary, chauvinist and irredentist?»

Can the lack of a lemon ruin a wedding feast, the «feast» about which a flood of telegrams is pouring in from all parts of Yugoslavia like the waters of the Danube, the Sava and the Drava, telegrams full of indignation and anger against «Albanian chauvinists and irredentists» and jingoistic hymns about the «unity of nations and nationalities» in Yugoslavia? It is not easy to deceive a brave and mature people like the Albanian people who live in various parts in Yugoslavia with such ruses, to deceive the workers, peasants, students and honest intelligentsia, who are conscious about the existence of their nation and concerned about its future.

Then, which is invoking and inciting the hostility amongst the peoples of Yugoslavia — the natural, fair and well-weighted article of «Zëri i popullit» or this frenzied campaign which the leadership of Yugoslavia has built up against the Albanian population of Kosova?

Did the Yugoslav leadership expect the Albanian press to say nothing about the tragedy which that leadership caused in Kosova, when for weeks on end the entire world press has been talking about and condemning the ferocity displayed? Did that leadership expect us to praise it for the misdeeds it committed in Kosova? Why is it that we did not «incite hostility» or «concoct slanders» a year or even a month before the disturbances occurred in Kosova?

No, gentlemen of the Yugoslav leadership! Be realistic, control your tempers! Look at what you are doing in regard to the demonstrations and strikes by «Solidarity» in Poland! You are speaking, writing, criticizing, advising and moralizing. Are you the only ones who have the right to speak and write about others? Since we published our article on April 8, we have kept calm, while from the Yugoslav leadership down to the most insignificant journal

in Yugoslavia, there has been a torrent of abuse and attacks against our country. Indeed, Radio-Zagreb went so far as to threaten that the very existence of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania was being endangered.

Zagreb forgets that Albania knows how to defend itself even without Zagreb. It ought to know that Yugoslavia, including Tito's Yugoslavia, has never assisted the liberation and defence of Albania. On the contrary, the Albanian National Liberation Army helped to liberate the peoples of Yugoslavia and shed blood for this. And we will perform this sublime act again if Yugoslavia is endangered! We tell that spokesman from Radio-Zagreb that what we say is clear and we keep our promises. Nothing unites the Albanians with the Ustaše, the Četnici and the Ballists. On the contrary, the Albanians have fought against them everywhere, because they have been and still are enemies of our peoples, are blood-thirsty mercenaries in the service of American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and others, who are working with every means to blow up the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

In countless speeches by Yugoslav leaders and in their press, open threats are being made of future measures against the Albanians of Yugoslavia. This is a dangerous course. Therefore we cannot let this pass without telling them that they should not behave badly and brutally towards the Albanian population, should keep calm and be fair towards them, should put a stop to barbarous acts and sternly condemn those who gave the order and opened fire on the masses of Albanians, should stabilize the economic, political and spiritual situation and prevent the Serbo-Croat-Slovenian spokesmen and their Albanian lackeys in Kosova from slandering and attacking the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Albanian people.

If they continue to act as they have done up till now, no good will come of it. As for those Albanian leaders in Kosova who attacked the people, let the people of Kosova themselves judge them. They know how to differentiate the lackeys from the honest sons and daughters of the people, whom the UDB tries to compromise by forcing them to speak and to send telegrams for propaganda purposes.

We want everything to be normalized and we remind Radio-Zagreb that it is true that history will judge who is right, you or we Albanians. In the history of the Albanians, one does not find barbaric acts like those of the Ustaše, old and new. As for the fear which Zagreb wants to arouse, the Albanians know none of it.

When it is a question of some of their minorities, the Yugoslavs even protest about shop-signs which are not written in their mother tongue, as in Carinthia. During the last visit he made to Austria, the chairman of the Federal Executive Council, Djuranović, demanded «the concrete solution of all problems which have to do with the rights and position of the Slovenian and Croatian national minorities» who live there. We did not and do not make any accusations against him, as a «counter-revolutionary,» «irredentist» or «chauvinist,» on account of this.

Defence of the rights of Slovenian and Croatian minorities, which are not being shot down by machine-gun bullets, or crushed under tank tracks, is considered normal for the Yugoslav government. But when the People's Socialist Republic of Albania interests itself in the Albanian language and education, the freedoms and rights and the economic situation, in the mass killings, jailings and tortures, which were committed against the Albanians in Yugoslavia, this is allegedly «chauvinism» and «irredentism.» What gives rise to and where is the source of the great allergy to Albanians on the part of Yugoslav leaders and the Yugoslav propaganda?!

Have you gentlemen of the Yugoslav leadership forgotten how you fought for Trieste, Pula, Rijeka, etc at the Paris Peace Conference? You were right to do so. We did not call you «chauvinists» or «irredentists.» But since you were not chauvinists or irredentists, why did it not cross your minds that there was an Albanian population, the third in Yugoslavia in size, which you ought to have united with Albania, your socialist ally in the National Liberation War? You were silent. Why were you silent when allegedly you were such great men of principle? You did not even give Kosova the status of an autonomous region until 1968. Why did President Tito not carry out what he said

to Comrade Enver Hoxha in the official talks they held in 1946, that «Kosova and the other regions inhabited by the Albanians belong to Albania and we shall return them to you, but not just now, because great-Serbian reaction would not accept such a thing at present»?

Nevertheless, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has not made any territorial claims. In no document can such a thing be found. But documents to defend the rights of our brothers in Kosova and the Albanians who live in the other republics of Yugoslavia, rights which are recognized in the Yugoslav Constitution, which have been violated and are being violated, can be found in plenty, both in the past and at present. Whether or not there will be such documents in the future depends on the stands and policy of the Yugoslav government towards the Albanians.

The Yugoslav leaders declare, one after the other, that «Kosova will never become a Republic... because Serbia will not allow this.» «If Kosova becomes a republic within the framework of the Federation,» they say, «then the Federation is destroyed.» They present the issue as though the Albanian regions are the «key-stone of the wall» which keeps the Federation together. These «arguments» are unfounded from the historical viewpoint, from the economic and juridical viewpoint, from the viewpoint of the content of the Constitution of Yugoslavia, as well as from the practice applied with the other nations which are included in the Yugoslav state. However, they show that these regions have been made commodities to bargain over, and those who are ruling in Belgrade still consider them and treat them so. We did not invent «the Republic of Kosova» within the Yugoslav Federation, the people of Kosova demanded this.

Changes of status from region to republic etc are internal questions of the peoples of Yugoslavia, questions of the Albanian people living in Yugoslavia, who, on the basis of the Yugoslav Constitution itself, have the right to demand this. No one in the Federation has the right to prevent the Albanians who live in Yugoslavia from making these demands, and even less have they the right to attack them, to injure them, kill them and jail them.

Because we proclaim this truth, the Yugoslavs accuse us of interfering in their internal affairs. We have not interfered and are not interfering in their internal affairs which, we think, can be solved justly only through self-determination, through understanding, through sincere discussions by all sides without passion.

Socialist Albania is not guilty of the slightest interference in Kosova. It did not send tanks, helicopters or police, did not increase its guards or artillery batteries on its borders, and did not even lodge an official protest. «Zëri i popullit» simply published an article about the tragedy which occurred in Kosova, a restrained article, based on sound political, ideological and historical arguments. This is how the world press assessed it. Therefore, Albania does not bear the responsibility for what occurred in Kosova; those who are to blame are those who used violence and not cool heads and reason.

Books with bombastic titles, with a strong smell of megalomania and unrestrained chauvinism have begun to come out in Yugoslavia, such as «The Struggle for the Balkans» by Svetozar Vukmanović Tempo, «Aspects of the Macedonian Question» by Lazar Koliševsky, described as «a book about the reality in the Balkans.» At the same time, in Bulgaria — a real colony of the Soviet social-imperialists, long articles are being written, celebrations are being held and speeches are being made about «The Great Bulgaria» of San Stephano which carries the borders of that country into Albania.

These people have learned nothing and forgotten nothing from history. Only the Albanians, who have been their prey, are allegedly «chauvinists» and «irredentists.»

Let Lazar Koliševsky, former president of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, speak through his own mouth. According to a report of TANJUG agency on April 15, 1981, in the book which we mentioned he writes: «It is a fact that we exist, that the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and the Macedonian nation are continuously developing and reaffirming themselves, and the feeling which every Macedonian nurtures, that he is a part of his nation, is becoming ever stronger irrespective of where he lives. This is a process which nobody can stop.»

How are we to describe these opinions,

Messrs Dolanc, Dragosavac, Vidić and others, who accuse the Albanians of Kosova and socialist Albania of being «chauvinist and irredentist»?

Is «this process of the development and affirmation which nobody can stop» the exclusive right of the Macedonians? Is this process not developing in Kosova, in Macedonia and in other regions of Yugoslavia, where more than 2 million Albanians are living? Is it not a fact that a people exist there, who are demanding only the right that their regions be proclaimed a republic within the Federation? Why then is this process «which nobody can stop for the Macedonians» prohibited for the Albanians?

At least settle your opinions amongst yourselves, but not to the detriment of the Albanian people who live in Yugoslavia!

The Yugoslav leadership is mistaken when it thinks it can deceive anybody, and specially world opinion, when it says that socialist Albania wants to undermine the Federation, or is playing the game of those who want such a thing. Let them continue to resent the truth we tell them if they wish, let them make accusations if it suits them, about interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, however, this does not alter the situation in the Yugoslav Federation in the slightest. The chronic sickness which exists there does not come from the lawful rights which the Albanians who live in Yugoslavia are demanding, but from the profound injustices and other weaknesses which exist throughout the Federation.

Titoism, this current hostile to Marxism-Leninism, has undermined the Federation. The anti-socialist system of self-administration has undermined it, the great debts into which Yugoslavia has sunk up to its neck and which have caused the inflation, the great unemployment, the rise in prices, the inequality in the development of different republics and regions, the poverty of the working masses and the emigration of hundreds of thousands of people from their homes, have undermined it.

The Yugoslav officials accuse us of being «nationalists, chauvinists and so on.» They all but accuse us of being «pan-Slavists.» None of these things are part of our ideology. They are from anti-Marxist ideology, theories of the bourgeoisie, imperialism and revisionism.

You can carry out a revolution, and the Yugoslav leadership talks and theorizes about this every day, but you can also deviate from and betray the revolution. Modern revisionism, of any hue and under whatever disguise it is hidden, is the offspring of the capitalist bourgeoisie which fights the revolution, which distorts it and drowns it in blood. Like the bourgeoisie, modern revisionism does not unite the peoples but divides them.

What occurred in the Soviet Union? Khrushchev and his successors changed the direction of the great deed of the revolution, established capitalism, and rejected the policy of Lenin and Stalin on the national question. Now savage great-Russian chauvinism dominates the peoples of the Soviet Union, but at the same time, Ukrainian, Georgian, Armenian nationalism, and so on, have also raised their heads. Pan-Slavism dominates in the Soviet Union, which has turned from a socialist country into an aggressive, warmongering social-imperialist country? Brezhnev's theory of «limited sovereignty» is strangling all the countries of the Warsaw Treaty, members of Comecon, and the «socialist community» which from fear of the Soviet armed strength, set their faces in a sickly grin so that their tears and sobs will pass unnoticed.

This is a terrible history and lesson for the peoples who want to live free and build socialism, just as terrible as the imperialist ideology and practice of the United States of America, which exploits not only the peoples who live in America but also other peoples of the world. Therefore, Messrs theoreticians of «Borba», there are different levels of chauvinism and different kinds of chauvinism, irrespective of their forms and dimensions, irrespective of their disguises and pompous words. Nationalism, chauvinism and pan-Slavism are to be condemned wherever they come from, regardless of whether those who cultivate them are great or small, but the nationalism and chauvinism of the greater state is more dangerous. This should not be forgotten. All these evils must be combated, must be totally eradicated, but this can never be done except from the positions of Marxism-Leninism. There is no other way.

The Yugoslavs pose as clever politicians, but they are showing themselves to be not only naive but also bemused. The cause of the wounds and splits is

not in the demonstrations in Prishtina. It must be sought in the line followed by the Yugoslav leadership, in the old great chauvinism, and in the new chauvinism, which their anti-socialist system has created. This is the source of that split, that evil which we do not wish upon the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia in any way.

It is true that the peoples of Yugoslavia carried out the revolution. However, the old feuds and squabbles were not wiped out, but smouldered on in secret like embers hidden under ashes; the rivalries between Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes remained, despite the fact that these peoples fought against the Serb Četnici and Croat Ustaše, and defeated them physically. The nationalist and chauvinist ideology and spirit were not completely swept away and were bound to manifest themselves later, as they did, in various forms, but with virtually the same content, this time cloaked under slogans of «socialism», «unity and fraternity» and «equal rights of the peoples.»

The heroic struggle of the peoples of Yugoslavia could not fail to arouse justifiable pride, but this was turned by the Yugoslav leadership into Yugoslav megalomania and chauvinism, claiming that virtually only they fought, only they made sacrifices, that it was only thanks to them that the other peoples followed their example and fought, too. All this was transformed into a «feeling of superiority» which has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism.

The worm was implanted in the «core of the red apple.» It gnawed away, weakening the revolution and to justify this the blame was laid on Stalin, the Soviet Union, its genuine Leninist system and the ideology which had guided that system — Marxism-Leninism. Tito and company were made the anti-Stalinist and anti-Soviet heroes of the day by the international bourgeoisie. Their megalomania was increased tenfold.

The counter-revolution and «self-administrative socialism» aroused the old rivalries and ambitions for hegemony, Serbian hegemony from one side and Croat-Slovenian hegemony on the other. The desire for hegemony from these two sides has undermined the Yugoslav Federation and not Albanian «chauvinism.» The latter is used as a veil to cover up the great-Serb chauvinism and the great-Croat-Slovenian chauvinism.

The struggle for hegemony and power between these two clans has been and is being waged fiercely. Tito posed as a moderator, but he was a supporter of Croat-Slovenian hegemony. His clan lived in great luxury, took the lion's share of the income of Yugoslavia, consumed as much as it wanted from the loans provided by American imperialism and other capitalist states.

It is understandable that this state of affairs is not to the advantage of the Serbian clan, and it is fighting to regain supremacy.

The other, poorer republics circle around these two rival clans. With their stands in favour of one side or the other, all of them to a greater or lesser degree add fuel to this great fire which exists in this Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia which was never stabilized.

The only positive and unbiased factor in this Federation is the Albanian factor. The Albanians in Yugoslavia were treated with contempt, politically, economically and from the cultural-educational aspect. At the same time however, they have been the most tolerant and realistic factor in the political-economic chaos into which post-World War Two Yugoslavia was plunged, a chaos which was a burden especially on the Albanians.

