

Albania today

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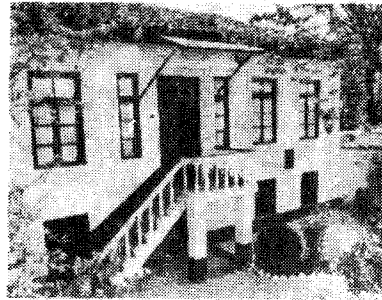
NOVEMBER 8, 1941-NOVEMBER 8, 1981

◀ THE SMALL TIRANA HOUSE, WHERE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA (TODAY THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA) WAS FOUNDED ON NOVEMBER 8, 1941, HAS BECOME AN OUTSTANDING MONUMENT OF THE COUNTRY, ONE WHICH IS KNOWN BY ALL, YOUNG AND OLD, IN ALBANIA AND BY THOUSANDS OF FOREIGN FRIENDS, COMRADES AND VISITORS.



The representatives of the three communist groups, who met in a plenary session on November 8, 1941, founded the Communist Party of Albania. All of them, happy and full of emotion, stood up with raised fists, and under the light of the kerosene lamp, sang the International in a low voice. This moment is immortalized in the painting «The Party was Founded» by Shaban Hysa.

Albania today



NOVEMBER 8, 1941-NOVEMBER 8, 1991

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«The Party of Labour of Albania has fought, fights and will always fight resolutely for the defence of the purity of the Marxist-Leninist ideas. It has always been against all those who endeavour to distort these ideas and replace them with bourgeois, revisionist and counter-revolutionary ideas.»

ENVER HOXHA

FORTY YEARS UNDER THE BANNER OF MARXISM-L

ON NOVEMBER 8 THIS YEAR THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE WILL CELEBRATE THE GLORIOUS JUBILEE OF THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA, THE PARTY WHICH LED ALBANIA TO ITS LIBERATION AND REVIVAL.

THE FORTY YEARS THAT HAVE PASSED FROM THAT NOVEMBER DAY OF 1941, WHEN COMRADE ENVER HOXHA FOUNDED THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA, TODAY THE PARTY OF LABOUR, IN THE CONDITIONS OF SAVAGE FASCIST TERROR AND ILLEGALITY, IN AN ORDINARY TIRANA HOUSE, ARE YEARS OF GIGANTIC STRUGGLE AND EFFORTS FOR DRIVING OUT THE OCCUPIERS, OVERTHROWING THE EXPLOITERS AND BLOODSUCKERS, SETTING UP A NEW INDEPENDENT AND PROSPEROUS ALBANIA.

Every achievement that has been made up until today, the freedom and independence of the Homeland, the deep-going revolutionary changes in town and countryside, the creation of a stable socialist economy, the strengthening of the moral-political unity of the people, the moulding of the new man, the respect the People's Socialist Republic of Albania enjoys today in the international field, the entire progress and development of the country, are due to the heroic work and struggle of the Albanian people, the wise leadership of the Party, the consistent and creative implementation of Marxism-Leninism by the PLA and its unshakeable loyalty to it.

Forty years ago Albania languished under the savage heel of fascist occupation. However, the Albanian people never submitted. Even though betrayed by the king, his courtiers, the beys and the officers who had sold themselves to the foreigners, the Albanians received the invaders with guns in Durrës, Vlora, Saranda, Shkodra, and other places. Armed resistance against the occupiers began on the first day of the perfidious fascist invasion of the country, on April 7, 1939 and extended constantly. A revolutionary situation was created in Albania, in which

the need for a reliable leadership, capable of mobilizing and raising the broad masses of the people in the general war against the foreign occupier, became more urgent than ever before. This mission could be undertaken only by the communists, the best sons of the Albanian people. The most tested fighters for the cause of the people, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, founded the Communist Party of Albania on November 8, 1941. The Party was born from the bosom of the people, in the heat of the war and struggle. To this event of vital importance for the fates of the people, the Albanian communists came proceeding from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the party of the new type, as the vanguard of the working class, as its organized detachment, as the highest form of the organization of the proletariat as a class, as the party of revolutionary action. After a penetrating Marxist-Leninist analysis of the objective socio-economic conditions of Albania and the class structure of the Albanian society, the Albanian communists reached the correct conclusion that, inspite of the fact that the Albanian working class was small in numbers at that time, the Party had all the possibilities to realize and ensure the hegemonic role of the working class in the revolution. Small in numbers as it was, the working class was the only class which could lead the revolution, because the future belonged to it. Therefore, the Party was born and tempered as a proletarian party, as a party of proletarian principle.

In the Communist Party, in the word, the work and the abnegation of the communists our courageous and freedom-loving people found their tested and fearless leaders, the staunch fighters for their sacred aspiration and their source of hope for the future.

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The creation of the Communist Party of Albania marked a higher point in the organization of the war of the Alba-

THE FLYING MINIMISM

nian people. Old and young responded to the appeal of the Party, and with the communists in the forefront, threw themselves unsparingly into the people's general uprising to oust the occupiers.

The creation of the Party, its emergence at the head of the insurgent people and of their liberation war made a radical change in the historic destinies of the Albanian people. It provided them with a clear program of action and showed them the only right road to put it into practice. Under the leadership of the Party, in a legendary confrontation with the most savage enemies of mankind — the Italian fascist and the German nazis, the courage and heroism of the Albanian people, their undaunted freedom-loving spirit, their great hatred against oppressors and enslavers, their courage and determination to fight regardless of any sacrifice and to triumph over the enemies, emerged with multiple vigour and revived on a new basis.

Since it expressed the most sacred aspirations of the people, since it had in its ranks the most devoted and tested sons of the people, the Communist Party of Albania (today the Party of Labour) knew how to unite all the revolutionary and patriotic forces of the country under its program, in a broad national liberation front. In this organization the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha personally realized the most powerful union ever realized in the history of our people, as to its extent, the strength of its organization, its high political consciousness. The war against the foreign occupationists and the local traitors strengthened and tempered the unity of the people, which became the decisive factor for achieving the historic victory of November 29, 1944. The setting up of the National Liberation Front in the heat of the war against the enemy is, in itself, a very valuable contribution to the revolutionary theory and practice of the working class.

Enlightened by the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Party led on the right road the war and the armed uprising, the struggle for the creation of a strong national liberation army, capable of defeating the armies of the

enemy, which were superior in numbers and armed to the teeth, of liberating the country and ensuring the establishment of the people's power and its safeguarding.

The popular heroism of the masses, the unerring leadership of the Communist Party of Albania were the main factors which brought about what the world calls the Albanian miracle — the fact that a small country, with a handful of people, clashed with more than 15 Italian and German divisions which left about 70,000 soldiers killed, wounded or captured in its territory. The Albanian people made innumerable sacrifices. The enemy put to the torch and razed to the ground 1,800 out of 2,500 villages and towns of Albania. However, nothing could submit the Albanian people. Relative to the size of its territory and population, Albania is one of the countries which sustained the heaviest material damage and human loss, with 28,000 martyrs — the best sons and daughters of the people, laying down their lives on the altar of the freedom of the Homeland.

With their legendary war the Albanian people confirmed in practice the Marxist-Leninist thesis that even a small people of a small oppressed, exploited and backward country are in a position to beat enemies surpassing them many times in number and armaments, when they are guided by a Marxist-Leninist party, determined to the end to carry out their historical mission. The inspirer, organizer and leader of the national liberation war, the architect of the great victory of the people's revolution was the Communist Party of Albania.

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Another invaluable lesson, a revolutionary experience of the Communist Party of Albania, is that never for a moment did this party share state power or fall into compromise with the dark forces of reaction and ex-

exploitation. Basing itself on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the Party has seen the question of state power as a fundamental question of the revolution. The Party made a valuable contribution to the enrichment of the theory and practice of the world revolution by giving this question a creative solution in the conditions of Albania.

The outstanding merit of the Communist Party of Albania (today the PLA) is that it ensured the close connection and merger of struggle for national liberation and the struggle for the destruction of the old anti-popular and reactionary state power with the efforts for the setting up of the new people's power. The Party did not permit the bourgeoisie and the big landowners to wrest state power from the hands of the people, did not allow the blood of the people to be shed in vain. With their great resolve, the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha personally blocked the way to the Anglo-American imperialist interference in the internal affairs of Albania. This consistent line, followed from the very first days of the liberation of the Homeland, ensured the existence in Albania of the new state power — the people's state power, which began to carry out the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania.

The establishment of the people's state power in all the country on 28th November 1944 is the greatest victory in the centuries-long history of the Albanian people. The people's state power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, is their powerful weapon in their struggle for the new happy and free life — socialism and communism.

The Marxist thesis that in the world today even a backward country can embark on the road of socialism and build socialism with success, overcoming the state of developed capitalism, was realized in practice thanks to the leadership of the Party. Socialism has triumphed in every direction as a result of the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party. The revolution in Albania developed always on the correct road and advanced ceaselessly.

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After the liberation of the country the people and the Party were confronted with major and complicated tasks, the solution of which decided the future of the Homeland and the fate of socialism in Albania.

The entire feudal-bourgeois structure and superstructure had to be overthrown. The relations of small-scale commodity production had to be transformed, the country had to go over to the system of scientific socialism both in town and countryside, in the economy and culture. Likewise, the inner world of man had to be radically transformed according to the Marxist-Leninist world outlook,

the socialist ideology, the communist morality. There was also the urgent need for the reconstruction of the country which was ravaged by the war, and for the overcoming, at rapid rates, of the centuries-old economic and cultural backwardness inherited from the past.

Our Party relied on the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, on the invaluable experience of the socialist construction in the Soviet Union, but it could not copy and apply it mechanically in the conditions of Albania. This experience and the Marxist-Leninist principles had to be applied in a creative manner, in concrete conditions, according to specific historical, geographical, class, political, ideological and other features. Great difficulties and dangers lay ahead, but all obstacles were overcome because in the forefront of all this struggle stood the Party, which never traded with principles, but kept always unstained the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

The ruins caused by the war were cleared within a very short time and the energies and forces of the working class and all the working masses were concentrated on the vitally important battle for the rapid transformation of the productive forces, for the rapid development and progress of the entire economy. In these directions, the Party consistently and resolutely followed the course of socialist industrialization, considering it as a decisive factor for the development of the country in all fields.

In the first years immediately after Liberation, socialist industrialization proceeded at slow rates, therefore the Party, the working class and the entire people had to carry out a persistent struggle to cope with many and different difficulties and obstacles. This was due to the fact that Albania embarked on the road of industrialization almost from scratch. Even that small industry, that country had (some tobacco factories, oil presses, one small cement factory, a small number of electric power stations, a few workshops for mechanical repairs, etc), was almost totally put out of use during the war. The Yugoslav pseudo-allies not only did not help, on the contrary, they availed themselves of every possibility to sabotage the industrial development of our country. Soviet aid in this direction came with delay and was rather limited in the beginning due to the difficult situation created in the Soviet Union by the extensive destructions of the war.

Later this aid from the Soviet Union increased only to be again slowed down and sabotaged, until it was altogether interrupted and replaced with a savage hostile blockade with the advent to power of the Khrushchevite revisionists after the death of Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin. However, the Albanian people, the heroic Albanian working class, which the Party has imbued with the unwavering principles of Marxism-Leninism, always regarded foreign aid as an outside factor, never as a decisive factor. In their war together with the anti-fascist peoples and the peoples of the Soviet Union, who bore the brunt of the war, the Albanian people, under the leadership of their Party, libe-

rated their whole country with their own forces, without the need for the allied forces to send their troops into our territory. For the reconstruction of the country, too, the Albanian people have relied on their own toil, on their own forces. They went down to work with heroism, broke the savage blockade laid by the Soviet revisionists, whose activity was followed by the sabotage and blockade of the Chinese social-imperialists. The Albanian people marched with determination on the road of socialist industrialization, the further strengthening of the economy relying on their own forces. The major industrial projects put up by the Albanian workers and engineers, the setting up of new branches of industry, the strengthening of the mining and processing industry, the setting up of a powerful electric power industry with such giants as the Fierza and Koman hydro-power stations, which for bigger states could envy us, the great plants and combines of the metallurgical and mechanical-engineering industry, with their capacity of building machines and even production lines — all this is vivid testimony of what a people can achieve without «aid», credits and loans, when they are led by a Marxist-Leninist party.

Everything in Albania is done in the interest of the people and the Homeland, and not for profits, as happens in the capitalist and revisionist countries. When the Party decided to complete the electrification of all the villages, even the remotest ones, and carried out this plan, in this major undertaking, like in all others, it was guided by the lofty, noble aim of putting an end, once and for all, to the use of the pine torch, wax-candle and kerosene lamp, so that the village should prosper and flourish just like the town. In this manner it was once again proved that socialism is the most progressive, the most humane social order.

The road followed by the PLA for the socialist industrialization of the country is closely combined with the development of the technical-scientific revolution on a broad front, and has nothing in common with all kind of technocratic «doctrines» which the bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists are widely advertising, and is opposed to them. In our country the development of science and technology is inseparable from the needs of our socialist social life. In the opinion of the PLA, science and technology have never been an aim in themselves. They have developed and advanced when they have directly served the aim of production and the development of society, just as these, on their part, have been constant incentives for the development of science and technology.

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All success and victory achieved is closely connected with the line of the Party for the correct solution of the agrarian question which is one of

the most important and complex questions facing every country that enters the road of socialist construction. From the very first days of the war for the ousting of the invaders and then continuously after Liberation, the Party has attached its main attention to the solution of this difficult question which was made even more difficult in the conditions of Albania, in which the overwhelming majority of the population consisted of peasants. The patriotic Albanian peasant, oppressed and exploited in the centuries by the beys, tax-collectors, the clergy, languishing under the burden of ignorance and the yoke of the invaders, took up arms and rose in war. Like all our people, they had fought before, too, but never had seen a good day, never had seen their aspiration to land and freedom fulfilled. In the call of the Party, in its reliable and tested leadership, in the selflessness of the communists, in their loyalty to the cause of the people and the Homeland, our peasant saw the best way of furthering his interests. The Party raised and led the working peasants in the war against the foreign invaders and their collaborators, the beys and aghas, the latifundists, who had robbed them of their land and enslaved them. The peasants sheltered the partisans and shared their bread with them, filled the ranks of the partisan detachments, brigades and divisions en masse. In this war was cemented the great alliance of the peasantry with the working class, the main social base of the popular revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

After Liberation equally arduous tasks lay ahead of the country. The impoverished village, ruined by the war, had to be rebuilt in a new way, unknown to it. Above all it was essential that the land, about which the peasant had dreamed in the centuries, should be given him. The peasant had to settle permanently on his land and never abandon it in face of the difficulties of the beginning, because this would swell the town with unemployed and cause food shortage. It was essential to overcome the backwardness inherited from the past and to develop forces of production in agriculture at rapid rates.

The enactment of the Land Reform, the first major act of the Party and of the people's state power for the solution of the agrarian question, which took place immediately after Liberation, brought about a deep transformation in the social relations and in the consciousness of the peasantry which saw in it the realization of its centuries-long dream owning its land, for shaking itself free from the yoke of the beys and big landowners. The distribution of the land to the peasants by the proletarian Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat further consolidated the alliance of the peasantry with the working class.

The Land Reform was the first revolution in the socio-economic relations in the countryside. It liquidated the ownership of the land by big landowners, wiped out the vestiges of the feudal relations and the class of landowners.

With the narrowing of the sphere of ownership of the land, with the prohibition of purchase and sale of the land, its lease and mortgaging, the process of polarization of the peasantry was stopped and the possibilities for the exploitation of the peasantry by the kulaks were greatly reduced. The Land Reform also contained elements of a pronounced anti-capitalist character. And this because it was implemented by the dictatorship of the proletariat. In fact, the implementation of the Land Reform showed that only the working class and its party are in a position to carry out radical transformation after the seizure of political power.

Despite this, the Land Reform could not possibly resolve all the fundamental problems of the development of agriculture. It liquidated big land property, but did not affect the economic base of the small-scale commodity production in the countryside. Basing itself on the teachings of V. I. Lenin that the system of small-scale economy in the conditions of large-scale commodity production is in no position to save mankind from poverty and oppression, the PLA, loyal to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, chose the road of collectivization of the peasant economies. Socialism cannot be built without relying on both its feet — town and countryside.

As early as its 1st Congress, the Party stressed that the collectivization of agriculture is the only correct and possible road for the construction of socialism in the countryside and for a high-rate increase of farming production. Keeping in mind Lenin's teachings that the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot rely on two bases: the socialist social base in industry and the private base in agriculture, and proceeding from the experience gained from the activity of the first cooperatives, from the beginning the Party worked out a concrete program for the socialist transformation of the countryside, defining the forms, means, rates and forces for the attainment of this goal. At the same time, the Party instructed: «The convincing of the poor and middle peasantry about the advantages and necessity of their transition from individual small-sized poor holdings to large-scale joint socialist cooperativist economies will be achieved only through great political and organizational work on the part of the organs of the Party.»

The collectivization of agriculture was carried out through a fierce class struggle. After they failed in their attempts to impede the implementation of the Land Reform and the policy of the Party and state, the exploiting classes rose against the collectivization of agriculture, because they knew this spelled their end in it. They resorted to every imaginable form, from agitation and propaganda to sheer violence. The policy followed by the Party and the state towards the kulaks was aimed at their economic restriction and political isolation. Thanks to this policy the economic power and the influence of the kulaks were broken down until they were gradually liquidated as a class, without

being necessary to go over to forced expropriation on all fronts.

The triumph of the socialist relations in the countryside, too, the strengthening of the agricultural cooperatives, the setting up of the higher type cooperatives, the series of measures taken by the Party to raise the economic and cultural level of the countryside and to assist the remote mountain areas, its successive measures to further narrow down the distinctions between town and countryside accounted for the further strengthening of agriculture, a more prosperous and happier life for the peasantry. The aim of the Party is that, along modern socialist industry, socialist agriculture should also be further strengthened, while ever more narrowing down the distinctions between town and country.

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The PLA has constantly devoted first-rate importance to the problem of the defence of the state power and the gains of socialism, which were attained with so much bloodshed and sacrifice, to the question of the strengthening of the defence potential of the country, the modernization of the People's Army and the State Security as powerful weapons of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the Party.

The Party has always centered its attention on the problem of the people's state power, its safeguarding, consolidation and improvement. It has consistently proceeded from Lenin's great teaching that it is easier to seize state power than keep it. History has positive and negative examples which fully confirm this teaching. It has shown that the dictatorship of the proletariat can be established as a result of the triumph of the socialist revolution, but it has also shown that it can be liquidated later both through the armed counter-revolution or the «peaceful» revisionist counter-revolution.

It goes to the credit of the PLA, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, that not only was it the first to raise the problem of the degeneration of socialism from within through the revisionist counter-revolution, but also that it worked out in theory and put into practice a whole system of measures of a political, ideological, economic and organizational character to bar all the paths to this threat.

The PLA has made a penetrating Marxist-Leninist analysis of the causes of the emergence and spread of revisionism in the Soviet Union and elsewhere. Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings on the further revolutionization of the whole life of the country, the safeguarding of the Party from rust and any manifestation of bureaucracy, the preservation of its fighting revolutionary traditions, its ever high and sharp vigilance, the Marxist-Leninist education of the communists and their tempering in revolutionary

actions, the defence and constant strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a decisive weapon of the working class and people, the far-sighted leadership of the Party, the steel Party-people-state unity, all this constitutes a sure guarantee that Albania will remain always red, always revolutionary, a beacon of communism.

The whole process of revolutionization of the life of the country in Albania is a deepening and continuation of the socialist revolution. It is a general assault on the stains and leftovers of the old world, a great and all-round struggle to bar the way to the restoration of capitalism today and in the future, from inside or from outside, a fierce class struggle to carry the revolution always forward, to achieve the complete and final triumph of the socialist road over the capitalist road.

The teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha and the revolutionary practice of the PLA in the prevention of the restoration of capitalism and in the further revolutionization of the whole life of the country and the Party, as the leading and guiding force of its whole life, represent the invaluable contribution of the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha in the further enrichment of Marxism-Leninism in our epoch.

Among the measures taken by the PLA, the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the correct waging of the class struggle have fundamental and capital importance. The Party has forcefully stressed that the class struggle continues to be an objective phenomenon over the whole period of socialism, the driving force which carries the revolution and the construction of socialism forward. As long as the class struggle continues, it is necessary to maintain and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, without which socialism can neither be built nor defended.