No Yugoslav politician took any notice of this very important factor. On the chess-board of the Yugoslav politicians the Albanian element was a pawn which they could move as they wished and with which they could do whatever they liked. The policy pursued by Tito-Kardelj and Ranković towards the Albanians was not merely mistaken but savage, a policy of extermination. The Albanians endured, but did not give way. Even though Kosova became an autonomous region later, it remained the poorest economically and the most neglected politically in the «self-administrative» system. In these conditions the people of Kosova demanded the status of a republic in the framework of the Yugoslav Federation.

Is this demand the factor which is dividing Yugoslavia or is it the great Serbo-Croat-Slovenian rivalries? It is more than obvious that the latter are the divisive factor. The Albanians are impartial in these rivalries and have no ambitions for hegemony and supremacy over the others. They have not

fixed their eyes on one or the other superpower in order to gain backing and support to capture the dominant positions in the Federation.

The Yugoslav leadership and press laid the blame for the demonstrations in Kosova on the Albanian people in Kosova and went on to accuse socialist Albania and along with it the Ustaše, Četnici and Ballists in Europe and America. To round off this case, they lumped us all together, foolishly thinking that they had solved the riddle. This was the solution they dished up for world opinion to swallow. But nobody eats the broth that the Yugoslavs concocted.

The Yugoslav leadership wants to hide the true reasons for the events in Kosova. This stand is fraught with dangers not only for the peoples of Yugoslavia but also for the people of Albania and other peoples of the Balkans. That is why we do not hide our opinions and are saying openly where these dangers come from.

Any one who goes deeply into these key problems of Yugoslavia will immediately come to the conclusion that it is neither socialist Albania nor the Albanians who live in Yugoslavia who are undermining the Federation. Indeed, as emerges from Dolanc's interview, the Albanians are for the preservation of the Yugoslav Federation. However, Dolanc is gravely mistaken when he thinks he can placate the Serbian desires for hegemony in the face of Croat-Slovenian hegemony by proclaiming curtly that «Kosova will never become a republic.» Kosova must not be sacrificed to this antagonism.

In this situation of international crises, not only economic but also political, in this aggressive warmongering rivalry between American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, do the superpowers have a finger in the weakening of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in the incitement of great-Serb chauvinism and great-Croat-Slovenian chauvinism? It is not by accident that the Yugoslav «politicians» are not even scratching the scab over this great wound.

Why is this dangerous situation being hidden? It is being hidden because Yugoslavia is not independent, but is dependent on these two great powers. Tito's theory of «non-aligned» countries is worthless, a fraud. Life proves this. Yugoslavia cannot exist without loans.

Without doubt, the political, hegemonic, economic and strategic interests of the two superpowers in Yugoslavia are intertwined with this economic dependence.

It is from these two savage enemies and other open and secret enemies that the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia must be defended, gentlemen of the journal «Nin.» Let us repeat to you for the hundredth time that the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Albanian people who live in Yugoslavia are not the enemies, either of the Yugoslav peoples or of the Yugoslav Federation. You, Messrs Yugoslav politicians, need not listen to us if you do not wish to do so, but we are convinced that the peoples of Yugoslavia will listen to us and will understand our opinions, our sincere feelings, the fraternal feelings of Albanians.

We Albanian communists are masters in our own house, and we pursue the policy which we consider the best and most correct. Others may not accept it. That is their right. Our people supervise and judge us. The facts, life, work, all show that the Albanian people support and defend the correct line of the Party and their state with all their strength.

Official Yugoslav propaganda attacks our socialist system built on the foundations of Marxism-Leninism, with derogatory epithets such as «étatist-bureaucratic, Stalinist», etc. A whole pseudo-theory has been built up for this mission. The Yugoslavs defend and propagate their «self-administrative» system as «one of the most perfect forms of socialism.» That is up to them.

But it is up to us to defend the Marxist-Leninist theory, scientific socialism and the construction of socialism in Albania, on the basis of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We are fighting and will continue to fight unhesitatingly against world capitalism, imperialism and modern revisionism, whether Soviet, Chinese, Yugoslav or Eurocommunist; we will fight against every kind of reformism which advocates the extinction of the class struggle, which causes the degeneration of the working class, splits its fighting unity and sabotages the people's struggle for national and social liberation.

We are against Yugoslav «self-administration» and fight it ideologically, because we regard it as a pseudo-social-

ist, counter-revolutionary, capitalist, system. We are doing this and will continue to do this without hesitation.

Hence, it is clear that we are not in accord with the Yugoslav revisionists politically and ideologically and never will be in accord with them. Both we and they are well aware of this truth. The whole world knows this.

But, irrespective of the fact that ideologically and politically we can never be reconciled, Albania and Yugoslavia have arrived at the same opinion that for the sake of good neighbourly relations and for the sake of stability and peace in the region of the Balkans, normal trade, cultural and other relations should be developed between our two states.

We must say that good understanding has been reached by both sides on this course. The trade between the two countries in the interests not only of Albania, as the world capitalist bourgeoisie wants to present it, but also in the interests of Yugoslavia, has developed and is developing in a satisfactory manner. Our cultural relations, especially with Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro, have proceeded well, with success, without any incident and with fruitful understanding. Neither from the Albanian side, nor from the Yugoslav side has any serious obstacle arisen. We consider these relations, as well as our trade relations, as very good things which must be continued and not interrupted. Not even the slightest sign of «Albanian chauvinism and irridentism.» such as the Yugoslav leadership and press are talking about, has been displayed or can be displayed by any of our citizens who have visited Kosova, from our Minister of Education and Culture down to the professors and simplest Albanian tourists. Likewise, we can say that the Yugoslav citizens have acted similarly. There has been no sign of anything which could spoil this course.

In writing this article it is not our purpose to arouse polemics or to pour fuel on the fire. We have been forced to reply to the anti-Albanian campaign which has burst out recently in Yugoslavia and to express our opinion frankly, once again, about the events in Kosova. At the same time we wish to reaffirm our desire and readiness for the further development of good neighbourly relations, a thing which is in the interests of both sides.

THE OF A REPUBLIC IS A JUST

ZËRI I .

The way the Yugoslav leadership is seeking the difficulties in which the country finds itself, shows that it maintains and the actions it is undertaking respond neither to the nor to European security, about which the Yugoslav leaders,

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 OF 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 questions in the articles published on April 8 and 23. 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 inte-

rests 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 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.

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

STATUS FOR KOSOVA DEMAND

POPULLIT

*to solve the problem of Kosova and overcome
it is acting with great haste and in utter confusion. The stands
the interests of Yugoslavia nor to those of Albania, neither to Balkan
s, posing as protagonists of the Helsinki spirit, make much ado*

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 were 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 «Proletar». For some time it has 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 «Proletar», 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, 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 «Proletar» 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 has 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 Herecegovina will be easily solved to everybody's satisfaction. Only in this way will the people themselves solve it, and each people wins 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 imperialist 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.» (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.»)

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

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-Marx-

ist stands on how matters would be arranged in post-war Yugoslavia had been outlined.

The letter of the CC of the CPY of 28th March 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-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*, 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 fascist occupier through armed struggle.» (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.)

Nevertheless, the Albanians of Kosova and all Yugoslavia continued to fight the fascist 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 of the Albanians in Yugoslavia.» (Central Archives of the PLA, File M. Popović.) 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.

Next it was discussed that Kosova should remain an autonomous unit, neither separate nor dependent on the Federation, but annexed by one of three Republics: Serbia, Macedonia or Montenegro. Finally it was decided that Kosova should be annexed by the Republic of Serbia. (Kosova 2, 1973, pp. 76-78.)

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 the time — that Kosova also could be united with Albania. Had the people of Kosova not expressed this wish at the Bujan meeting? 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 said to Comrade Enver Hoxha 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.» (Central Archives of the PLA, File «Visit of the Albanian delegation to Yugoslavia,» 1946.)

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 whether they live within the borders of Albania or Yugoslavia.» («Rilindja», April 15, 1945.)

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.» («Borba», April 8, 1945.)

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 Serbian Republic!

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**, 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.» («Borba», April 8, 1945.) This declaration of Dušan Mugoša is considered as the «expression of the free will and self-determination of the people of 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 had 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, the right of self-determination, etc., have been expressed.» («Rilindja», September 8, 1968 and October 6, 1968.)

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.» («Rilindja», November 4, 1968.) 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 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 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 Federal 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 «economic, spiritual and ideological paradise and prosperity» in Yugoslavia, however we shall refresh the memory of our people and youth about 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 alle-

gedly defended Albania. In the last Plenum of the League of Communists 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 «Federal 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 Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

We oppose the present foreign and internal policy of Yugoslavia, because we think it is fraught with 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 aggression 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 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 «economic independence.» 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 «theorists», are two issues which do not influence each other, 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 étatist, 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 Federal 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 Federal Republic of Yugoslavia?

We have declared and we declare again officially and publicly that if the

Socialist Federal 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 Federal 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 Četnici 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 peoples, 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 its 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.

These truths we assert and these rights we defend publicly you call «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 good will 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 Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has given its approval to both the Autonomous Regions of Kosova and the two Federal 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 irridentism. 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 inci-

tement or interference on our part, as «interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, incitement of great-Albanian chauvinism, territorial claims and irridentism.» 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, either as criticism or as reproof, 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 Federal 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 irridentism? Can our folk songs and dances performed in Yugoslavia be considered incitement of chauvinism and irridentism? 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 Federal 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 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 lawful 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 over-production 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 over-production 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 the other republics, within the Socialist Federal 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 Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the great-Serb Milovan Gilas, in his latest 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 struggles 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 villages 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 and it will be terrible and 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 any 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 Federal 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 Federal 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 the 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 to be condemned.

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 Federal 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 interest to the detriment of the Albanians, when he said, among other things, that «The

attempt to achieve ethnical 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, Mister 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 Mister Stambolić not say more openly that the greater ethnic entity must dominate the smaller one, that the former must be sovereign in 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 Čubrilović, 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 Mister 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 Mister 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, Mister 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 Yugoslav peoples. 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-aggressive aims which he and the Ballists had, just as the Serbian Četnici. 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 struggle 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 feeling.

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 one of the South. How-

ever, 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, with 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.

* The Anti-fascist National Liberation Council of Yugoslavia.

** The Yugoslav Secret Service.

*** grocer.

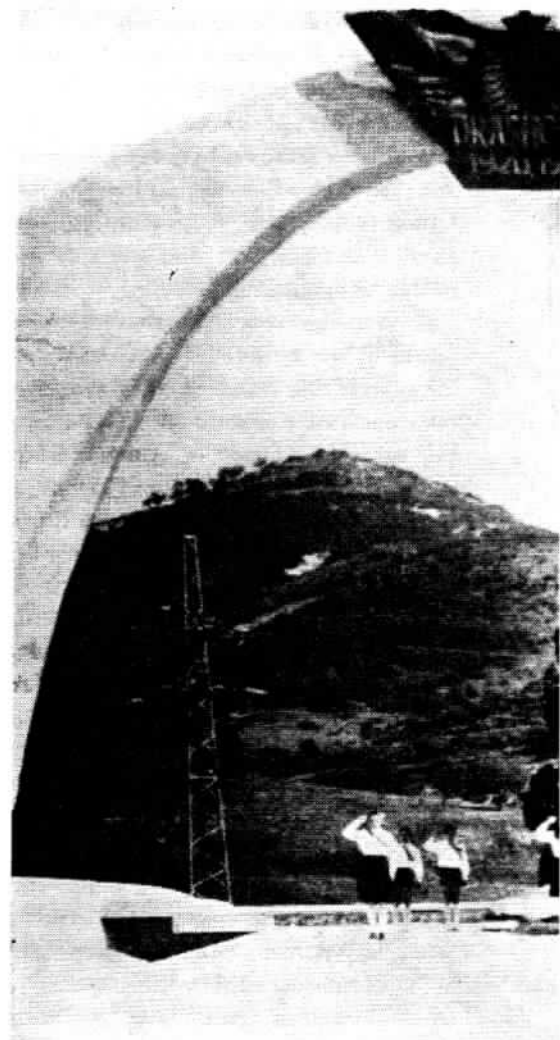
**** jackal.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA IN THE VLORA DISTRICT

Comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the CC of the PLA, who recently was staying in Vlorë for a period of rest, paid visits to historical places and attended a performance by the young pioneers of the district. The working people and the young pioneers hailed him with enthusiasm.

The moments of Comrade Enver Hoxha's visit to the monument «Drashovica 1920-1943» were very moving. This monument, the work of the People's Sculptor Muntaz Dhrami and the architects Klement Kolaneci and Petrit Hazbiu, is erected in memory of two battles waged in different historical periods in the same place — in Drashovica. It is devoted to the legendary epic of the war of the Albanian people in 1920 for the liberation of Vlorë from the Italian occupiers, and another legendary battle which took place in September 1943 after the capitulation of fascist Italy, and in which the partisan forces, led by the People's Hero Hysni Kapo, routed the German invaders who replaced the Italian troops. The battle went on for more than 20 days and ended in a great victory for the partisan forces.

The monument, which was put up last year, is a work of art which will perpetuate in the centuries the unconquerable strength of the Albanian people in their struggles against the enemy, and their heroism in their legendary wars for freedom and independence. It renders clearly the great idea that freedom is won and defended with blood. With its masterly ideo-artistic solution, the monument is a success of their authors and a new contribution to the further enrichment and development of our monumental sculpture.



In front of the monument Comrade Enver Hoxha, who was accompanied by Comrade Nexhmie Hoxha, Member of the Central Committee of the PLA and Directress of the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies at the Central Committee of the PLA, and Sul Baholli, first secretary of the Party Committee for the Vlorë district, met several veterans of the war and the work for

**FROM THE
LIFE OF THE
COUNTRY**



the construction of socialism, cooperativists, martyrs' parents and relatives, young men and women, with whom he had a cordial talk about the great events of the time of war and the current tasks in all fields of life.

Recollections from these events made his talk even more interesting and added to the enthusiasm of all those present. «The Party taught us to fight well,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha. «It taught us how to better our happy life. With

The «7 Nëntori» Theatre-house, in which the festival was organized, resounded to the cheers of the children and their parents, who were there to see their children's performance, when Comrade Enver Hoxha and the autho-



Comrade ENVER HOXHA at the «DRASHOVICA 1920-1943» memorial

Comrade Enver Hoxha came to this region in the years of the National Liberation War, precisely in May 1943, when the CC of the Communist Party of Albania (today the Party of Labour of Albania), appointed him to smash, politically and ideologically, one of the most dangerous anti-party factions, which had emerged soon after the founding of the Party.

work we have always been successful.» «May you live as long as our mountains, Comrade Enver,» was the ardent wish of those present who added, «We will work more and better, as the Party and you teach us.»

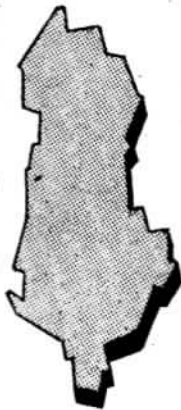
Amidst great enthusiasm Comrade Enver Hoxha met the young pioneers who on that day were participating in their 15th Song Festival.

rities of the district entered the hall.