Relying on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the PLA considers the class struggle the motor force of history, the great driving force which promotes the work for the construction of socialism, guarantees the freedom and independence of the Homeland, protects the well-being of the people. It is a powerful weapon in the struggle for the defence of the Party, the state and the whole country from capitalist degeneration and restoration.

The whole road traversed by the dictatorship of the proletariat is a road of merciless class struggle against internal and external enemies, including the big landowners, the kulaks to the various anti-socialist elements, the armed bands of the diversionists and the traitor organizations of spies and saboteurs, the deviators in the ranks of the Party and the various imperialists and the modern Titoite, Khrushchevite and Chinese revisionists. The class struggle has also been waged ceaselessly amongst the people — against all alien influences which poison the consciousness of the working people.

In Albania the state — the deed of the Party and of the people's revolution, is a state through which the working

masses, with the working class at the head, are in power, is a state in which the people are the masters of their destinies. The Socialist People's Republic of Albania and our socialist society are altogether different from the capitalist and revisionist states and societies. The bourgeois-revisionist propaganda makes much ado about the so-called democracy or «state of the entire people», when in reality their state is based on the principle of the submission of the majority to a minority. It is a democracy only in name, which brings nothing good to the masses of the people, which guarantees them no genuine freedom. Freedom and rights are proclaimed in the Constitutions but they are utterly formal. They allow you to make noise in some newspaper or at some meeting, even to criticize a party or the government, however, this changes nothing because the capitalist economic and political power sets in motion its apparatus of violence as soon as it sees that its state and the property of the ruling class are put at stake. In socialist Albania the Party has constantly fought for the further deepening of socialist democracy, the broad democracy for the working masses. The working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the other working people wield power through their representative organs and directly. The masses take an active part in the governing of the country, in the management of the economy, in the discussion of laws and economic plans, in the supervision of the activity of state organs. They have the right to freely express their opinions on all problems concerning society or themselves. The Party guarantees these rights to them in the Constitution.

The experience of socialist Albania shows that only the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat can ensure the possibility for the broad working masses to take part in the construction of the life of society, to have their say on the internal and foreign policy of the state, to enjoy their democratic freedoms and rights effectively.

The people are above everything. This is the basic principle which has always guided the PLA and the organs of state power in their whole activity. The people's state and its organs are instruments in the hands of the people and serve them to carry the construction of socialism successfully forward. In Albania, functionaries and employees, whatever the post they occupy, are only servants of the people, always serving the interests of the working masses.

In Albania citizens are equal before the law in deeds. Differentials in workers' wages and employees' salaries are minimal. Suffice it to say that the ratio between the wage of a worker and the salary of a top-ranking functionary is one to two. This is accounted for by the fact that the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat has sanctioned its Marxist-Leninist principles on wages and salaries by means of its just laws. No transgressions are allowed in the implementation of the principle of remuneration according to work done, therefore, no stratum of working people, who

may place themselves above others, or take decisions to suit their own desires and interests, has been created or can ever be created.

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It is a merit of the leadership of the PLA, of its correct course, that socialist Albania today enjoys complete economic and political stability at a time when the whole bourgeois and revisionist world labours under the crises, inflation and political instability. Albania knows no price rises, insecurity for the future, unemployment or inflation. The rates of advance of industrial and agricultural production are high and stable. The whole people have set about work to fulfil all the tasks everywhere and always to prevent the phenomena of crisis and instability, which surround us, from affecting, however little, the Albanian economy.

With its resolute forward march in the conditions of the savage imperialist-revisionist blockade and the world crisis, with the constant strengthening of its industry, with its ever rising agricultural production which for some years now have enabled our mountainous country to meet all its needs for cereals and create the necessary reserves, Albania is giving ever fresh proofs of the superiority of the socialist order. It is confirming, likewise, how dangerous and harmful are the preachings that the only road of salvation is allegedly to immense oneself in debt and credits, to rely on the industrialized states. The truth is that these loans, credits, or aid are nothing but heavy chains of enslavement. Through its work, the Party of Labour of Albania has argued it theoretically and shown in practice by means of the Albanian reality that socialism can be built and defended successfully only on the basis of self-reliance, even in a small country like Albania, even in the conditions of a savage imperialist-revisionist blockade.

Albania has successfully marched on the road of socialism, because the Party has always led it on the correct and infallible road of Marxism-Leninism, because the hard-working and freedom-loving Albanian people are united like one around the Party. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said that we take justified pride in our heroic working class, in our brave and hardworking peasantry, in our revolutionary youth, in our wonderful women, in our people's intelligentsia, in our entire people who, as one man, united around the Party, marched ahead unfearing in the face of any storm or upheaval. The heroism our people displayed in the war has been repeated through the whole period of the construction of socialism and is being raised to ever greater heights in our days. It has become a distinguishing feature of our society.

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The PLA works constantly for the ideological uplift and the assimilation of Marxism-Leninism by the com-

munists, party cadres, and the broad working masses. It encourages the profound study of the whole rich legacy inherited from the great teachers of communism — Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, as well as from the history of the revolutionary struggles of the world proletariat for socialism. This remains the foundation for the theoretical formation of every communist and revolutionary.

The theoretical thinking of the PLA, its revolutionary experience, is also an indivisible and integral part of Marxism-Leninism. This thinking and experience is Marxism-Leninism which is defended, developed and creatively applied by the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha in the concrete conditions of the revolution in Albania, in the work for the construction of socialism, in the consistent struggle of historic importance against modern revisionism — Titoite, Khrushchevite, Eurocommunist or Chinese. The teachings of the Party, its whole revolutionary experience help the revolutionaries to better master the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to see the practical application of this theory, to realize its strength and vitality.

The stand of the Party of Labour of Albania, its glorious 40-year long road, have found their full embodiment in the magnificent victories achieved by the Albanian people in the liberation of the country and in another no less legendary epic — the struggle for the construction of socialism. The outstanding theoretical contribution of the PLA finds its vivid embodiment in all the documents and materials of the Party. This contribution finds broad treatment, profound argument and all-round analysis in many documents and materials of the Party, in Comrade Enver Hoxha's Works, and especially in his works «Imperialism and the Revolution», «The Yugoslav 'Self-administration' — a Capitalist Theory and Practice», «Reflections on China», «Eurocommunism Is Anti-communism», «With Stalin», «The Khrushchevites», «When the Party Was Born». Resolve and courage in the defence of the purity of the Marxist-Leninist principles against revisionist attacks and distortions, lofty communist loyalty to principles and clear-cut proletarian class stands in the analysis and assessment of events and situations, sense of responsibility before its own people and the world communist movement go like a red thread through all these works, the whole theoretical, philosophical thinking of the PLA.

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From the analysis they have made of the present situation of imperialism, the character of our epoch and of its contradictions, the present conditions of development of the revolution and the liberation struggle of the peoples, the causes of the emergence of modern revisionism, the Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha have proved with scientific argument that regardless of

all the changes that have taken place in the world today. Lenin's fundamental theses on imperialism remain valid, that the revolution is not just a desire and an aspiration, but a problem put forward for solution, that modern revisionism of all hues has become an ally and collaborator of imperialism and the bourgeoisie to undermine the revolution and destroy socialism. The PLA has always defended the true revolutionary strategy and tactics which lead the Marxist-Leninist parties to victory.

As Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, two great social forces confront each other in the world today: on the one hand, is the capitalist, imperialist bourgeoisie which is the most savage, the most deceitful and the most blood-thirsty class known in history, on the other hand, is the proletariat, the class divested of all means of production, ruthlessly oppressed and exploited by the bourgeoisie, and at the same time the most advanced class of society, the class which thinks, creates, works and produces, but which does not enjoy the fruit of its toil.

After making a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation in the world, the Party of Labour of Albania points out that the situation in the world is on a whole revolutionary, that in many countries this situation has matured or is rapidly maturing, that in other countries this process is in development. And when the Party speaks about the revolution, it does not mean the socialist revolution only. In the present epoch of the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism, as Lenin and Stalin have explained, the liberation struggles of the peoples, the anti-imperialist national-democratic revolutions, the national liberation movements are also component parts of the one revolutionary process, the world proletarian revolution. Socialist Albania, which has emerged from the socialist revolution, proceeds from the principles of proletarian internationalism. It fights on the same barricade as the people fighting for freedom and justice, against oppression and exploitation, for socialism.

The revolutionary, internationalist stand of the PLA and the Albanian state finds its fullest expression in the consistent foreign policy, based on principles, followed by socialist Albania. Our policy, Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, will always be a class policy of principles, which responds to the lofty interests of our country, socialism and the liberation struggle of the peoples. The Albanian people will always fight unwaveringly against American imperialism. Soviet social-imperialism and all reactionaries; nobody should entertain the slightest illusion about socialist Albania changing its stand towards them. Likewise, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian state will fight and expose Chinese social-imperialism which has lined up beside American imperialism and world reaction

in their common struggle against the peoples, and especially against socialism in Albania.

On the other hand, the PLA has made it clear that the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has followed and follows a policy of good will towards those states which display good will towards our country, which do not seek to harm us, just as we do not dream of harming them: we never have tried or intended to harm their peoples, but want always to live in harmony and collaboration with them for the lofty aims and the ardent desires of all the peoples of the world who aspire to liberation, freedom, democracy, independence and socialism.

Our policy has never departed, nor will it ever depart in the future, from the principle that with the peoples we must and will be brothers, united with them for the attainment of the same goals which are: freedom, democracy, socialism. Socialist Albania adheres to the principle that all the peoples, big or small, in international relations should be equal and that no discrimination should be made against them. It opposes any form of dictate, pressure, control and arbitration on the part of the great powers, their monopolization of world affairs.

People's Socialist Republic of Albania resolutely defends the thesis that true freedom and the security of the peoples, freedom and socialism can be won and defended only through struggle against American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, Chinese social-imperialism and any other kind of imperialism. It has constantly stressed that you cannot rely on one imperialism to oppose another imperialism.

Such is the foreign policy of socialist Albania, which has always upheld the banner of proletarian principles.

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The 40 years of the Party of Labour of Albania are 40 years of wise, far-sighted leadership for the Albanian people on the road of Marxism-Leninism, 40 years of giant struggle and efforts against internal and external enemies, grappling with innumerable difficulties created by the destructions of the war, the poverty and backwardness inherited from the reactionary feudal-bourgeois regimes, years of hard work of the Albanian people for the construction of their free and prosperous life, 40 years which have immeasurably raised the authority of socialist Albania in the world, 40 years of historic victories, because the Party of Labour of Albania, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, have kept the banner of Marxism-Leninism always flying high and red.

THE CPA WAS FOUNDED ON SOUND IDEOLOGICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL BASES

by JORGJI SOTA

In the course of the struggle for the implementation of a correct revolutionary Marxist-Leninist political line, the Party did not allow the existence in the party of a second line which the Trotskyite and hostile elements of the Party sought to impose on it, because this would inevitably lead to confusion, division and the final decay of the Party

IN HIS MEMOIRS COMRADE ENVER HOXHA THROWS AMPLE LIGHT ON THE STRUGGLE AND EFFORTS FOR THE AMALGAMATION OF THE COMMUNIST GROUPS INTO A SINGLE PARTY. HE PROVIDES PROFOUND SCIENTIFIC ARGUMENT ABOUT THE IDEOLOGICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL BASES ON WHICH THE PARTY WAS CREATED, THE POLITICAL LINE IT ADOPTED AND IMPLEMENTED FOR PREPARING AND CARRYING THE NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR THROUGH TO VICTORY.

«THE PARTY WAS BORN FROM THE BOSOM OF THE PEOPLE, IN THE INEXTINGUISHABLE REVOLUTIONARY FIRE AND STORMS OF THE CENTURIES, IT ROSE LIKE A BRILLIANT SUN OVER THE SINISTER GLOOM OF FASCIST BONDAGE AND TERROR,» WHEN THE DESTINIES OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE AS A PEOPLE AND A NATION WERE IN THE BALANCE, SAYS COMRADE ENVER HOXHA.

The founding of the Communist Party of Albania was a great historic victory. However, the mere act of its founding could not automatically raise it to leadership. Whether or not it could carry out its leading role as the political and ideological staff of the working class, would be decided by the kind of the party that would be created, the ideological and organizational bases on which it could be created, the strategy

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and tactics it would work out in order to draw the masses into the revolution. On this depended, in the first place, the direction, the consistent development and the very destiny of the revolution. «Our ardent desire,» writes Comrade Enver Hoxha in his memoirs, «was to organize the resistance and the war all over the country, but this could not meet with the success we communists desired without the existence of a new party of the Leninist-Stalinist type.» The fundamental cha-

racteristic of our Party was that, though young, small in numbers and without great revolutionary experience, it was created, from the very beginning, as a party of the new type, on Marxist-Leninist ideological and organizational bases, and based its entire activity on the leading science of the class struggle of the proletariat, on the revolutionary strategy and tactics. Emphasizing this special distinguishing feature of our Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses: «If you put up your house on sound foundations, it will never fall over.»

It is the merit of our Party that not only has it remained loyal to the end to the revolutionary theory, but also has known how to implement it in a creative manner, in conformity with the concrete conditions of the struggle of our people, their centuries-long efforts and permanent aspirations. «We, the future communists,» Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, «grew up in the heat of this fire, among these efforts, with the physical and spiritual suffering of our people, and we, the sons and daughters of this people, were tempered and educated in this great school of hardships and wars. We learned from the struggle the men of our National Renaissance carried out in illegality, we learned from the resistance and the struggle of our people against the aggressive imperialist neighbours, we learned from the terror, killings and famine of the time of king Zog..., we learned from dejected peasants walking up and down the streets of our towns to sell a faggot of fire

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wood, we learned from the poor of the town who broke stones all day long in the street and were paid only 2 or 3 leks, which could hardly buy him one kilogram of bread. All this made up, so to say, the basis of our Marxist-Leninist ideology.»

From the first days of its creation, the Party devoted special care to the work for the education of the communists. The Founding Meeting set to the cadres and members of the Party the task «of making persistent and energetic efforts for their ideological, theoretical and political uplift through learning the Marxist-Leninist theory». Comrade Enver Hoxha criticized those who said, «Now we need the rifle, not the book», stressing, «we have never separated and will never separate the rifle from the book, because we need courageous and intelligent fighters who know well how, why and against whom they should train their guns.» He instructed the communists to learn the Marxist-Leninist theory from the Works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, as well as from concrete actions, from revolutionary struggle, by waging it according to the teachings of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party. Comrade Enver Hoxha drew attention to the need for the study of the materials and documents of the Party, in particular, because they reflected the creative application of the general principles of Marxism-Leninism in the conditions of Albania, summed up the experience which the Party was gaining

every day in the heat of the National Liberation War.

Through its calls, leaflets, proclamations, etc the Party launched the idea of the people's general armed uprising, called on the working class to place itself on the vanguard of the movement, called on the peasants to join forces in militant alliance with the working class, called on the entire people to organize themselves and rise in the war united in the National Liberation Front; it raised for discussion major problems of the political line, materialized in the revolutionary program of the Party, such as the destruction of the old anti-popular regime and the creation of the national liberation councils in its place in the course of the war, etc. These political tasks, defined at the meeting for the creation of the Party, had the principles of Marxism-Leninism as their foundation, and represented at the same time the ideological basis of the Party, worked out and implemented in the concrete conditions of our country.

Working out a correct political line is, however, only one side of the question. No matter how correct the line, it remains lifeless if the party of the working class is not determined and does not act effectively for its application in practice. The CPA was created as a party of action, and not as a part of idle talk and sterile debate in clubs and parliaments. «Its role in this war should be to give inspiration and leadership not through words and debate, but through concrete action, by going to the masses, getting to know

their life in practice,» writes Comrade Enver Hoxha. He taught the communists that without action there is no Communist Party, that only action and struggle makes the party of the working class a really revolutionary party, links it up with the masses, enhances its capacity of leadership. To achieve this objective the Party used many forms of activity among the masses, ranging from oral propaganda and distribution of leaflets to demonstrations and political manifestations, even wiping out spies and traitors and the armed attacks, from operations by small units to operations by large detachments and other formations, later. The other various forms of organization, such as the National Liberation Front, the Communist Youth Organization, the Antifascist Women's Union of Albania, which served as levers of the Party, ensuring the organized links between the Party and the broad masses of the people, served the same objective.

It was precisely these revolutionary actions of the Party, the courage, honesty and example of the communists which convinced the masses about the correctness of the line of the Party and won it recognition as the only legitimate leadership of the people.

One of the most important political and ideological causes, which led to the defeat and exposed the betrayal of all the hostile anti-Marxist elements and groups in the ranks of the Party, was that they never correctly assessed the great political and ideological potential of the Party, its great revolu-

tionary experience in the field of creatively mastering and applying Marxism-Leninism, as in all other fields. This is what, among others, brought about the defeat of the Trotskyite Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte. Basing themselves in a dogmatic manner on theoretical theses and isolated fragments borrowed from the arsenal of anti-Marxist reactionary ideologies, they tried to impose their erroneous views on the communist movement and, later, on the Party as claiming that the peasantry was «backward», «conservative», «reactionary», and that the communists «could not work» with it, could not go to war with it, etc. Or there was the so-called theory of «training» the cadres and «preserving» them, upheld by Andrea Zisi, Zef Mala, Niko Xoxi and others, who claimed that «until the conditions were ripe for the revolution(!), the communists should do nothing but 'prepare themselves theoretically', become 'well versed in the literature', 'take care of themselves', ie shirk the actual struggle, so that when the 'long-expected' moment came, this sort of 'learned' men, would pour out their knowledge in the streets and seize power,» as Comrade Enver Hoxha put it.

The ideological and organizational Marxist-Leninist bases of the Party, its political line were worked out and affirmed in the course of stern and consistent struggle for the radical exposure of these Trotskyite, hostile and anti-Party views which, as Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, «smelt of fascism and had their origin in the kitchen of the fascist occupier.»

Along with the working out and implementation of a correct revolutionary line, a role of decisive importance was also played by the proletarian organization of the Party, its unwavering and rigorously revolutionary implementation of the Leninist proletarian norms, especially the steel unity of its ranks.

Democratic centralism, as the basic principle of the building and life of the Party, rigorous conscious discipline in carrying out directives, decisions and tasks, strong links with the masses col-

lectiveness as the highest principle of leadership, spirit of initiative and self-activity, rendering account by and demanding account from the elected organs and cadres and every communist, development of criticism and self-criticism, regular and accurate information, discretion and guarding of secrets — these were among the more important principles and norms underlying the organization, the life and activity of the Party.

In the course of the National Liberation War one of the primary tasks was the ceaseless strengthening of the entire Party, of everyone of its cell, and leading organs. Both in the partisan detachments and units, and outside them, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, «the cells must be in the forefront of the work, must ceaselessly enhance their leading role, never allow anything to escape their eye and responsibility, must become a source of mobilization and inspiration for all.» The ranks of the Party, instructed Comrade Enver Hoxha, should be increased, first of all, with sound worker elements, but also with peasants and other revolutionary fighters, and the doors of the Party should be closed to the disguised spies and provocateurs, to the prattlers and cowards, to factionalist elements, to intriguers and anarchists. And he added: «We don't need sluggish, inactive party members lacking initiative, idle-talkers and cowards. Either they are ardent communists, or we must rid ourselves of boulders and fetters that impede us on our forward march. The Party is the vanguard. The Party is and must be on the offensive.»

The process of the revolutionary development of the Party was based on the struggle for the unity of its ranks, as the most powerful weapon in the hands of the Party to cope with enemy attacks to overcome any obstacle and to carry out persistently the line and policy of the Party.

The struggle against anti-Party groups and elements, which posed the greatest threat to unity, was not an ordinary struggle but a fierce struggle of principle for the defence of the ideological

purity and the correct solution of the most fundamental political and organizational problems of the general line of the Party. «On this question no toleration, no kid-glove policy, not the slightest trace of 'diplomacy' should be allowed. Genuine unity would be achieved only by thoroughly unmasking all Trotskyite, liquidationist, anti-communist principles.»

In the process of the implementation of these teachings, the Party remained strongly on the revolutionary positions of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, made no concessions on principles but hit and exposed the roots of all alien concepts and erroneous views, without permitting them to strike root, to grow and turn into ideological trends opposed to Marxism-Leninism.