The First Secretary of the CC of the PLA was deeply moved by the beautiful songs of the youngsters and their warm and enthusiastic welcome.

At the end of the performance he joined the spectators, who hailed for the Party, and congratulated the little singers and instrumentalists on their beautiful concert.

**FROM THE
LIFE OF THE
COUNTRY**



THE DAY OF INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY OF THE WORKING PEOPLE IN SOCIALIST ALBANIA

As each year the Albanian people celebrated this May Day, the day of international solidarity of the working people, in joy and happiness. Unlike the capitalist-revisionist countries, where May Day is a day of struggle of the working class for its rights, in socialist Albania this marked day is a great event in which the broad working masses of city and country express their ardent love for the Party of Labour of Albania and the people's power which liberated them from the centuries-long oppression and exploitation and are leading them in the work for the complete construction of socialist society in the conditions of the imperialist-revisionist blockade.

Entire Albania was in festive dress several days ago. In the main streets and squares there were the red banners of victories and the national flags of the PSR of Albania, large streamers and many slogans dedicated to the Day of international solidarity of the proletariat.

Many concerts and recitals were given in cultural institutions, theatres and variety show theatres, in public squares and parks.

The festive atmosphere raised even higher the revolutionary drive at work in combines, factories and workshops, as well as in the fields where spring sowing is going on at fulltilt. Everybody wants to come to this festivity with

as many successes at work as possible, for in this way the celebration becomes more beautiful and joyous.

On May 1, the whole of Albania rings with songs and dances. The working people of the main cities, who paraded before the authorities with slogans and placards, displayed their successes at work.

A huge manifestation took place in the beautiful capital of socialist Albania — Tirana. Tens of thousands of people of all ages and professions marched past the tribune erected on this occasion on the broad boulevard «Martyrs of the Nation», on which stood the leader of the Party of Labour of Albania and the entire Albanian people, Enver Hoxha, the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Haxhi Lleshi, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mehmet Shehu, as well as other leaders of the Party and state, ministers and heads of various institutions, veterans of the National Liberation War and the struggle for the construction of socialism, heroes of the work front, as well as foreign guests who had come to Albania to take part in the celebration.

After the national anthem was executed by the brass band, Pali Miska, Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Party and Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, greeted those present on behalf of the Central Com-



Comrade Enver Hoxha and comrades Haxhi Lleshi, Mehmet Shehu and Ramiz Alia greeting the participants in the May Day manifestation

mittee of the Party, of the Council of Ministers and the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Albania.

He said among other things:

«The working people of our country celebrate May Day this year in an atmosphere of great political enthusiasm and mobilization at work, determined to meet the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Party and its 8th Congress with as many successes as possible in the construction of social-

ism and in the strengthening of the defence capacity of the country.

«The Albanian people come to this May Day more united than ever around their Party, proud of their achievements, unshakably confident in their own forces, more optimistic and more determined than ever to march steadily ahead on the road of socialism, on which the Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha lead us.

«With the tireless efforts of the work-

ing class, the cooperativist peasantry, the people's intelligentsia, the women and youth, the entire working people, Albania — our beloved socialist Homeland, has become stronger and more developed than ever. Industry and agriculture have constantly advanced, education, culture and science have risen to new heights, the life of the people has become happier, the defence of the country stronger and the authority of our state risen higher.

FROM THE
LIFE OF THE
COUNTRY



«While building socialism, the Albanian people follow with a vigilant eye the international development, the aggressive and expansionist schemes and plots of the imperialist superpowers, they draw lessons and set themselves tasks to defend and further the gains of the revolution. Together with the world proletariat and the freedom-loving peoples, they keep high the banner of the struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism, revisionism and reaction.

«In these festive days for the working class we greet all our Albanian brothers and sisters wherever they live and who keep their ardent love for the Homeland.

«We address our revolutionary greetings to the workers and peoples of the countries of Europe, Latin America, Asia, Africa and Oceania, who are fighting for freedom, independence and social progress, for peace and international security.

«We address our ardent revolutionary greetings to the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces which, at the head of the working class, fight against capitalist and imperialist oppression and exploitation, against revisionism and opportunism, for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism and the revolution.

«United like a steel fist round the

Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, let us turn the year 1981, the first year of the 7th Five-year Plan, the year of the glorious jubilee of the 40th anniversary and of the 8th Congress of the Party into a year of unprecedented creative work. Let the revolutionary initiatives and movements of the working mass burst forth with new and greater vigour, let socialist emulation and competition to fulfil all planned tasks, to cope, as always, with the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade, to make our Albania stronger, more prosperous, an invincible citadel of socialism, be raised to a higher degree!»

Then the parade began. This year again it was a clear reflection of the magnificent victories the Albanian people have achieved in all fields of life, under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, and of their determination to march, in the future, with revolutionary courage on the difficult but glorious road of socialism and communism, keeping aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, unhesitatingly combating the predatory plans of the imperialists and social-imperialists and ceaselessly exposing the revisionists and opportunists of all hues.

The working people — workers, cooperativists, pupils and students, who marched past the tribune, expressed their solidarity with the working class which is fighting for its rights in the capitalist-revisionist countries, with the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America struggling to get rid of the imperialist and social-imperialist vampires who are never satiated with their blood, with all the true revolutionaries all over the world who are fighting for a better and more prosperous life, without oppressors and exploiters, for genuine freedom, for true democracy and socialism.

The manifestation ended with the International sung by thousands of children of the schools of the capital, who flooded the boulevard «Martyrs of the Nation» with beautiful flowers in hand, hailing the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha, May Day and socialist Albania. Thousands of those attending the May Day parade joined in their joyous song.

Then the working people thronged the streets and squares singing and dancing. Many of them went to the Great Park in the vicinity of the capital, where they spent the day in joy and entertainment.

In this manner was May Day celebrated all over Albania.

«INEXTINGUISHABLE STARS»

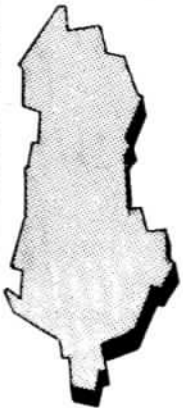
«Inextinguishable stars» — that is how the people describe the Albanian martyrs who laid down their lives for the liberation of the Homeland and the defence of the gains of the socialist revolution. These «stars» continue to lit the way for them in their efforts to carry the work of socialist cons-

truction further ahead. More than 28,000 martyrs sacrificed their lives in the National Liberation War, hundreds of others fell in the battle for the defence of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania against the attacks of the internal and external enemies, and scores of others laid down their lives in the

course of the great work for the construction of new Albania. All of them remain alive in the minds of the people, they are remembered and honoured, especially on May 5, which has been proclaimed the «Martyrs' Day» in Albania.

This year, too, on this marked day, as is the custom now, thousands of people in town and countryside paid homage to their memory and lay wreaths of flowers at the Martyrs' Cemeteries and the many busts and memorials erected in the places where

FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY



they fought and laid down their lives. Leaders of the Party and state, representatives of the mass organizations, etc also paid homage for their memory and laid wreaths and bouquets of flowers on their tombs.

The representatives of the diplomatic corps in Albania, the foreign delegations which took part in the May Day celebrations in Tirana, as well as foreign guests who had come to Albania, paid homage to and laid wreaths at the Martyrs' Cemeteries in Tirana.

Leaders of the Party and state, representatives of the mass organizations and others paid visits to the families of the martyrs.

Late in the afternoon, a solemn meeting in which thousands of people took part was organized. The Chairman of the Democratic Front of Albania for the Tirana district, Faik Ahmeti, held the speech of the occasion. Among other things he said that the blood and the deed of the martyrs have cemented the foundations of our People's Socialist Republic.

After the speech, various artistic groups of the capital gave a concert of partisan and other songs dedicated to the Homeland, the Party and the glorious deed of the martyrs. Meetings on this occasion were also organized in the different regions of the country.

A NEW RAILROAD

On April 30, the eve of the Day of International Solidarity of the working people, the new 22-kilometre long Laç-Lezha railroad was inaugurated in Albania. This railroad, which is part of the railway line which will link Tirana with Shkodra, the most important centre of Northern Albania, was also built by the youth.

Work for the construction of the new



railroad started about one year ago, immediately after the termination of Prrenjas-Pogradec railroad which linked this city situated on the shore of the beautiful Lake Pogradeci with the rest of the country.

About 17,000 young volunteers from all the corners of the country worked on one-month shifts on the construction of the Laç-Lezha railroad. Apart



View of the mass rally organized in Tirana on May 5, the Martyrs' Day

from 22 kilometres of the main line, the young men and women laid another 9 kilometres of secondary lines and built 150 works of art, among which an 800-metre long rail and automobile bridge on the Mat River, 3 passenger stations and two freight-car stations.


The Laç-Lezha railroad, just as the Lezha-Shkodra railroad which will be completed next year, are only part of the railway system built in Albania after Liberation, a system already connecting a number of the more important centres of the country. All this system, as well as the many motor

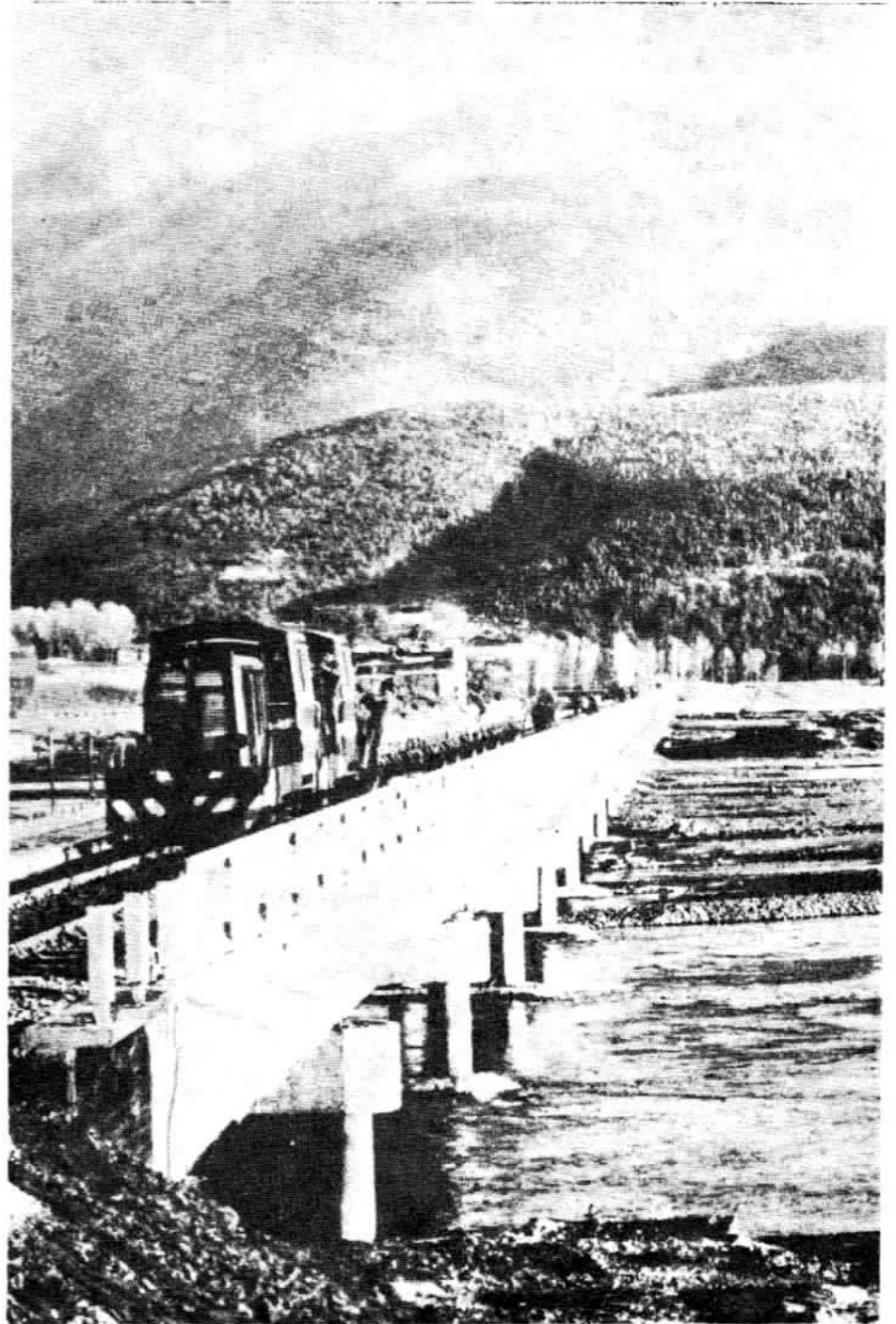
roads, have been built by the youth through voluntary labour. Working on one-month shifts a year, the Albanian youth by their actions have not only contributed to the development of the economy and the all-round progress of the socialist Homeland, but have also come to love work, develop the feeling of collectivity, the determination to boldly overcome all difficulties and obstacles. Actions for the construction of railway lines and motor roads have become schools for their ideological education.

At the ceremony for the inauguration of the new Laç-Lezha railroad, apart

from thousands of young people, the authorities of the Kruja and Lezha districts, through which the new line runs, as well as comrades from the Central Committee of the PLA, the Council of Ministers, the Central Committee of the LYUA, etc took part.

Qiriako Mihali, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA and Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, addressed the meeting organized at the new Lezha station on this occasion. He congratulated the young people who had worked on the construction of this project on behalf of the CC of the Party, the Council of

FROM THE
**THE LIFE OF THE**
GOUNTRY



View of the 800 m long bridge on the Mat River

Ministers and of the beloved leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha personally. Etemie Zeneli, Secretary of the CC of the LYUA, also spoke at the meeting.

«The Albanian new generation, following in the footsteps of the revolutionary generation of the war for freedom and the first mass actions,

is living up to its pledges,» she said among other things. «Such have been our youth and will always remain so, always loyal to the Party, always in the front ranks of the revolution.»

Rita Marko, Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA, cut the ribbon for the inauguration of the new project, while Rahman Hanku, Minister

of Construction, proclaimed the brigades and individual workers who were decorated by the Presidium of the People's Assembly for their good and tireless work.

The participants in the meeting sent

the CC of the PLA a telegram through which they pledged that, just as on all the actions for the construction of socialism, the youth would complete the rest of the railroad ahead of schedule.

THE 4th FESTIVAL OF THE ALBANIAN FILM

The 4th festival of the Albanian feature film, sponsored by the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Writers and Artists' League of Albania, the «New Albania» Film-Studio and the Albanian Radio-Television on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Party of Labour of Albania, and on the eve of its 8th Congress, took place from the 20th to the 26th of April 1981 in Tirana. During the festival were shown 10 full length feature films, 2 television feature films, and 6 colour animated cartoons.

The festival was a clear expression of the major achievements made by the Albanian film-making in the last two years. The films presented to the public were of a good artistic level and sound content.

The Albanian cinematography is relatively young, with its beginnings dating as early as the period after the liberation of the country, and precisely with the setting up of the «New Albania» Film-Studio in 1951. Its successes, however, are great. In the first years after Liberation, when the struggle to give the people more bread and culture was developing, the Party and the people's power worked to ensure that the new society, which was being built, had its own films which would reflect the major qualitative changes that came in the wake of the revolution, and at the same time would assist the advance of this revolution. In this way, the revolutionary Albanian film-making developed as an integral part of Albanian life, parallel with all the other kinds of art and literature of socialist

realism, as an organic part of the work of the Party for the communist education of the masses. Therefore, in all its course of development and in its contents, this new art affirms itself as a class tendentious art of the working class in power, as a means in the service of the ideology of the working class.

One of the most important moral and artistic features of the Albanian cinematography is its revolutionary fervour which derives from all its films being true to life, which testifies to the strong links developed between the film-makers and the people.

All along their road of creative work, especially in recent years, our film-makers have made notable efforts to penetrate more deeply into the inner world of our man, to tackle major social problems, to reflect the life and its real contradictions in all their complexity, to present social problems and their impact on the individual.

All this comes out clearly in the films which were shown during the days of the festival. The scientific session on the Albanian film organized on this occasion made an extensive analysis of the problems of the film in Albania, its successes and weaknesses, and set the tasks for its future development.

In the end, a jury set up especially for this occasion proclaimed the winners of the festival. The first prize went to the film «Confrontation», which centres on an aspect of the struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people against the Khrushchevite revisionists.



THE CONSISTENT STRUGGLE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR AGAINST MODERN REVISIONISM

*The struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism
is a great historical act which secured the freedom and independence
of Albania, its development on the road of socialism
and defended Marxism-Leninism from revisionist distortions*

FROM THE TIME THE KHRUSHCHEVITE REVISIONISTS USURPED THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SOVIET PARTY AND STATE UP TO THE MOMENT WHEN THE PLA CAME OUT IN OPEN OPPOSITION TO THEM, THE RELATIONS OF OUR PARTY WITH THE KHRUSHCHEVITE LEADERSHIP OF THE CPSU ARE A VIVID REFLECTION OF A COMPLICATED PROCESS FULL OF ZIGZAGS, WITH SPELLS OF AGGRAVATION AND TEMPORARY NORMALIZATION. HOWEVER, THESE RELATIONS WERE GENERALLY CHARACTERIZED BY THEIR WORSENING WHICH WAS DUE TO THE FACT THAT THE KHRUSHCHEVITE LEADERSHIP WAS SOMETIMES ON THE QUIET AND AT TIMES OPENLY PREPARING FOR ITS COUNTER-REVOLUTION WHICH WAS TO HAVE TRAGIC CONSEQUENCES FOR THE SOVIET UNION, FOR THE CAMP OF SOCIALISM AND FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.

The PLA, hardened through the tooth for tooth struggle against Yugoslav revisionism, was immediately aware of Khrushchev's jugglings, and it did not lose sight of the events which were developing in the Soviet Union at that time, of stand and actions which showed that the party there was departing from the Marxist-Leninist line of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin, of the danger posed by the Khrushchev clique to the revolution and socialism in the world and in our country. The period 1953-1960 was for the PLA a process of deepening its knowledge of the views and attitudes of Nikita Khrushchev on the most important questions of the international communist movement and the socialist camp, views and attitudes altogether different from those of the PLA. When Khrushchev launched his *SOTIR MANUSHI* — Professor at the «V. I. Lenin» Higher Party School

open counter-revolutionary attack in 1960, in order to realize his anti-Marxist, anti-socialist and hegemonic aims, from its unshakeable Marxist-Leninist position the PLA, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, rose in strong opposition and said «stop» to the traitorous activity of the Khrushchevites. «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 defended the interests of its socialist Homeland, persistently defended Marxism-Leninism and the genuine international communist movement.» (Enver Hoxha, «The Khrushchevites» (Memoirs, p. 6, Alb. ed.)

■

In his work «The Khrushchevites» (Memoirs), Comrade Enver Hoxha fo-

cusses, first of all, on the roots of the tragedy which happened in the Soviet Union, on the factors which brought about the emergence of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries.

By discovering the causes of the emergence of revisionism and of the usurpation of state power by the Khrushchev group in the Soviet Union, Comrade Enver Hoxha points out the connection between them and the weaknesses and mistakes of a subjective character of the Bolshevik Party of that period, in the first place. The emergence of Khrushchevite revisionism and its advent to power, he points out, began precisely with the degeneration of the party, with the alteration of its class character. This also explains the fact that the Khrushchevites directed all their efforts towards seizing the leadership of the party, because only in that manner could they seize state power, too, because only in that manner could they liquidate any resistance on the part of the sound revolutionary cadres, and bring opportunist, careerist and counter-revolutionary elements, those who formed the new bourgeois class in the Soviet Union, to key positions.

In order to seize power and to consolidate it, the Khrushchevites abandoned the Marxist-Leninist guid-

LE OF PRINCIPLE R OF ALBANIA AGAINST

by **SOTIR MANUSHI**

ing compass, initially by bringing about the gradual weakening of the Marxist-Leninist education of the communists and working people, in order to spread among the communists, in the working class and the working masses, in general, such dangerous feelings for the fate of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat as political apathy, passivity and stagnation. Precisely these were the feelings, which served as a hot-bed to spread the alien and anti-proletariat concept that «the leadership knows», a concept which prevented the party of the working class and the communists from acting against the revisionist plague. «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 Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in the consciousness of many of the communists» (p. 44). Precisely these feelings were encouraged and used by the Khrushchevites in their work to seize power and to carry out their «peaceful» counter-revolution without meeting with any strong resistance on the part of the party, the communists, the working class and other working masses.

Even when Stalin was alive, counter-revolutionary elements in the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, acted under cover and gave a distorted picture of the situation, covered up weaknesses and shortcomings, pretending that everything was in order.

Frequently, while analysing the causes of the emergence and spread of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, Comrade Enver Hoxha concentrated on the

consequences of the failure to understand the ideological importance of the Leninist norms and principles on the party and the failure to implement them in a revolutionary manner. In the work «The Khrushchevites» (Memoirs) he reiterates their importance and connects the advent to power of the Khrushchevite revisionists with the infringement of proletarian discipline, with the failure to use proper revolutionary methods in the struggle against bureaucracy, routine, stereotypes and a number of other negative phenomena which weaken the life of the party. «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» (p. 44). In this way democratic centralism was replaced with bureaucratic centralism, criticism and self-criticism lost their bolshevik character, and «in this way the Bolshevik Party lost its former vitality» (p. 44). A not dissimilar stand towards the Leninist principles and norms on the party appeared also among the old guard of the Soviet leadership which did not strongly oppose the Khrushchev group, maintained an opportunist attitude, because it had lost its former revolutionary spirit, had become a political fossil, had been transformed into a corpse of bolshevism. The Khrushchevite revisionists, who emerged on the top of the Soviet party and state, brought about the final and complete degeneration of the Leninist norms on

the party and replaced them with bourgeois and fascist norms.

The coming to power of the Khrushchevite revisionists in the Soviet Union Comrade Enver Hoxha links with the degeneration of the cadres of the Soviet party and state, with their turning bureaucrats and technocrats, with the domination of the apparatchiki over the party and the state, with the creation of megalomaniacal castes, with a morbid euphoria, etc. In this situation, «Careerism, servility, charlatanism, unhealthy cronyism, antiproletarian morality, etc began to spread» (p. 44). These phenomena were bound to bring about the tendency to extinguishing the class struggle, seeking the «good life», personal comfort, privileges, and gain with the least possible work and effort. All this encouraged the creation of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois mentality among the cadres, even among the veterans. The period beginning after the death of Stalin up to the ill-famed 20th Congress of the CPSU is full of lessons for the Marxist-Leninists, it is a period which marks the end of «bureaucratic legality», which poses a great danger to a Marxist-Leninist party, and throws light on the methods employed by the revisionists in order to profit as much as possible from this «bureaucratic legality», etc.

Liberalism is another cause which brought about the great tragedy in the Soviet Union. Under the liberal slogans of the re-establishment of «democracy» and «freedom», etc the Khrushchevites attacked socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, Stalin and his work, in order to combat Marxism-Leninism. In this way they sought to justify their

opening of the doors of the Soviet Union to foreign capital, to the bourgeois culture and ideology, to the bourgeois way of life, their economic reforms which replaced the socialist relations of production with capitalist relations of production, as well as their policy of rapprochement and collaboration with the head of world bourgeoisie — American imperialism.

In order to seize power, the Khrushchev group resorted to all manner of means, stopping not even before putschist methods. It was not by accident that Khrushchev tried to gain control of the army and the security organs. And when he saw himself pushed to the sidelines, then he found himself in a minority and saw his position jeopardized, he hatched up the putsch of the militarymen. His group of marshals, Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, «surrounded the Kremlin with tanks and soldiers and gave orders that not even a fly was to leave the Kremlin» (p. 178). Thus, in order to usurpe power in the Soviet Union, the Khrushchevite revisionists turned to the caste of degenerate marshals and generals for support.

In his work «The Khrushchevites» (Memoirs), Comrade Enver Hoxha finds the roots of the tragedy, which occurred in the Soviet Union, also in some external factors. The imperialist pressure and blackmail from outside and the Khrushchevites' capitulation before them are among the factors of the re-emergence and restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. In this way, «What world capitalism had been quite unable to do, the Khrushchevite clique did for it» (p. 218). Besides, Comrade Enver Hoxha provides arguments to prove that «In the framework of its post-second World War strategy, imperialism, headed by American imperialism, when it saw the first vacillations and retreats of the new Soviet leadership, further intensified its all-round attacks and pressure to force Khrushchev and company to go further and further down the road of capitulation and betrayal» (pp. 169-170). However, the international bourgeoisie did not see in Khrushchev only its ally, it also saw in him a new rival, therefore world capitalism had to fight in another direction, namely, to prevent Khrushchevite hegemonism from striking roots and consolidating itself on the ruins it had caused.

shevite hegemonism from striking roots and consolidating itself on the ruins it had caused.

The coming of the Khrushchevites to the top of the Soviet party and state was also facilitated by other internal objective factors, although as long as J. V. Stalin was alive they were fought in order to narrow their sphere of operation. Even when Stalin was alive the Soviet leaders closest to him, among whom Khrushchev, Mikoyan, and other disguised enemies in the ranks of the party, deliberately worked to open road to the free development of the negative objective phenomena, allowed them to grow, and distorted, either by mis-implementation or sabotage, the line of the party, so that after the death of Stalin they could further enhance the effect of these negative factors in order to carry out their «peaceful» counter-revolution, to bring about the degeneration of socialist society and to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union.

The emergence and coming to power of the Khrushchevite revisionists in the Soviet Union was also conditioned by some other factors operating in this country after the Second World War. «The difficult economic situation, the devastation and destruction caused by the war, the great human losses sustained by the Soviet Union, called for a total mobilization of the cadres and the masses for its consolidation and progress» (p. 40), says Comrade Enver Hoxha. However, this was not done properly. On the contrary, conceitedness, vain glory about the battles won, lack of vigilance, self-contentment, political blindness, all this led to a situation in which the moral character of many leaders was spoilt, the party wormed from within, and the revolutionary spirit dampened. And these were bound to have an influence on the failure of the industry and agriculture to develop at the rates envisaged, on the slowing down of the progress of the people's economy in the Soviet Union.

The emergence and spread of revisionism and its advent to power in the Soviet Union had a negative influence in the other former socialist countries, with the exception of socialist Albania. In his work «The Khrushchevites» (Memoirs) Comrade Enver Hoxha analyses the ways and methods employed

by the Khrushchev group to impose on the leaderships of the communist parties of the socialist and capitalist countries the course of the 20th Congress of the Soviet revisionist party in order to destroy socialism, to restore capitalism in the countries of people's democracy, to split the socialist camp and the international communist movement. «Both in the Soviet Union and in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, and Hungary, as well as in Albania, Khrushchev began to incite the disguised and undisguised anti-Marxist elements» (p. 142). The aim of Khrushchev was to eliminate the sound revolutionary leaders in the other communist and workers' parties and to replace them with opportunist elements, whom he could have under his control. In this way, he sought to bring about the degeneration of all the communist movement, so that he could channel it onto his revisionist road. To achieve this goal, he resorted to cunning Trotskyite methods, to flattery, and blackmail and threats, depending on the situation in the leadership of each party, because, as is known, the Italian and some other parties waited only for a signal from the 20th Congress of the CPSU in order to unfurl the banner of revisionism and to go over to the open attack on Marxism-Leninism. This explains why Togliatti, Tito and others enthusiastically hailed the decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU and were quick to go over to the open offensive against socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, trying to step up even more the process of degeneration in the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

The PLA, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, scornfully rejected the putschist methods and the flattery of Khrushchev. Standing firm on its sound Marxist-Leninist positions, it opposed with all its strength the Khrushchev group and did not allow the revisionist line of the 20th Congress of the CPSU to pass into our country and Party. Both at the Bucharest Meeting, and at that of Moscow in 1960 it said stop to the traitorous activity of Khrushchev. This marked the beginning of the arduous, but glorious struggle of the PLA against Khrushchevite revisionism, as the most dangerous trend of modern revisionism, a struggle which has at present assumed broad pro-

portions and continues to develop with greater intensity than before.

Along with the struggle it has waged and continues to wage against modern revisionism, the PLA has constantly analysed the causes which led to the emergence of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and in the other former socialist countries, and drawn a number of lessons of vital importance for the destinies of socialism in Albania and of international value, which constitute its creative contribution to the theory and practice of scientific socialism.

In order to close all the paths to the emergence of revisionism in Albania, the PLA has laid particular stress on the necessity of the consistent waging of the class struggle up till the final triumph of communism on a world scale, of the safeguarding and consolidation of the leading role of the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the development and deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution, of the development and perfecting of the socialist relations of production, etc.