In the course of the struggle for the implementation of a correct revolutionary Marxist-Leninist political line, the Party did not allow the existence in the party of a second line which the Trotskyite and hostile elements of the Party sought to impose on it, because this would inevitably lead to confusion, division and the final decay of the Party.

Applying and defending its principles and norms in a revolutionary manner, the Party did not permit the existence of factions, and when they emerged, it waged a stern struggle for their complete destruction, as it did right from the start in connection with the group of Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte.

The resolute, principled and all-round struggle the Party waged helped to temper and imbue its membership with a deeply rooted proletarian consciousness, to make them work and fight as genuine proletarians of the vanguard, closely linked with the masses of the people, as ardent defenders of their interests.

These were some of the features which made our Party, though very small in numbers, a major force capable of ensuring the leadership of the entire people against powerful and savage enemies, and achieve, within a relatively short time, the decisive and vital victory of our people.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND THE SOCIALIST VILLAGE IN ALBANIA

by **KOZMA SKARÇO**

The maintenance, indeed the enhancement of the role of agriculture in the people's economy, the ever greater concentration of the attention of the PLA and the Government on the village is connected with the fact that in Albania agriculture is considered and treated as an important branch of the national economy, of equally great potential and importance as industry

IN THIS JUBILEE YEAR OF THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA, THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE DRAW THE BALANCE OF THE VICTORIES ACHIEVED ON THE ROAD OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST AGRARIAN POLICY OF THEIR PARTY.

THE AGRARIAN PROBLEM OCCUPIED A PLACE OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE IN THE PROGRAM OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION, DUE TO THE HISTORICAL REALITY IN WHICH AGRICULTURE CONSTITUTED THE MAIN AND ALMOST THE ONLY BRANCH OF THE ECONOMY AND AT A TIME WHEN IN THE VILLAGE LIVED THE GREATEST PART OF THE POPULATION OF THE COUNTRY.

The formerly primitive and backward agriculture, in which the feudal-bourgeois relations of production prevailed, has been transformed into a completely socialist modern sector of the economy with extended reproduction. New, socialist relations, which are ever more being improved, have been adapted to the ceaselessly developing forces of production.

KOZMA SKARÇO — publicist

The malaria-infested, illiterate, famished village of the old days, the village of fanaticism and ignorance, has been transformed into a new, socialist village, with a new way of life, which keeps improving from year to year.

Although the annual rate of natural increase of the population, and of the rural population in particular, in Albania is greater than in any other European country, the increase rate of the

gross national production for the period 1950-1979 was about twice the population growth rate, and the increase rate of the gross social product, compared with the population growth rate, was 3.2 times greater for the same period.

This historical transformation in agriculture and the standard of living in the countryside was not achieved easily and at one stroke.

The people's state power, guided by Marxist-Leninist agrarian policy of the PLA, has striven to ensure that the productive forces develop rhythmically, in depth and breadth, just as it has attached particular attention to the establishment and improvement of the socialist relations of production. Harmonization of these two aspects of the mode of production, giving priority, according to the circumstances and de-

mands of production, at times to the one and at times to the other aspect, soon enabled agriculture to overcome its backwardness, to mobilize its resources for quantitative accumulation in order to realize the subsequent qualitative leap. As early as the beginning of the 1970's the acreage of arable land increased 2.2. fold, irrigation capacity 10.6 fold, the number of cattle 1.6 fold, the number of tractors (reckoned in 15 HP) 442.6 fold, and the total electric-power basis in agriculture 6.6 fold, against the year 1938. As a result of this rapid development of the productive forces, in the period 1963-1976 (in which 1963 is estimated as the average for the period 1961-1965) the average increase rate of gross agricultural production has been 5.2 per cent, at a time when it was 2.6 per cent in the Comecon member countries, 1.8 per cent in the West-European countries, and 2.2 per cent in the USA.

The solicitude and constant efforts of the Party and of the people's state power to pull agriculture out of its state of backwardness and to introduce it into the road of its intensification and modernization are an important part of the entire work for the construction of socialism in Albania.

Agriculture is the most ancient branch of our people's economy. Like in the past, today too, the bulk of the working people of the country carry out their activity in this sphere of material production. Regardless of the fact that after the liberation of the country the rural population was drawn in great numbers from the countryside for the needs of the high-rate development of socialist industry and the other sectors of material production, such as constructions, communications, etc., at present the number of people working in agriculture is greater than the total of the working people in all the other sectors of production taken together.

Socialist agriculture in Albania made further progress in the years of the 6th Five-year Plan. Compared with the 5th Five-year Plan, agricultural production of the five years of this period taken together increased 21.4 per cent, mainly through the intensification of production in its different branches. The cooperativist peasantry and the other agricultural workers achieved a great success — the fulfilment of the needs

of the economy and of the population for bread grain with local production. This, together with the increase of other agricultural and livestock products, has further raised the role of socialist agriculture in the development and progress of the Homeland, enabling it to ever better fulfil the needs of the population, of industry and export.

The rapid — rate development of the production of industry and of the other branches of the economy has, as a natural consequence, brought about a narrowing of the part of agriculture in the general structure of the total social product. Whereas in 1938 agricultural production accounted for 92 per cent of agricultural and industrial production taken together, in 1970 industrial production increased to 61.7 per cent of agricultural and industrial production taken together. From the beginning of the 1960's, the specific weight of agricultural production continues to decrease. However, the change in the ratio between agriculture and industry, the precedence of industry over agriculture, does not in the least diminish the place and the role of agriculture. Agriculture has always been and remains the basic branch of the national economy. This change in ratios is essentially the reflection of the great steps forward of an historic character which the people's economy has taken and continues to take in these four decades after liberation. The change of ratios in these two fundamental branches of the material production of the country is a more concrete expression of the triumph of the policy of the Party to transform Albania from a backward agrarian country into an agrarian-industrial country in the beginning and, later, into a country with developed industry and advanced agriculture.

The maintenance and even enhancement of the role of agriculture in the people's economy, the ever greater concentration of the attention of the PLA and the Government on the village, is connected with the fact that in Albania agriculture is considered and treated as an important branch of the national economy, of equally great potential and importance as industry.

The PLA abides by the principle that we must have not only a developed industry but also an advanced agriculture, because agriculture is closely con-

nected with a number of factors and circumstances of a political, economic, social and strategic character. Through the uninterrupted development of the productive forces and the ceaseless revolutionization of the socialist relations of production in agricultural production, the PLA aims at achieving a num-



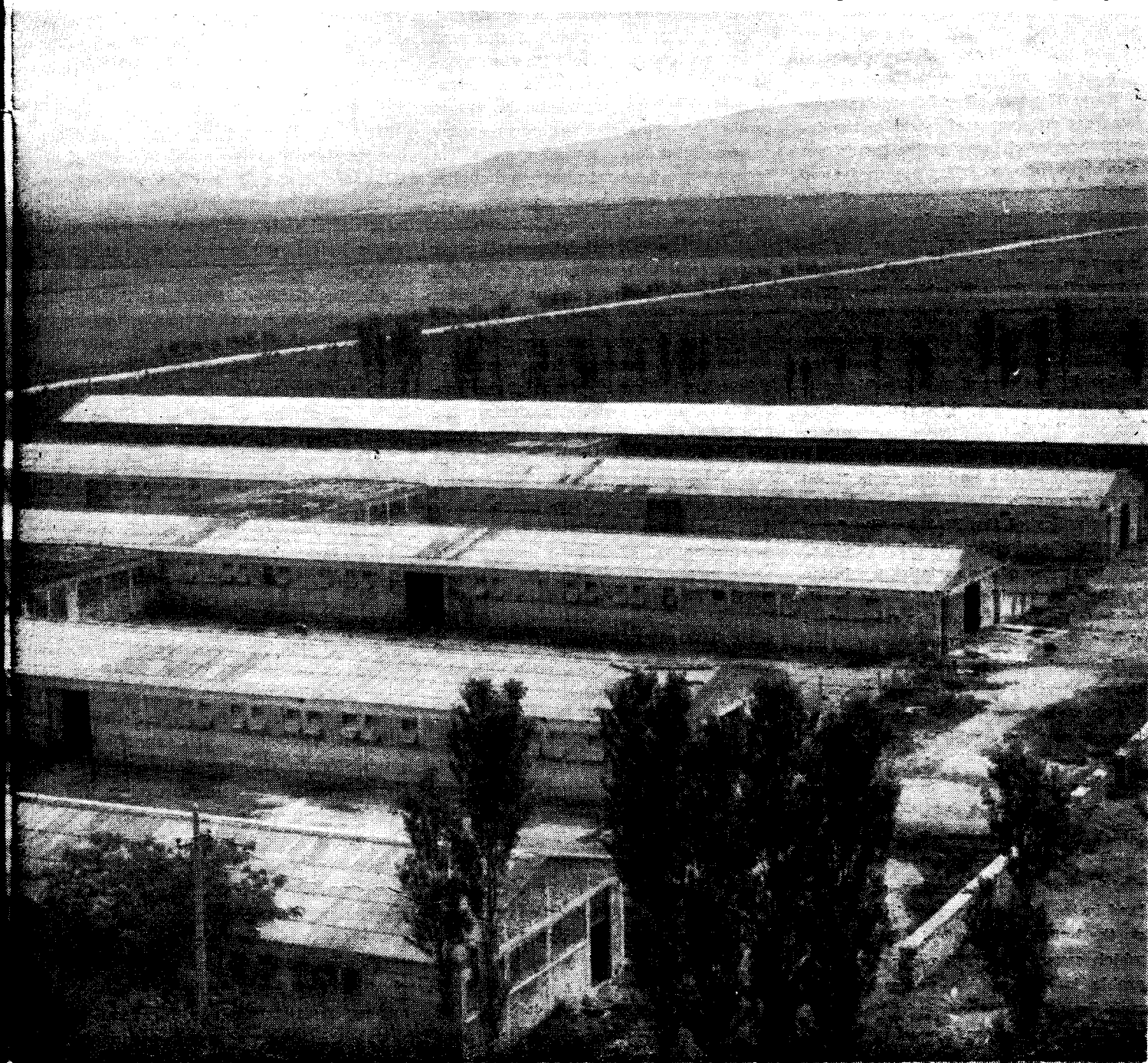
ber of objectives. The great increase of population — which doubles every 30 years, creates a gap in the consumption fund, first of all, in agricultural and livestock products. And this gap can be filled only through the continuous increase of these products at ever higher rates.

The political circumstances in which socialism is being built in Albania, the savage imperialist-revisionist blockade, bring into evidence the role of agriculture as the basic branch of the national economy. It constitutes one of the most important branches contributing to the increase of the degree of self-reliance

of the economy, to the strengthening of the economic potential of the Homeland.

The PLA devotes all its care to the uninterrupted development of the productive forces in agriculture also due to the fact that this branch of material production constitutes the base of

Under the 6th Five-year Plan important successes were achieved in the systematization of farming land and the setting up of livestock-raising complexes.
In the photo: A livestock-raising complex



the national economy and the people's consumption. About 75 per cent of the fund of consumer goods is made up of farming and livestock products or industrial products processed from agricultural raw materials. Agriculture ensures a good part of the national income. The PLA is aware that through the ever higher rates of development of agriculture, the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, the alliance between town and countryside, is strengthened ever more, which has as its direct result the consolidation of the political basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

These 37 years after Liberation have been not only years of work for the development of the productive forces but also years of efforts for the study and solution of individual aspects of the socialist relations of production.

In these 37 years agriculture has become a broad field of creative experimentation through which the PLA has boldly opened up new, heretofore unknown paths, and with the same boldness discarded everything outdated which did not accord with the Marxist-Leninist principles which did not serve the socialist development of agriculture and the countryside, the interests of the cooperativists and the agricultural working people.

The policy of the PLA for the development of agriculture has always aimed the deepening of the socialist revolution in the countryside, which leads inevitably to the development of the productive forces in agriculture.

For production to develop further in the countryside, the Party and the people's state power have adopted a number of measures which increase and raise these forces qualitatively. The state has made huge investments on the draining of marshes and swamps which covered almost all the lowland areas of the country, to turn them into arable land, on the opening up of new land in the hilly and mountainous areas, on the building of an irrigation system which covers about 53 per cent of the arable land — which makes Albania rank first in Europe as to irrigation capacity. The work for land improvement and irrigation has involved the digging of

over 32,000 km of canals and the shifting of 390 million cubic metres of earth — and this by the state enterprises alone, without considering the working done by the agricultural cooperatives on their own for the same purpose. The water-pumping system has a capacity of drawing 230 cubic metres of water per second, or equal to the flow of the rivers Drin and Vjosa (the largest rivers of the country) in the dry season, taken together. This is a colossal undertaking for a small country like Albania.

The continuous increase of the fund of arable land parallel with the intensification of agriculture has made necessary the constant mechanization of production. Albanian agriculture today has a relatively powerful base of farming machines. Industry supplies considerable amounts of chemical fertilizers to agriculture which today uses not less than 14 kg of active matter per hectare, against less than 3 kg it used in 1950, as well as insecticides, pesticides, herbicides, which are necessary for the protection of plants and crops.

Important successes have been achieved in the development of the productive forces, especially during the 6th Five-year Plan (1976-1980). Along with the increase of the number of tractors and other farming machinery, the irrigable acreage was extended by another 40 thousand hectares, and the production of chemical fertilizers in 1980 increased 50 per cent against 1975.

Thanks to these transforming measures, even though the plains make up only 15 per cent of the area of Albania, and even though only 40 per cent of the arable land lies in the plains, agriculture today produces 5 times as much bread grain as in the pre-war period, as a result of the policy pursued by the Party for the development of the productive forces everywhere, for the construction of socialism not only in the plains but also in the mountains. In 1979, as against 1960, total agricultural production increased over 3 fold. Socialist Albania today meets its own needs for bread grain, continuously increases its reserves of cereals and even destines a small part of them to export. Apart from being completely self-suf-

ficient in bread grain, Albania today fulfils about 85 per cent of its needs for other alimentary, agricultural or livestock products.

These achievements are still more important against the background of the deep-going, especially agrarian, crisis, which has the entire capitalist-revisionist world in its grip. In their efforts to bring Albania to its knees, in the beginning of the 1960's the Soviet revisionists thought that their blockade on our country would bring the Albanian economy, especially agriculture, to a standstill. Time proved the opposite. As emerged from the 54th Session of the Comecon, which was held in May 1981 in Hungary, it is the agriculture of the revisionist countries, and not of Albania, which is in the grip of a shattering crisis. In spite of the manoeuvres of the Soviet metropolis to overcome its difficulties at the expense of its vassal countries, through the so-called «specialization» and «international division of labour», agricultural production in 1980 was lower than in 1978 and 1979. In 1980 the Soviet peoples were supplied with 400,000 tons of meat less than in 1979. There have been considerable shortages of sugar-beet, milk, fats, etc. Developed completely on military lines, the Soviet economy in the recent five years failed to supply agriculture with 100,000 tractors, 50,000 trucks, thousands of farming-machines, 66 million tons of chemical fertilizers, etc. The same thing is taking place in Bulgaria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, etc.

According to the forecast of the draft-directives of the 8th Congress of the PLA for the 7th Five-year Plan for the economic and cultural development of the PSR of Albania, total agricultural production in this five-year plan will increase 31-33 per cent, as against the last five-year period. This remarkable increase in agricultural production will ensure ever more agricultural and livestock products for the needs of the population and the economy. This will be achieved through the rapid intensification of production, increasing labour productivity in agriculture, livestock raising, fruit-growing on the basis of a scientific treatment of the land, the further improvement of seeds and

breeds, a better organization of production, as well as the improvement of the socialist relations of production.

In order to ensure the further intensification of production, amongst other things, a more rational concentration and utilization of the material base, of farming-machines, of investments and live labour will be achieved in over 100,000 hectares of plain and coastal areas.

Livestock production will also increase at rapid rates. The production of milk in 1980 will increase 29-31 per cent, of meat 53-55 per cent, of eggs 50-52 per cent, of wool 34-36 per cent, etc. against the year 1980.

The years of the people's state power represent years of work and efforts for the establishment and continuous improvement of the socialist relations in agriculture and in the Albanian village.

In these 37 years of people's state power the Albanian agriculture and village have gone through several stages of revolutionary transformation. From a primitive branch of material production based on private property and feudal relations, agriculture passed over to the stage of the collectivized economies with a broad horizon of development of the forces of production and the new, socialist relations of production. On this socialist basis it is advancing towards the further improvement of socialist relations which, on their part, as one of the important aspects of the mode of production, create the conditions for the uninterrupted development of the productive forces.

Aware of the great role of the socialist relations of production, in the draft-directives of its 8th Congress for the 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985), the PLA has instructed that the economic and social development of the country should also rely on the further improvement of the socialist relations of production, which as always, must precede the broad development of the productive forces, on a more complete participation of the working class and the other working masses in the running of the state and the economy, on the mobilization and encouragement of their

creative initiative in the construction and defence of socialism.

This orientation is of special importance for the development of agriculture and the village. And this because the complete construction of socialist society is closely linked, among other things, with the development and strengthening of the cooperativist socialist property, with the continuous improvement of the socio-economic relations and the preparation of the conditions for the transformation of the cooperativist property into property of the entire community.

The Marxist-Leninist theory describes cooperativist property as socialist property of the same type as the socialist property of the entire society, and points out that the strengthening of this property leads to the development and strengthening of socialism in the countryside and in the entire country.

However, the Marxist-Leninist theory and the revolutionary practice of our socialist construction also show that cooperativist property has special features which distinguish it from the socialist property of the entire society. The main points of distinctions between these two forms of socialist property are apparent in the degree of socialization of the means of production and work, in the forms which the product for society and the product for oneself assume and in the manner of their distribution, in the organization and management of work and production.

Taking account of and correctly assessing all the distinctions existing between the property of the entire society and the cooperativist property has great importance, in theory and practice, both for the present and the future of the cooperativist socialist property, for the complete construction of socialist society, for the gradual transformation of cooperativist property into the property of the entire society and the gradual transition from socialism to communism. After emerging as an objective necessity for the construction of the economic base of socialism in the countryside and after developing and growing stronger in the process of the complete construction of socialism,

it must absolutely be transformed into the property of the entire society, at a given stage of this development and strengthening.

The process of the creation of conditions for the transformation of the cooperativist property into the property of the entire society is not an instant, or merely mechanical process. On the contrary, it is a long and complex process which requires all-round preparatory measures and is carried out step by step in an organized, controlled and conscious manner, under the direction of the PLA and the socialist state. It is not carried out either by abolishing the cooperativist property or by negating it, or in administrative ways and through administrative measures only, but is carried out through the quantitative and qualitative development of the productive forces and the improvement of the socialist relations of production in the cooperativist sector, as well as through the ideo-political conviction and the free will of the cooperativists to transform the cooperativist socialist property into the property of the entire people.

The road traversed by the peasantry for the gradual narrowing of the cooperativist personal plot, along with the increase of the cooperativists' incomes from the collective cooperativist property, as well as the measures for the collective herding of the livestock raised on the personal plot, testify to the correct policy pursued by the PLA over this question.

The PLA has constantly followed a correct policy for the development and economic-organizational strengthening of agricultural cooperatives, and in this context, for the improvement and deepening of the socialist relations of ownership, for bringing the cooperativist property and the property of the entire people closer together and, in general, for ensuring that these relations are brought to harmony with this development and create new possibilities to go forward at ever more rapid rates. And the fact is that the measures that have been taken, especially during the last 20 years, for the complete construction of socialism in the countryside have served the rapid development of the productive forces in agri-

cultural cooperatives, the overall increase of their agricultural and livestock production, the development and strengthening of the cooperativist socialist property. This is confirmed by the growth of total agricultural production, the many investments made by agricultural cooperatives, the increase of their fundamental means, etc. Thus, for instance, total agricultural production in 1979 increased about 75 per cent, as against 1968, fundamental means of cooperatives increased 2.4 fold over the last ten years.

The process of bringing the cooperativist property closer to the property of the entire society is carried out in many directions and forms. However, the setting up of the enlarged cooperatives has exercised an all-sided influence, increasing the degree of socialization of the collective property through the merger of smaller cooperatives into larger ones. By raising the degree of socialization of the property, and work and production of the cooperative, this measure has created better conditions for the improvement of organization and direction of work and production according to the experience gained in this branch of the state sector.