In his book «The Khrushchevites» (Memoirs), Comrade Enver Hoxha makes a detailed analysis of the divergencies which emerged between the PLA and the leadership of the CPSU after the death of Stalin over several problems, and which grew more and more acute, until they turned into an open and irreconcilable conflict between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. Naturally, in the beginning, the PLA had some doubts about the stands and actions of the Khrushchevites. Later its doubts were confirmed and it became convinced that the stands and actions of the Khrushchevites were not merely tactical errors of the moments, or minor deviations, but were the result of the anti-Marxist revisionist political and ideological line they pursued. In the period 1953-1960, the more crystallized the Khrushchevite revisionist line became, the fiercer grew the struggle of the PLA against the Khrushchevite revisionists, from its ideological and political positions of principle. In all its stands, the PLA always showed itself to be mature and cool-headed. «The steps that we took had to be carefully

measured: we should not be hasty, but neither must we go to sleep» says Comrade Enver Hoxha in his book «The Khrushchevites» (Memoirs) (pp. 325-326). «Our Party did not make any concessions to the Khrushchevites, on the contrary, it countered every wrong action and deviation in line of theirs,» with its own resolute stand. It never swerved in the least from its road or line.

As it clearly emerges from Comrade Enver Hoxha's work, every stand and action of the PLA was based on its boundless loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, on its resolution to defend Marxism-Leninism, its revolutionary line and the socialist Homeland; it never proceeded from positions of nationalism, sectarianism and adventurism, as the Khrushchevites tried to make out. On the other part, the stands and actions of the Khrushchev group were characterized by chauvinism and hegemonism, by their aim to subordinate the socialist countries and the international communist movement to their plans.

The PLA vigilantly watched the stand of Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites towards Yugoslav revisionism, since this stand was a touch-stone to judge whether or not a party stood in correct Marxist-Leninist positions. The first clash with the Khrushchevites came over their wavering and opportunist stand towards Yugoslav revisionism. In «attacking» American imperialism, Khrushchev made in passing some criticism against Titoism, although, in essence, his stand was conciliatory towards Tito and Titoism. On the Yugoslav issue the Khrushchevites went from one extreme argument to the other, from ardent kisses to violent abuse. When the Khrushchevites came to abuse the Yugoslavs, they admitted we were right, but when they agreed with them, they brought pressure to bear on us to make us soften our stand towards Yugoslav revisionism.

Comrade Enver Hoxha explains the causes which impelled Khrushchev to rehabilitate the Yugoslav revisionist leadership. When he did not succeed in submitting the Yugoslavs, he tried, at least, to win them over to his own side, to make them his ideological allies in the struggle against Marxism-Leninism. However, Tito had his own plans, says Comrade Enver Hoxha. Not only did he not accept to submit to Khrush-

chev, but he worked to achieve his aim of bringing Khrushchev around to his course. This explains the long and complex confrontation between Tito and Khrushchev — at times mitigated and at times fierce, characterized at times by attacks and abuse, at times by cajoleries and smiles. It is clear that all these stands were underlied by anti-communism, nationalism and chauvinism.

Bent on achieving their anti-Marxist goal, Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites attacked as unjust the resolutions of the Informbureau of the communist and workers' parties, which condemned the Yugoslav leadership for having deviated from Marxism-Leninism, laid the blame on Stalin for having broken off relations with Yugoslavia, and demanded the revision of the stand maintained until then by the international communist movement towards Yugoslav revisionism. Khrushchev, without consulting any party, went to Belgrade and knelt down before Tito.

The PLA sternly condemned Khrushchev's visit to Belgrade, describing it as an anti-Marxist act, because it affected the stand maintained by the international communist movement towards Yugoslav revisionism, violated the rules regulating relations among communist and workers' parties, and pursued dark sinister aims. From this time, the Khrushchevites exercised most brutal pressure on the PLA, in order to force it to change its stand towards Yugoslav revisionism. However, our Party did not budge one inch from its stand. The struggle of the PLA against Yugoslav revisionism never ceased. This consistent struggle went on not only until all links with the Khrushchevite revisionists were severed, but also after that, continuing in all its fierceness to this day. The confrontation of the PLA with the Khrushchevites over their opportunist stand towards Yugoslav revisionism was one of the major factors which convinced our Party that the Khrushchevites were traitors.

The conviction of our Party about the betrayal of the Khrushchevites was further strengthened by the stand of the latter towards imperialism, in general, and American imperialism, in particular. Their great hullabaloo about the «spirit of Geneva», their overtures and rapprochement to and their co-

laboration with American imperialism were further facts which helped our Party assess the treacherous and anti-Marxist stands of the Khrushchevites. As time went by, this stand of theirs became more and more evident, until it was crystallized in the Soviet-American alliance.

The conviction of the PLA about the departure of the Khrushchevites from Marxism-Leninism was especially strengthened by the course they adopted at the ill-famed 20th Congress of the CPSU which revised the main principles of Marxism-Leninism. At this congress, among other things, the three «peaceful» slogans: peaceful parliamentary transition to socialism, peaceful coexistence, and peaceful competition, were formulated. Besides, the possibility for the war to be avoided was made absolute, the stand towards social-democracy was altered, Stalin and his work were attacked in order to attack Marxism-Leninism, etc.

The course of the 20th Congress of the CPSU was proclaimed as a «creative development» of Marxism-Leninism, and as Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, «Many were misled by this demagoguery. However the Party of Labour of Albania was not misled» (p. 172). The efforts of the Khrushchevites to force the PLA to reflect the revisionist course of the 20th Congress in the decisions of the 3rd Congress of our Party were of no avail. However, the 3rd Congress of the PLA, due to the time and the circumstances in which it was held, did not openly condemn the course of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. Nevertheless, the line adopted by our Congress was in opposition to the revisionist theses of that congress. This the Khrushchevites understood quite well. The leadership of our Party had made it clear to them during the meetings it had had with them and in its propaganda. As emerges clearly from the book of Comrade Enver Hoxha «The Khrushchevites» (Memoirs), the period from 1956 to 1960 is replete with facts and documents of the Party, which point out to its opposition to the views and actions of the Khrushchevites. At the Plenum of the CC of the PLA held in February 1957 the revisionist theses of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, though they were not directly mentioned, were refuted, and the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism on the

dictatorship of the proletariat, on the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, on the classes and the class struggle as the main motive force in socialist society, etc were defended. Later events showed that the ideas and decisions of the Plenum of the CC of the PLA of February 1957 infuriated the Khrushchevites who stepped up their pressure against the PLA.

In his work «The Khrushchevites» (Memoirs), Comrade Enver Hoxha provides irrefutable proof of the struggle of the PLA against the slanders about the personality cult of Stalin and of its defence of Stalin and his cause. The PLA always has proceeded from the principle that the defence of Stalin means the defence of Marxism-Leninism, the defence of its basic principles.

In his book «The Khrushchevites» (Memoirs), Comrade Enver Hoxha reflects with many concrete facts the opposition of our Party to the plans of the Khrushchevites who, like the Yugoslavs before them, wanted our country to remain a backward agrarian country, economically dependent on the Soviet Union. The Khrushchev group did not spare its «advice» and pressures to impede the development of industry, especially the processing and machine-building industry, in Albania, saying that Albania would become «a flower garden» by developing only fruit-growing and other such branches. However, this was never accepted by our Party.

Following the February 1957 Plenum of the CC of the PLA, the Khrushchevites invited a top level delegation of the PLA to Moscow, so that they could «clamp down on us» (p. 328), using the «carrot and the stick» for this purpose. In his work «The Khrushchevites» (Memoirs), Comrade Enver Hoxha describes the Khrushchevites' tactics, who, on the one hand, exonerated our country from the payment of credits and make promises for greater economic aid, and on the other hand, brought pressure to bear on the PLA in order to force it to change its stand towards the Yugoslav revisionists, to abandon its efforts for the construction of the material-technical base of socialism which would ensure the economic independence of our country. From these stands of the Khrushchevites towards the PLA and the PSRA it

was becoming clear that «with the passage of time the situation was getting worse... and relations continued to hang on a thread» (p. 363). This state of things went on until 1960, when the PLA was completely convinced that Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites were revisionists, traitors to Marxism-Leninism and, as such, had to be fought and exposed without any hesitation.

In his work «The Khrushchevites» (Memoirs), Comrade Enver Hoxha makes a very penetrating Marxist-Leninist analysis of the hegemonic aims of the Khrushchevites and their efforts to control the international communist and workers' movement, to tighten their grip on the socialist countries. «All the counter-revolutionary subversion, which the Khrushchevite clique carried out within the Soviet Union, also served its aims in foreign policy,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha (p. 198). Besides, the Khrushchevites sought rapprochement with American imperialism, while contending with it for world domination, for the creation of their «own colonial empire, part of which would be the countries of the socialist camp» (pp. 199-200). In his analysis of the methods and actions of the Khrushchevite revisionists towards the socialist countries and the communist parties, Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses that they were based on their great-state chauvinism, their desire to put the others under their dictate, to exploit them in their own interests. Of course, «In some places this work went smoothly, in others there was friction, while in Albania these ambitions were never realized» (p. 200).

In this analysis, on the basis of his personal acquaintance and their concrete stands, Comrade Enver Hoxha also reveals and portrays the characters of the opportunist leaders of the former socialist countries, who supported Khrushchev in his chauvinist policy and who, with the line they adopted, not only damaged the international communist movement, but also dealt a heavy blow at the fundamental interests of their own countries. However, apart from his exposure of the revisionist leaders, Comrade Enver Hoxha

speaks in his book with great affection and warmth about such internationalist revolutionary leaders as Dimitrov, Pieck, Gottwald, Bierut, Kolarov and others.

In stigmatizing the hegemonic ambitions of the Khrushchevites and their efforts to put the international communist movement under their control and to consolidate their domination over the then socialist camp, Comrade Enver Hoxha points that «The Soviet Khrushchevites replaced Marxist-Leninist trust and friendship with the domination of the great 'socialist' state, in order to create the 'socialist family', the 'socialist community', in which Brezhnev and the Soviet marshals rule today with the iron fist by threatening any 'wayward son' of the family with the bludgeon of the Warsaw Treaty» (pp. 208-209). However, the hodge-podge that Khrushchev was concocting was such that it soon stuck in his throat. He was not in a position to contain the «devils», which got out of his control, so much so that they even tried to change their patron. The counter-revolution broke out in Hungary and in Poland. «In Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania, the enemies of socialism wanted to go at a gallop on the road of the restoration of capitalism, flinging aside the tattered demagogic disguise which the group of Soviet leaders wanted to preserve» (pp. 219-220). Therefore, the Khrushchev group, and later the Brezhnev group, resorted to the use of tanks, as in Hungary in 1956 and in Czechoslovakia in 1968, in order to contain the «devils».

Another form Khrushchev used in order to make the Soviet Union a great world power, Comrade Enver Hoxha points out in his book «The Khrushchevites» (Memoirs), were the meetings organized in Moscow of the communist and workers' parties and of the leaders of the former socialist countries in order to make Moscow, if not *de jure*, at least *de facto*, the centre of international communism, in this way, always having the advantage of their bugging devices and being able to work on, and keep one or the other under control through their men» (p. 209). «Khrushchev was to exploit the Moscow Meeting of 1957 as a means to prepare the terrain for the implementation of the diabolical anti-communist plan which he was to carry further,»

says Comrade Enver Hoxha (p. 321). A similar aim was in Khrushchev's mind at the Bucharest Meeting of June 1960 and at the Moscow Meeting of November 1960, at which the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha laid bare the treacherous, chauvinist and counter-revolutionary countenance of the Khrushchevites.

As is pointed out in the book «The Khrushchevites» (Memoirs), the chauvinist and imperialist aims of the Khrushchevites made themselves manifest also at the time of Khrushchev's visit in our country (1959). The Khrushchevites wanted to turn Albania into a military base for enslavement of other peoples. What aims other than imperialist and hegemonic ones could have had the whispers exchanged between Malinovsky and Khrushchev at Butrint about building an ideal base for the Soviet submarines there, or in Vlora, from where they could control the entire Mediterranean. «'No, Nikita Khrushchev,' I said to myself,» Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, «We shall never allow you to set out to enslave other countries and shed their peoples' blood from our territory» (p. 357).

Life has proved to the full the conviction of the PLA about the hegemonic ambitions of the Khrushchevites. The Soviet foreign policy has been turned by the soviet revisionists into an expansionist, hegemonic, social-imperialist policy which, in rivalry with the USA, seeks to establish Soviet domination over the world.

Proceeding from the whole anti-Marxist activity of the Khrushchevites, Comrade Enver Hoxha in his book «The Khrushchevites» (Memoirs) argues for the necessity of the firm stand of principle the PLA maintained at the Meetings of Bucharest and Moscow in 1960 towards the Soviet revisionists and their followers.

Comrade Enver Hoxha regards the Bucharest Meeting «a revisionist, Trotskyite and anti-Marxist plot» (p. 336) hatched up by the Soviet revisionists in order to achieve in other ways what they failed to achieve at the Moscow Meeting in 1957. The failure of the plans of Khrushchev at this meeting did not mean that the Khrushchevites gave up their hegemonic

ambitions in the international communist movement and in the socialist camp. On the contrary, he continued his efforts to organize a new meeting in order to make up for his defeat, to establish his law over the herd he wanted to command. «However, the Khrushchevites were seeing and were convinced that two parties, in particular, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of China, were not joining this herd which they wanted to have completely under their «control» (pp. 377-378). Therefore, Khrushchev, with his logic of a revisionist, decided that accounts first had to be settled with Albania and China before the next meeting of international communism. Indeed, he thought little of small Albania which, according to him, would surrender in the long run. So China was a more urgent problem. China had to be brought down to its knees. This Khrushchev tried to achieve in Bucharest. But he failed. The PLA exposed Khrushchev and his associates in Bucharest «for their anti-Marxist aims and the conspiratorial methods which they used, defended the Communist Party of China and opposed the continuation of such a meeting» (p. 380), because in this way it defended «the Leninist norms, Marxism-Leninism» (385).

As is pointed out in the book «The Khrushchevites» (Memoirs), the Bucharest Meeting was a plot organized against Marxism-Leninism. The stand of the PLA at Bucharest was correct, Marxist-Leninist. Even today, Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses, when the Chinese revisionists have openly betrayed, the PLA is of the opinion that its stand at the Bucharest Meeting was correct. At that time the Communist Party of China posed as the defender of Marxism-Leninism. And it is precisely the struggle in the defence of Marxism-Leninism against revisionism that brought the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of China into the same trench at that time. The stand of the PLA at the Bucharest Meeting was characterized by Marxist-Leninist courage and loyalty to principles, regardless of the consequences that this stand might involve. The Khrushchevites resorted to every means, from pressure, blackmail provocations to the hunger blockades, by refusing to supply us the bread grain as agreed,

in order to tie us to themselves. «However, our Party and people stood firm on the correct Marxist-Leninist line» (p. 389). In this way, the struggle between the PLA and the leadership of the Khrushchevite revisionist leadership became more and more acute, and was to grow still more acute in the Moscow Meeting of the year 1960. However, the PLA was not afraid of this struggle. It prepared to go to Moscow with mature and wise, courageous and principled analyses and judgement. It was determined to expound at that meeting its own firm line and display its ideological and political maturity, its rare revolutionary courage and lofty spirit of principle.

The Khrushchevites left nothing undone to force the delegation of the PLA to a reconciliation before the Moscow Meeting began. However, as Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, «neither their flattery, their credits, their sickly smiles, nor their blackmail and threats would have any effect on the Party of Labour of Albania» (p. 391). The Khrushchevites used the leaders of the other parties to persuade the PLA to give up its struggle against the revisionist betrayal. But they received the reply they deserved.

The historic speech, which Comrade Enver Hoxha made at the Moscow Meeting in 1960, tore the mask of Khrushchevite revisionism and laid bare before the entire international communist movement the danger of the spread of the revisionist scourge. Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech at this meeting constitutes the revolutionary platform of the PLA for the defence of the principles of Marxism-Leninism in struggle against modern revisionism, it is a Marxist-Leninist document of great value for the present and the future. This speech is a crushing criticism of the Khrushchevite revisionist line over the fundamental problems of the strategy and tactics of the international communist movement, over the stand towards imperialism, in general, and American imperialism, in particular, over the problems of classes and the class struggle, the roads of transition from capitalism to socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the leading role of the communist party in the revolution and the socialist construction, the relations between the communist parties and the socialist coun-

tries, etc. From the speech of Comrade Enver Hoxha at the Moscow Meeting it came out clearly that for the PLA there exist no interests higher and more sacred than the defence of Marxism-Leninism, the defence of the freedom and independence of the Homeland, the construction of socialism and communism.

The Communist Party of China lined up with our Party at the Moscow Meeting, but it did so from positions diametrically opposed to those of our Party. The Chinese leaders posed as Marxist-Leninists in order to displace the Khrushchevites from their position of hegemony in the international communist and workers' movement. However, when they saw that they failed to achieve their goal, being themselves in reactionary ideological positions, soon they dropped their Marxist-Leninist disguise and «came out in the arena as they had always been, opportunists, loyal champions of a line of conciliation and capitulation towards capital and reaction» (p. 237).

Following the Moscow Meeting of 1960, the Khrushchevites, enraged by the courageous, principled Marxist-Leninist stand of our Party, intensified their attacks, provocations and blackmail, and went as far as to brutally and unilaterally break diplomatic relations with our country. With this act, they thought they could bring our Party to its knees, but they were terribly wrong. «Heroically and with Marxist-Leninist maturity, the Party of Labour of Albania resisted the attacks of modern revisionism led by Khrushchev and counter-attacked hard, with exemplary solidarity, with great Marxist-Leninist clarity, and with indisputable and undeniable, arguments and facts» (p. 447).

* * *

More than 20 years have gone by since the Moscow Meeting of the communist and workers' parties. All along this 20-year long period the facts have completely proved the correctness of the line of the PLA and of its struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism and other currents of modern revisionism. This has been proved, in the first place, through the ceaseless strengthening and perfecting of the dic-

tatorship of the proletariat and the socialist order in our country, on the one hand, and the degeneration of the Soviet Union into a bourgeois state, into a social-imperialist superpower, into a centre of the world counter-revolution, on the other hand. The occupation of Czechoslovakia, Afghanistan, as well as other acts of this order, constitute the most aggressive, expansionist and hegemonic character of Soviet social-imperialism. The correctness of the line of the PLA and of its struggle against modern revisionism of all hues has also been borne out by the creation and strengthening of the new Marxist-Leninist movement in the world, on the one hand, and the degeneration of the communist and workers' parties which adopted Khrushchevite revisionism, on the other hand. The communist parties, which plunged deeper and deeper into revisionism, turned into «bourgeois parties of the working class» and the former socialist countries, which submitted to the Moscow dictate, turned into provinces of Soviet social-imperialism. Finally, the correctness of the line of the PLA is confirmed by the rising powerful tide of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and of the national liberation movement of the peoples, on the one hand, and by the crisis which has capitalism and the revisionist mob in its grip, and their weakening and decay, on the other hand. At present, the revolution is a problem put forward for solution and is forging steadily ahead, capitalism and revisionism are doomed to unavoidable failure.

In this way the struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism is a great historic mission, which ensured the freedom and independence of our country, its development on the road of socialism and the defence of Marxism-Leninism from revisionist distortions. This emerges quite clearly from the book of Comrade Enver Hoxha «The Khrushchevites» (Memoirs), which is another reliable weapon in the hands of the communists and our people in their struggle for the advance of the cause of the revolution and socialism in Albania, as well as a document of great value for the exposure of Khrushchevite revisionism all over the world, in the service of the development of the revolution and the liberation of the peoples.

G. CASTELLAN

«L'ALBANIE»

Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1980, 120 pp.

by **STEFANAQ POLLO**

G. CASTELLAN'S BOOK «L'ALBANIE» HAS COME OUT IN THE SERIES «QUE SAIS-JE?» OF THE PRESSES UNIVERSITAIRES DE FRANCE. ITS AUTHOR IS WELL-KNOWN IN OUR SCIENTIFIC CIRCLES FOR HIS PARTICIPATION IN THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR THE STUDY OF POPULAR CULTURE (1976) AND THE ALBANIAN LEAGUE OF PRIZREN (1978). G. CASTELLAN, AFTER LECTURING AT THE PARIS UNIVERSITY (VINCENNES), MORE RECENTLY HAS MOVED TO THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL LIVING LANGUAGES, AND PRESENTLY HEADS THE CENTRE OF STUDIES OF CENTRAL AND SOUTH-EAST EUROPEAN PEOPLES AND CULTURES. AS SPECIALIST IN THE HISTORY OF GERMANY AND THE BALKANS, HE HAS PUBLISHED A NUMBER OF BOOKS AND DOZENS OF SCIENTIFIC PAPERS. ON THE BALKAN COUNTRIES, HE HAS PUBLISHED THE BOOKS «EVERY-DAY LIFE IN SERBIA ON THE EVE OF ITS INDEPENDENCE» (1967), «BULGARIA», (1976), AND RECENTLY «ALBANIA» — A SUMMARY OF ITS HISTORY FROM THE ANCIENT TIMES TO OUR DAYS.

The book comprises an introduction on the past of the Albanians and five chapters: 1) The Country and Its People; 2) The Independent Albanian State (1912-1939), 3) Albania in the Second World War; 4) the Political Revolution; 5) The Socio-Economic Revolutions, and as a conclusion, «The Specific Character of Albania».

As emerges from the content and a brief bibliography appended to the book, the author bases his study mainly on Albanian political and historical literature published after Liberation. With this approach, G. Castellan, unlike many foreign authors, is able to deal on a whole correctly with the problems of Albanian history.

The limited size of this volume, as STEFANAQ POLLO — Professor, Director of the Institute of History at the Academy of Sciences of the PSR. of Albania

are all the volumes of this series, has compelled the author to dwell only on the main events with utmost concision, which has resulted in an attractively written synthesis of facts and data about Albania, accessible to a broad public to which the series «Que sais-je?» addresses its publications.

The author achieves a balance of volume among the different historical periods. Albania's past until the year 1939, together with general information on the country and the Albanian people, occupies one third of the book, two thirds go to the history of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War and the socialist construction — two periods rich in events, during which the Albanian people, led by the Communist Party of Albania (today the Party of Labour of Albania), in fierce struggle, won the complete indepen-

dence of their country and carried out deep-going revolutionary socio-economic transformations unknown before and which ushered the country on the road of socialism.

From this volume it emerges that G. Castellan is well versed and objective in his interpretations and assessments of the history of our country and the problems facing socialist Albania today.

In regard to Albania's past until 1939 — the time of the fascist aggression and the beginning of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, the author deals in brief with the Illyrians and their relations with the Greeks and the Romans, with the problem of the Illyrian-Albanian continuity, with the problem of the first Albanian state formations in the 12th-14th centuries, with the Ottoman invasion and the heroic resistance of the Albanians led by Skanderbeg, with the socio-economic and religious changes during the Ottoman rule in the 16th-18th centuries, while treating somewhat more extensively the National Renaissance, the Albanian League of Prizren and the Proclamation of Independence.

Quite rightly the author recognises to the Illyrians an agricultural development based on the use of iron (here he could have mentioned the Illyrian cities), a state organization in the form

of temporary kingdoms and their resistance to the Roman invasion. He accepts the thesis of the Illyrian-Albanian continuity which is now borne out by the finds made in the excavations carried out by the Albanian archaeologists, as well as the formation of the feudal principalities, beginning with the first state of Arbër, in the end of the 12th century. At this point he could have mentioned the Albanian feudal principalities of the 14th century, which played an important role in the history of this period.

G. Castellan's assessment of Skanderbeg and his epoch, as one in which «for twenty-five years (1443-1468) he became the hero of a war epic by repelling all the attacks of the Sultans,» and that «this resistance placed Albania at the centre of the interests of the Papacy, of the Aragonese of Naples, the Venetians and Hungarians» (p. 6), as well as his conclusion that the weakening of Skanderbeg's position was caused by the division among the feudal lords, both are correct. We would add that more than «the crusader of the Christian Europe», Skanderbeg was, for a time, the only barrier between Western Europe and the Ottoman invaders, although he was betrayed and left alone by the very Western states he was defending.

In the treatment of the socio-economic development of the Albanian territories in the 16th-17th centuries, a statement of the author to the effect that the Ottoman rulers «colonized especially the plains, with Turkish settlers brought from Anatolia» (p. 7), is a point for dispute. The assertions of a number of historians, according to whom the fierce and relentless Albanian resistance over the centuries of the Ottoman rule made the establishment of Turkish settlers in Albania impossible and forced the Sublime Porte to employ the Albanian feudal lords for the government of the country and to resort to the Islamization of the Albanian population as a means of ideological diversion, have been corroborated in recent years by the discovery and study of the Turkish records of the 15th-16th centuries.

The author analyses the Albanian Renaissance, the organized struggle of the Albanian people for territorial integrity, autonomy and independence of the country in the same light as our new historiographers. According to the author, the Albanians did not stand aloof from the national movements which swept the Europe of the 19th century, however, in the specific conditions of the country, this movement triumphed later than in the other countries; the national movement began within the country and had the assistance of Albanian emigrants; the League of Prizren fought for the preservation of the integrity of the Albanian territories and for the autonomy of Albania; the Albanians first supported the movement of the Young Turks, who promised to carry out reforms, but were very quick to rise against the extremist nationalist policy of the Young Turks.

In the chapter «The Country and Its People», apart from some inaccuracy in connection with the Greek minority, the book gives general and, on a whole, up-to-date information about the relief, the climate and the population. The author points out the great increase of the population, which has trebled within a half of a century (1923-1975), a population growth ten times greater than that of France, and which is explained with the high birth-rate (30.6 per thousand), and especially with the lowering of the death-rate among children, in particular, a result of the policy followed by the people's power after Liberation. After treating the question of demography, the development of the cities and the expansion of the network of communications, which have taken place parallel with the rapid socio-economic development of the country, the author's attention is attracted by the museum-cities of Gjirokastra and Berat, which are the object of large-scale and expensive restoration work, which, in the author's words, makes them «among the most attractive cities of the Balkan Peninsula» (p. 17).

The history of the independent Albanian state (1912-1939) is dealt with

in its political and socio-economic aspects. The author points out that the victories of the great anti-Ottoman uprisings of the Albanian people, which led, «in fact, to the liberation of Albania in July 1912» (p. 20), were threatened by the advance of the Balkan allied armies in 1912-1913 and the expansionist aims of the neighbouring monarchies to which, by decision of the Great Powers, nearly half of the Albanian population was turned under their yoke. Speaking about the vicissitudes of the newly formed Albanian state, G. Castellan considers the «Northern Epirus» movement in Southern Albania a movement aided and abetted (we would say, organized) by the Greek Government, headed by E. Venizelos; the peasant movement of the years 1914-1915 — a movement directed against the omnipotence of the landlords who surrounded Prince Wied; the policy of the Great Powers in the beginning of the First World War — a policy in which Albania served as a bait to draw Greece and Italy to their side; the London Treaty of April 1915 — a treaty which threatened the disappearance of the Albanian state by the self-same powers which in 1913 were the guarantors of its independence.

In connection with the policy pursued by the victorious Great Powers at the Paris Peace Conference, the assertion that these powers, after abandoning their plans for the dismemberment of Albania in December 1919 and January 1920, in the spring of 1920 returned to the idea of preserving the Albania of the year 1913, is disputable. In reality, because of the contradictions among them, the Great Powers left in abeyance the final solution of the Albanian question, as the Albanian people had resolved themselves the question of their fate, arms in hand, with their victory in the Vlora war which ended with the Italian invaders being thrown into the sea.

The author calls the ex-King of Albania, A. Zog, «a clever, cunning and unscrupulous» feudal lord (p. 30), and considers his internal policy a policy «of regal arbitrariness combined with

the weaknesses of his foreign policy» (p. 35). On the other hand, he assesses the June 1924 Revolution as a revolution the democratic program of which (freedom of the person, land reform, respect of law, administrative, fiscal and judicial reforms, organization of education, etc) «aroused great hopes but came up against many interests, beginning with those of the beys and the great landlords with whom the high-ranking officers of the army were closely linked» (p. 31).

The Anti-fascist National Liberation War occupies an important place in this book. Right at the beginning the author admits that the liberation of the country «was the result of the armed struggle of the broad strata of the population». The sub-divisions of the chapter give an idea of the problems and periodization of this struggle: the Italian occupation, the beginnings and the formation of the Communist Party of Albania, the Communist Party of Albania — the leader of the resistance against the Italian occupation, the beginnings of the nationalist resistance (sic!), the German occupation, the break between communists and nationalists, the struggle for power and the liberation of Albania.

Along with a generally objective treatment of this period, the author makes a number of assertions and comes to some conclusions which, in our opinion, are either disputable or contradictory.

The author is right in stressing that the anti-Zog movement merges with the anti-fascist movement, when, as a result of Mussolini's expansionist aims and Zog's capitulating policy, Albania was placed under the «patronage» of Italy; that beginning from the Thirties, the Albanian communists began to put themselves at the head of this movement, that this movement was divided into different groups. The author considers Italy's defeat in the Greek-Italian War in October 1940, to be a decisive element of union in the communist movement. Certainly this defeat and, in general, the Greek-Italian War favoured the extension of the communist and anti-fascist move-

ment, not only because it greatly aggravated the plight of the masses, but also because clearly revealed the rottenness of Italian fascism and completely discredited it in the eyes of the Albanian people.

An extremely important role in the unity of the Albanian communist movement was played by the attack of Hitlerite Germany on the Soviet Union and the strengthening of the anti-fascist coalition of the peoples, with the Soviet Union in its vanguard. At this juncture a major responsibility devolved on the Albanian communists to provide, as soon as possible, a political leadership for the Albanian people, a political leadership as the Communist Party of Albania would be in their struggle against the fascist occupiers. We think that the author is wrong in saying that resistance against the fascist occupiers in Albania was organized on the example of Yugoslavia and Greece, when it is a known fact that these countries were occupied by the fascists later than Albania, in April 1941.