Another more advanced step in raising the degree of socialization of the collective property is the transformation of the economically stronger cooperatives in the plains into higher type cooperatives, in which the state, as the representative of the property of the entire society, becomes a co-partner through its participation with fundamental investments, which otherwise would exceed the possibilities of these economies. So, though these cooperatives retain the form of economic relations which are characteristic of the cooperativist property, the leading role and control by the state organs in them increases, whereas the forms of organization and management of production, work and remuneration are quite similar to those of the state agricultural enterprises. The many years of experience of the higher type cooperatives have shown that the creation and development of such cooperatives is one of the important roads not only for



the intensification and rapid increase of production, but also for the preparation of the concrete conditions for the transformation of the collective property into the property of the entire society.

Naturally, such processes as the enlargement of agricultural cooperatives, the setting up of the higher type cooperatives, their economic and organizational development and strengthening, the collective tending of the personal

livestock of the cooperativists, the extension of communal services in the countryside, etc. by raising the degree of socialization of the cooperativist property and cooperativist work, not only prepare a number of objective conditions for the transformation of the collective property into the property of the entire society, but also prepare the subjective conditions for this transformation, thus affirming and strengthening amongst the cooperativists so-

The increase in the number of poultry-farms is one of the effective ways for ever better meeting the needs of the population for meat and eggs. All the districts of the country have their own poultry-farms. In the photo: A view of the complex poultry-farm in Tirana.



cialist concepts and views on social property, the common interest, the general well-being, etc.

A powerful incentive in this field are the deep-going transformations in the standard of living and the way of life, which have accompanied the revolutionary process realized in the Albanian village. Under the leadership of the PLA, the socialist village has achieved victories of historic importance, such as the electrification of all peasant

homes the building of a broad network of motor roads and the extension of the telephone network to all the villages, the setting up of elementary or secondary schools, of cultural centres, communal and health services, the extension of the trade network in the countryside, etc. All this has been achieved in the years of the people's power, when the antagonistic contradictions between town and countryside have been liquidated and all the for-

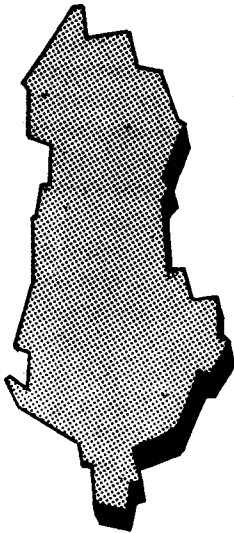
mer distinctions in the way of life have been reduced.

The continuous increase of agricultural production at rates several times higher than the population growth has been accompanied with an increase in the real per capita income of the rural population, which is expressed in the raising of its standard of living to such a level that in several regions of the country it is difficult to make a distinction between town and countryside. The defraying of all expenses for socio-cultural measures in the countryside by the state, the system of pensions for the cooperativists and its unification with that for the town working people, the differentiated policy in sale and purchase prices followed by the state towards the agricultural cooperatives of the remote mountainous regions, which still have a lower level of development, are concretely assisting the further and constant raising of the standard of living of all their members.

Reviewing the road traversed by the PLA and the cooperativist peasantry for the development of the productive forces and the improvement of the socialist relations of production, we can readily conclude that the entire policy of the PLA for the development of agriculture and the village along socialist lines is completely permeated by a spirit of admirable consistency, by reliance on the teachings of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, and by persistence in the implementation of their teachings in conformity with the situation and the revolutionary practice of our agriculture and village, through the efforts of the Albanian people themselves.

POWERFUL MANIFESTATION OF THE LINE OF THE MASSES

FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY



For almost one month and a half the great popular discussion of the draft-directives of the 8th Congress of the PLA for the 7th Five-year Plan (1981-1985) for the development of the economy and culture, went on all over the country: in brigades, factories, enterprises, agricultural cooperatives and economic and cultural institutions. The discussion was carried out with complete success under the direction of the Party. The draft-directives met with complete and unanimous approval on the part of the working class and all the working people, because in them they see their brilliant prospects, a magnificent program for the further development of the economy, the strengthening of the defence potential of the country and the further improvement of their well-being, the road towards the complete construction of socialist society. This confirms once again the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist line of the PLA for the construction of socialism according to the great principle of self-reliance, proves the vitality of our economy and socialist order.

Hundreds of thousands of working people of all the fronts of socialist construction took part in the popular discussion of the draft-directives of the 7th Five-year Plan. Tens of thousands of people contributed to the discussion with their opinions and valuable proposals for raising the indices of the draft-plan and determined the ways to ensure the fulfilment and overfulfilment of planned tasks. The discussion of the draft-directives had a pronounced massive character which proves that, like all the other five-year plans, the new plan, too, bears the stamp of the working masses. The line of the masses, which the PLA has always followed for the development of the socialist revolution, manifested itself in all its

strength in this popular discussion. The mass character of the discussion and the line of the masses theory, according to the orientations of the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of 1969. The introduction into our schools of the three components of teaching: lesson, productive work, and physical and military training, pervaded through and through by the teachings of the PLA, has raised their educational and teaching work to a higher degree and resulted in a better ideo-scientific and practical preparation of the pupils and students for life, for them to take a more active part in the technical-scientific revolution, to apply science in social production. From year to year the school is extending and deepening, it has a mass character in all its links, due to the application of the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha ever better. In the field of education progress is remarkable. In 1979, as against 1938, the number of kindergartens has increased 110.5 fold, the number of pupils attending 8-year schools has increased more than tenfold, and that of secondary school students, full-time and part-time, has increased 24.1 fold. Higher education is becoming ever more widespread among the masses. Our higher schools now train students in more than 60 specialities. If in 1938 there were only 380 people with higher training, in 1979 this number rose to about 43,300. Thousands of full-time and part-time students attend courses in the University of Tirana, in other high schools and their filials opened in several districts of the country.

Even more brilliant prospects lay ahead of our educational system in the 7th Five-year Plan. The development of education will further deepen work in all the links of the educational sys-

tem to enrich the ideological and scientific content of lessons. This will result in a better training of the students

so as to cope with the requirements of the development of production, science and technology for the present and the

future. The number of schools and students will grow, and pre-school education will be extended further.



THE NEW SCHOOL YEAR HAS BEGUN

On the 1st of September the schools of all categories reopened their doors in the PSR of Albania. Thousands and thousands of children, young pioneers, pupils and students started a new school year after the joyful holidays they have spent in dozens of rest homes, beaches and other beauty spot. They are full of health and vigour to begin a new year of work to master science and knowledge, our socialist

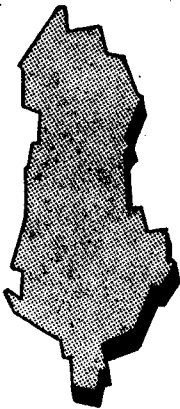
culture. Our respected teachers come to this new term with richer experience and a higher sense of responsibility, conscious of the noble tasks awaiting them.

On September 1, 1981, the jubilee year of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Party and of its 8th Congress, they turn their eyes to the past to see the glorious path traversed by our school, its ceaseless develop-

In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania the plans of the economic and cultural development are worked out, discussed and executed by the working masses under the leadership of the Party. In the photo: A work team of the «Partizani» plant of the Capital studying the draft-directives of the 7th Five-year Plan which will be approved by the 8th Congress of the PLA when it is convened in November.

ment, just as all other activities. Our socialist society resembles a huge open auditorium. It is a place in which everybody works, learns and stands guard.

FROM THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY



But our first steps on this road were not easy to accomplish. Illiteracy was general, and the very few schools that existed were the privilege of the rich, the exploiting classes.

The founding of the Communist Party of Albania marked the beginning of a new epoch for Albania, a fresh start for the Albanian school. Proceeding from the teaching of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha the Albanian school marches with sure steps on the road of its uninterrupted revolutionization. Education, in all its links, has been extended to the remotest corners of the country. One in three people attends school in present-day Albania. In the school year 1981-1982 there are more than 730,000 pupils and students of all categories of schools, full-time and part-time, and 63,000 of them attend the first form of the lower cycle of the 8-year school.

The new school has constantly marched on the road of its uninterrupted development on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. At the same time it is another powerful testimony to our true socialist democracy in action.

The participation of the workers in this discussion was complete. Their opinions were well-weighed and to the point. The contributions of the workers and the other working people to this discussion laid the stress on the fact that the successful fulfilment of the new five-year plan will be ensured by relying completely on our own forces. With a high sense of responsibility, implementing the directives of the Party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, workers and cooperativists, cadres and specialists, all the other working people, actively contributed to the discussion and came out with mature proposals for the discovery and utilization of inner reserves which are inexhaustible for the advancement of the draft-plan indices. Their aim was to find new ways to ensure the complete utilization of the existing productive capacities, which represent the greatest reserve in the conditions of the imperialist and revisionist encirclement and blockade on Albania, in the conditions of the grave all-round crisis which has the capitalist and bourgeois-revisionist world in its grip.

Workers, specialists, managers of enterprises and directors of institutions made thousands upon thousands of valuable proposals for increasing productivity of labour, enforcing the sav-

ings regime, improving quality, lowering costs, developing the technical-scientific revolution, increasing exports and cutting on imports, improving the conditions of work, raising the qualification and educational level of working people, etc. These proposals, which were taken account of in the plan, and part of which is already being carried out in practice, resulted in a further raising of the figures of the draft-plan. This once more shows that the working class and the other working people are both the drafters and the implementers of five-year plans.

The Trade Unions, under the leadership of the Party, made their contribution to the development of these great ideological, political economic and organizational activities. They mobilized the working people for this discussion, and ensured complete participation. With their educational and propaganda work they strove for everybody to fully realize the greatness and importance of the 7th Five-year Plan, the principle of self-reliance; they worked, likewise, for everybody to be well-acquainted with the directives, to express opinions and make concrete proposals for their improvement. The trade-union organizations strove to ensure that the more advanced views set the tone to the whole discussion, organizing everywhere exhibitions of the higher achievements, of the experience of the best. All this encouraged the expression of valuable proposals, new activities, discovery of inner reserves and their utilization.