The Communist Party of Albania was founded, as the author says, at the meeting of the communist groups in November 1941, where a Central Committee, headed by Enver Hoxha, was elected. G. Castellan dwells on the tendentious assertions of Yugoslav authors that the formation of the Communist Party of Albania was the direct work of the Yugoslavs. The presence of the representatives of the Yugoslav Communist Party in Albania, the author writes, «is understandable in the political situation of the Balkans after the German attack on the Soviet Union, when the Comintern had launched the slogan of close collaboration between the various communist parties in the Peninsula» (p. 47).

To the events of the anti-fascist war the author devotes a sub-division, the «Beginning of the Nationalist Resistance» (p. 40). We must say, at the very beginning, that the term «resistance» does not apply to this case, because there can be no question of an anti-fascist resistance by a movement led by organizations such as «Balli Kombë-

tar» and «Legaliteti», which, though orientated towards the Western Powers, collaborated with the fascist occupiers and placed themselves fully in their service and fought arms in hand to destroy the Anti-fascist National Liberation Movement, led by the Communist Party of Albania. The author mentions the secret agreement concluded between «Balli Kombëtar» and the Italian fascist occupiers, known as the Dalmazzo-Këtyra Protocol of March 1943, under which the «Balli Kombëtar» undertook to forestall any attack on the Italian troops and assist them in their punitive operations in Southern Albania (p. 52). Further on the author continues to say that all the political formations outside the National Liberation Front «accepted the modus vivendi proposed by the occupier which, in fact, led to more or less direct collaboration with it», that «Balli Kombëtar» had many connections with the Regency and the Quisling government, formed under the aegis of the Germans, that «Balli Kombëtar» ordered its forces not to attack the Wehrmacht» etc, etc.

Among the main, if not the only reasons which prevented «Balli Kombëtar» and «Legaliteti» from participating in the National Liberation War, the author ascribes to their anti-communist feelings and their refusal to collaborate with the Yugoslav and Greek partisans who, according to them, were «for the partition of Albania», thereby meaning the «Greater Albania».

Were we to accept the first reason (in reality «Balli Kombëtar» and «Legaliteti» represented the interests of the ruling classes, of the bourgeoisie and the landlords and did their utmost, going even to such lengths as to openly collaborate with the foreign invaders, in order to bar the people led by the communists from seizing power), we could hardly accept the second reason. The slogan of «Greater Albania», with Kosova and Çamëria, was launched by the fascist occupiers in order to foment the old national and chauvinistic quarrels of the reactionary classes of the Balkan countries and to place them in

their service. The Communist Party of Albania and the National Liberation Movement in Albania «exposed the provocative policy of 'Greater Albania', and pursued the course of intensifying the war against the fascist invaders and of strengthening collaboration with the neighbouring peoples in their liberation struggle against their common enemy, relying on the right of self-determination of the peoples» («History of the Party of Labour of Albania», Tirana 1968, p. 64, Alb. ed.). The slogan of «Greater Albania» was resorted to by the reactionary organizations of «Balli Kombëtar» and «Lëgaliteti» in order to beguile their followers. On the other hand, Albanian reaction, and the author admits this, tried to link itself with Greek reaction in order to concert their efforts against the national liberation war of the two countries (p. 57), disregarding the threat of dismemberment of «Greater Albania», for the sake of preserving their class interests.

The assertion of the author that the CC of the Communist Party of Albania opposed all the attempts made in 1944 to form political parties or formations, including allies of the National Liberation Front, does not seem to correspond to historical truth, either. The Communist Party of Albania declared more than once during the war that it was not opposed to the formation of other anti-fascist parties or organizations, provided that they fight against the fascist invaders and take part in the National Liberation Front, while having the right to preserve their individuality. However, such parties or organizations were not created during the year 1944. Even the attempt of the heads of reaction at Tufina in May 1944 to set up a common front, as the author himself says, was aimed «to save the Homeland from the com-

munist threat», rather than to fight the nazi occupiers, «with whose knowledge and under whose nose,» as the author again says, «that meeting took place» (p. 58).

The last two chapters of the book (4 and 5) are devoted to the history of socialist construction in Albania. They comprise the period from Liberation (1944) to 1976, including the 7th Congress of the PLA.

Here the author describes the difficulties of the new people's power, the class struggle, the revolutionary socio-economic reforms, the struggle against the interference by the Yugoslavs and the Koçi Xoxe traitor group, the main decisions of the congresses of the PLA, the struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism and Chinese revisionism, the great revolutionary movements of the Sixties, the five-year plans and the struggle for their implementation, for the socio-economic progress of socialist Albania.

Although the terminology used in some cases is questionable and some facts inaccurate, the author has revealed the great struggle of the PLA and the Albanian people for the construction of socialism and for the successful overcoming of many internal and external difficulties.

Let us dwell on some statements of the author which, in our opinion, do not stand criticism.

«The new Government of Tirana,» writes G. Castellán, «for many years in succession found itself facing what had been the problem of central state power in Albania: the extension of its authority to the whole of the territory. The Northern Mountains and Mirdita were the last to submit (sic!) in 1950» (p. 65). By making such statement the author ignores the fact that the National Liberation Movement in these areas, with the coming of the divisions of

the National Liberation Army in 1944, assumed large proportions, that the national liberation councils were set up in all the villages of these mountain regions when the war was not yet over, that the overwhelming majority of the population of these regions cast their votes for the Democratic Front of Albania, etc. It is true that gangs of diversionists operated in these areas after Liberation, but these gangs can in no way be identified with the people living in these territories, who linked themselves with the people's power and took an active part in the annihilation of these gangs.

When mention is made of the struggle against the kulaks in the countryside, their resistance to the measures of the people's power is attributed, without any justification, to «the broad strata of the peasantry». In the years 1948-1950 and in the beginning of the Fifties the problem of development of the productive forces in the countryside and of the economic links between town and countryside were among the most difficult to be solved. The state administration also made mistakes which the kulaks and the hostile element were quick to turn to their benefit, in order to stir up dissatisfaction among the peasants; there were also isolated elements or peasant groups who fell for their trap and refused to comply with state ordinances. But they represent by no means the broad strata of the peasant population.

In his conclusions, in the end of the book, the author dwells on some current questions of an ideological and political character, mainly on Albania's international relations.

Despite all these shortcomings, G. Castellán's book «L'Albanie» is a valuable work which gives the French readers fundamental knowledge about the history of the Albanian people.

THE IDEOLOGICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL DEGENERATION OF THE EUROCOMMUNIST PARTIES *by* **PETRO CIRUNA**

It is becoming ever more clear with each passing day that the Eurocommunist revisionist parties have ceased to be fighting organizations of the working class. Together with the social-democrats and fascists, they attack by all manner of means the revolution, Marxism-Leninism and communism

THE MODERN REVISIONISTS OCCUPY A SPECIAL PLACE IN THE PLAN OF THE GRAND STRATEGY OF THE BOURGEOISIE TO PARALYSE THE RISE OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE WORKING MASSES IN REVOLUTION. THEIR AIM HAS BEEN AND REMAINS, AMONG OTHER THINGS, TO DEPROLETARIANIZE THE COMMUNIST PARTIES, TO ENSURE THAT THE PROLETARIAT IS LEFT WITHOUT ITS LEADING STAFF, IS DISORIENTATED IDEOLOGICALLY AND CONFUSED POLITICALLY, BECOMES UNABLE TO RISE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE OVERTHROW OF THE BOURGEOISIE AND REACTION AND FOR ITS OWN LIBERATION FROM CAPITALIST OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION.

**MARXISM-LENINISM
HAS BEEN AND REMAINS
THE GUIDING COMPASS SHOWING
THE PROLETARIAT
AND THE WORKING PEOPLE
THE ROAD TO ESCAPE
OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION**

The enhancement of the revolutionary political and ideological consciousness of the working class and the other working masses in the struggle for their union, organization, mobilization and activation for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of

PETRO CIRUNA — *Reader at the «V. I. Lenin» Higher Party School.*

the dictatorship of the proletariat with violence has always been one of principal tasks of the true revolutionaries and true parties of the working class. And this task can be carried out only by that party which, in all its activity in the role of the leading, mobilizing and organizing staff of the proletariat and the other working masses for revolutionary action, proceeds unwaveringly from the only revolutionary theory — Marxism-Leninism, because, as Lenin has pointed out: «Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement,» «the role of the vanguard fighter can be played only by that Party which is led by a vanguard theory.»¹

The bourgeoisie, too, is aware of and recognize this great truth, therefore it takes all the measures to impede and paralyse the process in which the masses gain the consciousness for revolution, it resorts to all means to preserve its domination, activating for this purpose its agency — the modern revisionists, including the Euro-communist revisionists, who more zealously (and more openly than the others) have become the main supporters of the capitalist order, thus sanctioning their open and final departure from Marxism-Leninism and the revolution.

In his book «Eurocommunism Is Anti-communism», Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses that the degeneration of the Eurocommunist parties had begun long ago, but after the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, this process was further intensified. Under the pretext of the «creative development» of Marxism-Leninism they turned their former proletarian course and line into bourgeois ones, renounced from the proletarian revo-

lution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the class struggle, the hegemonic role of the proletariat and the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, replacing them with anti-proletarian, bourgeois and revisionist theses, «theories» and concepts. The theses and «theories» of the Eurocommunist revisionists on the different «original» roads of transition from capitalism to socialism, like the «democratic road», the «historic compromise» and others which, in fact, negate the revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, fall within this category. For the same counter-revolutionary strategic aims and in order to put out the class struggle, the Eurocommunist revisionists borrowed from the arsenal of the old opportunists and revisionists the anti-proletarian and bourgeois «theories» and theses on «fraternization in divergency», the «consumer society», the «developed industrial society», and others, with the aim of replacing the dictatorship of the proletariat with the «democratic state», the hegemonic role of the proletariat and its party in revolution with the leading role of the intelligentsia, the youth, the students and the different petty-bourgeois strata.

Capitalizing on the new historical conditions, these renegades from the working class also advocate changes in the role and historic mission of the proletariat and its party. Thus, the Eurocommunists see the present-day capitalist society as unified, they no longer see its polarization into proletarians and bourgeois. According to them, at present all the classes and strata of capitalist society, and especially the intelligentsia, are the same as the proletariat. The «consumer society», the «developed industrial society», according to the Eurocommunists, not only has changed the form of the old capitalist society, but has also levelled out the class differences. In connection with this, Georges Marchais declares that now «there can be no longer any talk about the French proletariat, but about the French working class.» By means of these theses, the revisionists try to refute the Marxist-Leninist theory on

the role and historic mission of the proletariat in the socialist transformation of society, because the bourgeoisie and its parties also aspire to this transformation. But, as the classics of Marxism-Leninism pointed out and practice proves, this role in revolution and in the construction of socialism can be played by no other class or social stratum apart from the working class, for the reason that this class is not only the main productive force, but also a barrier to the ideals of socialism and communism, the most conscious, the most organized and the most disciplined class, the class capable of leading the masses in the revolution to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and to secure the construction and defence of socialism.

Comrade Enver Hoxha also stresses that since the Eurocommunists deny the leading role of the working class in the revolution and construction of socialism they certainly give up also the role and mission of the communist party as defined by Marxism-Leninism and confirmed by the long history of the world revolutionary and communist movement. They advertise the so-called «pluralism» which allegedly conforms to the special democratic character socialism is supposed to assume in these countries. As a result of this anti-Marxist concept, the revisionist parties of France, Italy, Spain and other countries have placed the compromise with the bourgeois parties, their participation in the state power of capital, in order to give a new lease of life to the latter, at the foundation of their reformist programs. The development of events is proving that the Eurocommunists have departed altogether from the concept of the Leninist party, sanctioning bourgeois, opportunist, reactionary and even fascist philosophical views even in their Constitutions. Now these parties, «the French, Italian or Spanish communist party have only the name communist,» Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, «because the three of them are floundering in the stinking waters of the bourgeoisie which they serve. The programs of the revisionist parties of the Western countries are

typically reformist programs, which do not differ from the programs of the bourgeois parties, socialist and social-democratic, which sing the same refrain.»² In these programs they sanction their anti-proletarian, anti-communist orientation, their role of active agents of capital, bent on defending at all costs the bourgeois order, its oppressive and exploitative structure and superstructure. These parties try to justify this open betrayal of the proletariat, covering it up with all kind of «arguments», such as «programs must conform to the situation,» «now in the countries of Western Europe development trends make it possible to go to socialism together with the other social classes, provided similar programs of action are worked out gradually,» «the establishment of socialism and the construction of this order does not necessarily require that the teachings of Lenin on the special mission of the party of the working class be applied, because we live in new times, and because this would hamper the deepening of democracy, the participation of the other parties and their contribution in the efforts to go to socialism,» etc. From these very «arguments» it becomes quite clear that the revisionist Eurocommunist parties are for the statusquo of the regimes set up by capital, stand for the bourgeois democratic republic, even for the monarchy. The head of the Spanish revisionist party Carrillo declared publicly that he renounces the republic and accepts the monarchy, thus aligning himself with the other reactionary parties in the defence of the fascist rule. This is a truly «original» road to go to socialism!

From the history of the communist and worker movement we know that other renegades from the working class have long ago proposed such roads and that the classics of Marxism-Leninism have actively fought to expose and defeat them. The revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party can play its vanguard role, can lead the struggle of the working class and the working masses for freedom and socialism, our great classics have pointed out, only when they assl-

mitate and implement the theory of scientific socialism, the ideology of the working class, and do not slide into the positions of the bourgeois ideology or enter into collaboration with its parties. This is absolutely necessary, for without a revolutionary theory, without knowing the laws of the movement and the revolution, the party is not in a position to lead the struggle of the proletariat, to draw it and its different allies to itself.

There is no doubt that the present-day struggle of the proletariat to transform society is carried out in times different from those in which the founders of the proletarian doctrine lived. But the new times have not changed the material and social conditions of the proletariat and working people, their oppression and exploitation remain, indeed they have become even more intensive, the situation has undergone no change in its content, that is why the movements and revolts of the working people have mounted higher instead of retrogressing, therefore the revolution is no longer an aspiration, but a concrete task put forward for solution. Precisely in these conditions, the true communist party, as the vanguard and more conscious detachment of the working class, armed with the revolutionary theory, is again the only leading force which provides political and ideological content to the struggle of the masses which is in a position to correctly define the fundamental objectives and tasks of each stage of the revolution and socialist construction, to work out the methods, ways, and means for their achievement, to convince the masses ideologically of the correctness of its program and slogans and to throw them in ever bolder revolutionary actions against the bourgeoisie and reaction, as well as against their parties.

The role of the revolutionary party of the working class in preparing the revolution and ensuring its triumph is decisive, because the spontaneous movement of the working class alone, revolutionary action alone, as the classics of Marxism-Leninism have pointed out, cannot produce the socialist conscious-

ness. It is the Marxist-Leninist party, the only carrier of the proletarian ideology which makes the working class aware of its role and mission. Hence, the great importance of the constant Marxist-Leninist education of the party members, of the working class and working masses, as an absolute precondition for the triumph of the revolution, for the construction of socialism and communism. The classics of Marxism-Leninism have stressed that social and national liberation is the conscious work of the working class and other working masses led by the Marxist-Leninist party. They have refuted as utopian and reactionary any opportunist and revisionist view that liberation can come from other classes and parties or from «due reason». Bent on impeding social progress, all the enemies of the working class and its party have intentionally belittled the importance of the role of consciousness, the role of the party and the role of theory for the movement of the working class and, in this way or another, have advocated spontaneity. But as J. V. Stalin has pointed out, «The theory of spontaneity is the theory of lowering the element of consciousness in the movement, is the ideology of «khvostism», the logical basis of every opportunism.»³

The theory of spontaneity of the Eurocommunist revisionist parties today is expressed through their thesis on the decisive spontaneous role «the development of the technical-scientific revolution» plays in the socialist transformation of society, which is a variant of the «theory of the productive forces» of Kautsky's adapted, of course, to modern conditions. According to this «thesis», the level of the productive forces at present is so high that it allegedly impels the capitalist world to «integrate» spontaneously into socialism, whether consciously or «unconsciously, gradually and radically». Hence, the Eurocommunists come to the conclusion that the only correct road to go to socialism is the peaceful road which is supposed to have many «models».

The bourgeois-revisionist theses on class conciliation, pacifism, departure

from the revolution, renunciation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, «specific» socialism and others are the daily ideological nourishment of the revisionist parties. By educating its members and those sections of the proletariat, which are still under their influence, in this opportunist spirit, they serve with zeal the bourgeoisie, help it strangle the revolution and any revolutionary movement of the working class and the working masses.

For the education of their members and cadres the Eurocommunist revisionist parties use extensively, apart of their own means of propaganda and education, all the means of propaganda of the bourgeois state. They have become today a component part of the political and ideological superstructure of the bourgeois order. Their aims are one with those of the bourgeois parties: to poison the consciousness of the proletariat and the other working masses with a view to diverting them from the revolution and keeping them under the yoke of oppression and exploitation.

Besides directing, the Eurocommunist revisionist parties also carry out their counter-revolutionary activity by means of the mass organizations which are manipulated by them, especially by means of the reformist trade unions. In their programs these trade unions advocate of class conciliation and collaboration, with the aim of serving capitalism and prolonging its life, of coming to its assistance, especially in the conditions of the general crisis which is sapping the foundations of its political and economic rule.

The programs of the reformist trade unions in Italy, France, Britain, the United States, Germany, Spain and other countries, inspired by opportunist and reformist theses, have long ago been suited to the aims of the bourgeoisie. Even on the plane of the struggle for economic demands, these trade unions call for a «struggle limited» within the bounds of the capitalist relations of production and of the bourgeois socio-economic order. Any expression of political protest against the existing order is considered by the trade-union

chiefs a «heresy,» and severely condemned. They advocate «soft strikes», «social contracts», agreements with the bosses, and a further tightening of belts, etc. Thus, for example, the general secretary of the European Trade Union Confederation declared recently: «We believe in the capitalist system and remain loyal to the cause of this system.» The American trade-union chiefs call for «defence and preservation» of the existing order, their West-German counter-parts call for implementation of the deceptive idea of «joint administration», their British consorts advocate support for the programs and measures of the government, whereas one of the Italian revisionist exponents, speaking about the trade unions, said among other things: «We do not understand what the workers are complaining about, they never have lived better than today.» (!) But the reality of the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist countries denies these false statements. In Italy, for example, which is a country in complete economic and political chaos, with about 2 million unemployed, the conditions of living of the working masses are growing worse, last year inflation was running at 20 per cent — the highest figure for the recent years and which represents a negative record for this country; this country is the more severely affected by the general crisis of the capitalist world. In Italy and in the other capitalist countries economic and social polarization is deepening with each passing day. The working masses are being impoverished at a time when a handful of monopolists are enriching themselves beyond all proportions. In the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist world today there are more than 110 million unemployed, 10 million of whom in the United States, 6 million in the Soviet Union, 20 million in China and about 2 million in France. In these circumstances, the class movement of the working masses, with the proletariat at the head, is mounting ever higher. Thus, during the years 1966-1970, 190 million working people took part in strikes and demonstrations, in the years 1971-1975 the class movement enveloped 223 million

working people, whereas in the last 5 years this figure rose to more than 250 million. The recent events in Poland show that the revisionist countries are not immune from this evil, either.

**TO ACHIEVE VICTORY
OVER THE BOURGEOISIE
THE PROLETARIAT MUST
BE IDEOLOGICALLY
UNITED AND ORGANIZED**

In his major work «One Step Forward, Two Steps Back», in which he laid the organizational foundations of the party of the new type of the working class, V.I. Lenin, among other things, stresses that «In its struggle for power the proletariat has no other weapon besides its organization. Split by anarchic competition prevailing in the bourgeois world, oppressed under the burden of a forced labour to the advantage of capital, constantly thrown into the «abyss» of utter misery, savagery and degeneration, the proletariat can become, and will surely become an invincible force only when its ideological unity, based on the principles of Marxism, is cemented with the material unity of an organization uniting millions of working people in the army of the working class.»⁴

Against this Leninist organization of the proletariat and its party have risen today, as in the past, all the revisionists and the Eurocommunists more openly than the others. It could not be otherwise, for, as V.I. Lenin has pointed out in his above work, «opportunism in program is naturally linked with opportunism in tactics and with opportunism in organizational questions.»⁵ Thus, along with the ideological and political degeneration, the process of their organizational degeneration has also taken place in the Eurocommunist revisionist parties, mainly because they have completely abandoned the Leninist principles and norms on the composition and building of the party, its inner functioning and development of its activity. And, as our Party has pointed out, the turn «from the Leninist norms, which constitute the strength

of the party as a steel organization of the vanguard of the proletariat, to revisionist norms, is the greatest evil for a Marxist-Leninist party, is the terrible weapon of the degeneration of the party, of its disintegration, of its departure from its historic mission for the transformation of society.»⁶

Behind their attempts to find a new road also in the organizational field, all the modern revisionists are for the disintegration and disorganization of the proletarian party, for sowing confusion in its ranks in order to neutralize it, to make it amorphous and harmless to the capitalist order. And as their strategic aim is the negation of revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the perpetuation of the bourgeois order, they also condition the organization of the party on this strategy, on these counter-revolutionary aims. Thus, for example, the Eurocommunist revisionists, as they have raised parliamentarianism to an ideological and political system «for changing the social order», have adopted the legal forms of organization and activity to the organizational structure of their parties, too, indeed they are the only forms they use, the same as the other parties of the bourgeoisie. Likewise, their requirements for admission to the party have been reduced to participation in the electoral campaigns of these parties, to casting the vote for the revisionist candidates to the bourgeois parliament and to backing of the activity of their revisionist leaders in carrying out their state functions. In the same spirit as these demands, they also deal with the problem of discipline of the party members who are called on to militate in defence of the bourgeois law and the bourgeois order.

Our great teachers, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have repeatedly stressed that the true party of the proletariat, as a party of transforming action, a party of the revolution and the construction of socialism and communism, and not a mere observer of the situations, must organize itself in an exemplary manner, must be the personification of discipline and order and instil this into the working class

and the other working masses. Marx teaches, «In its struggle against the combined efforts of the rich classes, the proletariat can operate as a class only after it has organized itself into a separate political party,⁷ that this organization of the proletariat in a political party capable of assuming the leadership of the struggle against the bourgeoisie is absolutely necessary to ensure the triumph of the social revolution and the achievement of its final aim — the disappearance of classes. And this will be achieved, Marx and the other teachers of the proletariat point out, when there are true revolutionary strong, when priority is given to quality over quantity, when, in the first place, workers and among them, especially those engaged in industry, are admitted to party membership. It is natural that people from the other classes who consciously adhere to the cause of the working class, who carry out the class struggle for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the construction and defence of socialism and communism are admitted to the party. However, «when representatives of other classes join the proletarian movement, from them is demanded, in the first place, not to bring along any left-over of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and such prejudgements, but make the world outlook of the proletariat unreservedly their own.»⁸

In total disregard for these teachings and opposing them, the Eurocommunist revisionists, proceeding from the concept that one can and must go to their «socialism» not under the single leadership of the party of the working class, but in alliance and together with the party of the bourgeoisie, not through the violent revolution, but in the parliamentary road, in the framework of the present-day bourgeois constitution, and only with some reforms, advocate in favour of a broad party to which everybody may be admitted, people not only with bourgeois left-overs, but even with religious beliefs and observing religious rites, provided they express the desire to be communist and cast their votes for the candidates of the party

in various elections. In this way, they say, a great worker party can be created, and it «will compete with the other parties and force the latter to enter an alliance with itself and, together, carry out socialist transformations.»(!)

Such like concepts on the party of the working class have deepened the degeneration of the Eurocommunist revisionist parties on the organizational plane, too. Instead of rigorously organizing the party, in order to protect it from the infiltration of non-revolutionary elements into its ranks and to ensure the realization of its program on the basis of the rules, which put the activity of each member under the control of the party and the will of the majority, they advocate and encourage the opening of the doors of the party to everybody, as well as «freedom of action», because in this way allegedly «democracy» becomes more comprehensive, «freedom» is developed, things which they claim are only hampered by «old sectarian organizational patterns.» Leninist democratic centralism. The Eurocommunist revisionists consider party discipline, the obligatory execution of decisions, a requirement which runs counter to democracy, which impedes the initiative of the masses and places them under the dictate of the higher organs, or the majority under the dictate of the minority. In this way, these renegades come out openly against the teachings of Lenin on the party of the proletariat as a compact and well-organized body, in unity of thought and action, with a steel discipline, against his instruction that «the party, as the vanguard detachment of the class, should be as well-organized as possible, that it should admit into its ranks only those elements who accept at least a minimum of organization.»⁹

Like the mensheviks, whom Lenin exposed ruthlessly for the fact that they reduced the role of the party member to that of a striker, and were more interested in the broadest possible spread of the name of the party member «without explaining what advantage would accrue from the broadest possible spread of a name which does not respond to

its content,»¹⁰ the Italian, French, Spanish and other revisionists reduce the role of the party member to the level of the voter for the revisionist candidates and of an «exemplary citizen» who observes and defends the bourgeois law. This is their concept of party membership, and that explains why the Italian revisionist party has, according to their own figures, about 2 million members. The same holds true for the Spanish and French revisionist parties. Thus, the opening of doors of the party to everybody, hankering after numbers, caused, among other things, the degeneration of the Eurocommunist revisionist parties. This is a great negative lesson for the true communist parties. J. V. Stalin has emphasized that even a big communist party, no matter how rich its experience, would degenerate into a social-democratic party if it tends toward an excessive growth of its ranks and neglects the quality of its members.

As the result of the abandonment of Leninist principles and norms the Eurocommunist revisionist parties are riddled with formalism, stagnation, disintegration and disorganization. The Eurocommunist revisionist parties base all their organizational existence on an inflated apparatus of functionaries who are linked with the party not by revolutionary ideals, but by material gain. Thus, the French revisionist party has several trade enterprises which serve as intermediaries for the delivery of Soviet, Czech, Polish and other goods, from which it makes huge profit. At the same time, it makes a handsome profit from putting its press organs at the disposal of capitalist companies for advertisement of their goods. The same thing occurs with the Italian revisionist party, the revisionist chiefs of which, apart from what we said above, by holding important posts in the representative organs of the Italian state as deputies, senators and trade-union leaders, as well as through misuse of party funds, lead a life which differs in nothing from that of the bourgeois bosses.

Collaboration with social-democracy and the merger into one trend with

the bourgeois parties is another indication of the complete and all-round degeneration of the Eurocommunist parties. Comrade Enver Hoxha writes that «The Eurocommunists have identified themselves, not only in theory, but also in their practical activity with old European social-democracy, and have amalgamated with it into a single counter-revolutionary current in the service of the bourgeoisie.» Both sides have renounced any revolutionary activity, have turned into wreckers of the revolution. They try to sabotage strikes, demonstrations and any revolutionary movement, or to adapt them to the bourgeois order; to bourgeois democracy and legality in order to help the bourgeoisie maintain and strengthen its positions. In their stand towards the imperialist superpowers, too, the Eurocommunist revisionists are

in much the same positions as the social-democrats and maintain the same stand as them, supporting, according to the occasion, now American imperialism, now Soviet social-imperialism, collaborating with them and encouraging their aggressive policy to the detriment of the revolutionary and liberation movement of the peoples. This they have sanctioned with concrete actions. «The anti-Marxist Berlin Conference,» Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 7th Congress of the PLA, «will remain in history as a conference that publicly proclaimed the transition of modern revisionism to the social-chauvinist positions which social-democracy has defended up till now, that officially and publicly abandoned the idea of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.»

*
* *

It is becoming ever more clear with each passing day that the Eurocommunist revisionist parties have ceased to be fighting organizations of the working class. Together with the social-democrats and fascists, they attack by all manner of means the revolution, Marxism-Leninism and communism, and have become the main wardens of the capitalist order. Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, «In order to defend the capitalist system, Eurocommunism labours to raise a barrier of thorns and brambles to the revolution. But the flames of the revolution have swept and destroyed not only such barriers, but also whole fortresses erected by the bourgeoisie.»

1 V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, vol. 1, Tirana 1973, pp. 149, 150, Alb. ed.

2 Enver Hoxha, «Eurocommunism Is Anti-communism», p. 103, Alb. ed.

3 J. V. Stalin, *Works*, vol. 6, p. 94, Alb. ed.

4 V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, vol. 1, Tirana 1973, p. 531, Alb. ed.

5 V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, vol. 1, Tirana 1973, p. 514, Alb. ed.

6 Enver Hoxha, «Against Modern Revisionism», *Collection of Works 1966-1970*, Tirana 1979, pp. 73-74, Alb. ed.

7 K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, vol. 1, Tirana 1958, p. 360, Alb. ed.

8 K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, vol. 2, Tirana 1958, p. 461, Alb. ed.

9 V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, vol. 1, Tirana 1973, p. 371, Alb. ed.

10 V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, vol. 1, Tirana 1973, p. 374, Alb. ed.

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

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

Read the review «ALBANIA TODAY»

Subscribe to the review «ALBANIA TODAY»

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



The children grow up happy in socialist Albania, because the Party, the people's power and the entire people think of their welfare ▶

A fine crop in the fields of Albania



Albania today