In all this activity the trade-union organizations engaged themselves deeply in the fulfilment of the present tasks, those of the second half of this year. In the process of discussion the trade-union organizations raised socialist competition to a higher degree, thereby giving a powerful incentive to the creative thought of the working people, their spirit of initiative, raising the mobilization and drive at work to a higher level.

With unshakeable confidence in the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist line of the PLA, with unshakeable confidence in their own forces, the working masses have mobilized all their mental and physical energies to successfully fulfil the plan of the first year of the 7th Five-year Plan and to go to the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Party and its 8th Congress with new victories on all the fronts of socialist construction.



The First of September in socialist Albania is a day of rejoicing for all the people, because the new school year begins. The happiest of all are the little school-boys and girls who begin the first class of the lower cycle of 8-year school. In the photo: Pupils of the lower cycle of 8-year school of the Peza village in Tirana district giving bouquets of fresh flowers to their first class teacher.

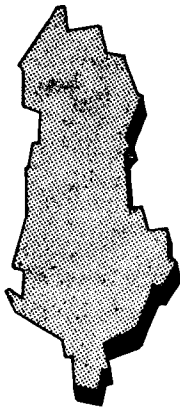
IMPORTANT STUDIES IN THE FIELD OF PHILOLOGICAL SCIENCES

The workers of the Institute of Philology and Literature of the Capital, in collaboration with other scientific and educational institutions of the country, are making an ever greater contribu-

tion in the further development and enrichment of our national culture and the broadening and deepening of the content of philological subject matters in our socialist school.

The activity of the workers of this institute centers especially on a number of scientific works of general character which already are in the hands of our readers. Among the more important works in the field of language are: «The Dictionary of the Modern Albanian Language» (with about 41,000 entries), a major work of Albanian linguistics, «The Phonetics and Grammar of the Modern Albanian Language» (vol. 1 and 2), «Etymological Studies in the Field of Albanian» (Vol. I and 2), «The Spelling Dictionary of the Albanian Language», «The Punctuation Rules of the Albanian Language», Volume 4 of the series «The Albanian Dialectology», and in the field of lite-

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ature: «The History of the Albanian Literature before Liberation», as well as the volume «Problems of the Albanian Literature of the National Renaissance». A number of multi-lingual dictionaries of technical and scientific terminology, such as those of anatomy, histology, jurisprudence, economy, embryology, etc. have also been compiled.

In the series «The Cultural Legacy of the Albanian People» have up till now been published: volume one of the works of Prof. Dr. A. Xhuvani, volume two of the works of N. Frashëri, volumes one and two of the works of Asdren, and work is going on on the other volumes.

Besides this, the workers of this Institute have undertaken broad monographic studies on more than 20 themes, part of which have already been completed. They deal for the first time with important problems of the grammatical structure of the modern Albanian language, with problems of its lexicology and dialectology, its historical grammar, as well as fundamental theoretical and historical problems of the Albanian literature. To these works belong: «The Phraseology of the Albanian Language», «The Central Idiom of the Northern Dialect», «The Grammatical Structure of the Elbasan Dialect», «The Albanian Novel on the National Liberation War», «The Different Genres of Literary Journalism and the Trends of Its Development in Our Press», etc. Work has already begun on «The Dialectological Atlas of the Albanian Language», «The Dictionary of Contemporary Albanian Language» with about 30,000 entries, volume two of the works of Prof. Dr. A. Xhuvani, volumes three and four of «Etymological Studies», as well as two volumes of studies on the history

of the language and historical phonetics by Prof. E. Çabej, etc.

Various card indexes set up at the Institute have been extremely useful in the carrying out of these studies.

The workers of this Institute are also carrying out a fruitful activity in order to give scientific research a more mass character. A number of specialized scientific nuclei and local groups have been set up in some regions of the country, like in Durrës, Kruja, Lezha, Skrapar, Korça, Tirana, etc. More groups are being set up with the participation of teachers of language and literature.

The many studies carried out by the workers of this Institute and its collaborators have also enriched the content of the review «Philological Studies», in which about 50 various monographies and scientific papers have appeared since last year.

The workers of our philological sciences are also engaged in broad activities in the field of the culture of language, especially in the struggle for the cleansing and further enrichment of the national literary language and the implementation of its norms. By means of this activity, the achievements of our linguistics are placed directly in the service of the working masses and more particularly of the school and publishing houses. This activity is being ever better reflected in the various press organs, and especially in the new review «Our Language» which is published by the Academy of Sciences.

During this jubilee year of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Party and its 8th Congress, the workers of philological sciences have pledged to complete a number of other works and to raise the present achievements to a higher level.

MULTIPLE VALUES OF ALBANIAN MATERIAL CULTURE

The working people of the ethnographical sector of the Institute of Popular Culture in Tirana are going to the 40th anniversary of the founding

of the PLA and to its 8th Congress with a number of achievements in the collection and systematization of objects of popular culture, in the all-round

study of them and in their activity in the field of publications.

The funds collected by these sectors up to day comprise over 24,000 different objects of material culture, over 64,000 typed pages of reports by various expeditions, over 12,000 photographs, drawings, etc. Good work for the collection of ethnographical material is done by district and village museums, which have created their own funds based on the ethnographical and historical peculiarities of their district or region. Ethnographical collections reflect some of the earliest activities of our people, such as hunting, fishing, farming, livestock raising, etc. Popular technology is represented in a number of work tools for domestic use. An

important place in the ethnographical funds is occupied by complete sets of tools for 24 trades and crafts, which now are extinct. There are rich textile and embroidery collections which are outstanding for their artistry. The richest collection is that of the popular costumes. Great attention has been attached to collecting and preserving household utensils, weapons used up till the end of the last century, etc.

All these objects of material culture come from more than 300 centres of Albania, and belong to the last 150-180 years. They provide documents about the mode of living of the Albanian people during that period.

At the present state of their work, the ethnographers are faced with the

task of summing up the experience of Albanian architecture and applied arts, the study of the movement of population and development of the Albanian family, of family customs and habits, of the law of the canon, of social psychology, the virtues of the people, etc. At the same time they are working on the Albanian Ethnographical Atlas and compiling a publication in several volumes of folk costumes and dwelling-houses.

The ethnographers are especially interested in the study of present-day processes, the transformations which are taking place in Albania in the mode of living, in the customs and habits of family life, in the creation of new traditions, etc.



Rest-homes for the working people have been set up in the beautiful Alps of Albania.
In the photo: View of the rest-home nestled in the Alpine mountains of Theth.

THE DEMAND «KOSOVA-REPUBLIC» CANNOT BE STIFLED EITHER WITH VIOLENCE OR WITH

by **ARBËR KORABI**

Rather than an aspiration, «Kosova-Republic» is an expression of protest of a population two million-strong, which is now conscious not only of its numbers, but also of the justice of its cause. It is the voice of a population which has long experience of persecution and mistreatment, together with a brilliant tradition of proud and indomitable resistance.

THE EVENTS OF MARCH-APRIL THIS YEAR RAISED IN AN ESPECIALLY ACUTE MANNER A MAJOR QUESTION OF PRINCIPLE — THAT OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION OF KOSOVA AND THE ALBANIAN POPULATION IN GENERAL IN YUGOSLAVIA IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE FEDERATION. THE SLOGAN «KOSOVA — REPUBLIC», RAISED IN VARIOUS WAYS PREVIOUSLY, HAS NOW BEEN TAKEN UP BY THE BROAD MASSES. NOW IT HAS EMERGED OPENLY, IS NO LONGER MENTIONED IN WHISPERS, IS ENCOUNTERED IN THE LEAFLETS AND APPEALS, IN THE SQUARES AND STREETS OF THE TOWNS, IN THE LANES OF THE VILLAGES, ON THE WALLS OF SCHOOLS AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS, THROUGHOUT THE WHOLE REGION. IT IS IN VAIN FOR THE MOBILE SQUADS OF «TERRITORIAL DEFENSE» TO RUSH TO ERASE AND PAINT OVER THIS SLOGAN BECAUSE, DESPITE THE MOUNTING TERROR, IT REAPPEARS. THE MAIN THING IS THAT IT IS NOW DEEPLY IMPLANTED IN THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF THE PEOPLE WHO COMPRISE THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION.

In the months which have passed since the spring, it has become clear that the slogan «Kosova — Republic» is a real demand of the time, a demand which cannot be dodged. Whether or not the Great-Serbs want to accept this, it is becoming one of the most burning problems in the internal life of Yugoslavia. It has won acceptance as a problem for discussion. It is no longer a taboo theme. And bearing in mind the breadth and strength of the movement, we can say with full conviction that it will not be removed from the agenda until it is given a correct solution.

Rather than an aspiration, «Kosova — Republic» is an expression of protest. It is a powerful protest of a po-

ARBËR KORABI — *Publicist, article published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit», organ of the CC of the PLA, September 12, 1981*

pulation two million-strong, which is now conscious not only of its numbers, of its size, but also of the justice of its cause. It is the voice of a population which has long experience of persecution and mistreatment, together with a brilliant tradition of proud and indomitable resistance. Its message, which is now spread throughout the whole world, is simple and clear: it refuses to be trampled down, to be treated as a race inferior to the other nations and nationalities in the Federation. An indispensable step towards winning equality is the realization of the demand «Kosova — Republic».

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The Yugoslav press, whether of a republic or Federation level, has tried

for a long time to minimize or ignore this slogan. Everyone remembers how it was disdained and underrated at first in Belgrade and everywhere. The Kosova events were described virtually as an act of simple rebellion, as a brutal outburst of street violence by an unconscious mob without any clear cause or aim. The fable about the «destructive retrogressive» spirit of the Albanians was spread widely in an attempt to excuse the blood-thirsty counter-action by the police.

If the staff directing the anti-Albanian propaganda has now been obliged to change its tactic, this is further proof of the strength and maturity of the movement and of the vitality of the demand. Besides the grave reprisals against demonstrators in Kosova, in the framework of the whole propaganda campaign which accompanies the punitive actions in Kosova, efforts are being made to support the thesis of «ideo-political differentiation» by explaining «why Kosova cannot become a republic».

Under this general title «Borba», the central organ of the Socialist League of Workers of Yugoslavia, has recently carried a series of articles in which, we can say, it puts an end to a «remote», «superior» and «far-removed» stand towards the events in Kosova, trying to present an analysis and a synthesis at the same time. The articles have been entrusted to the pen of the

REPUBLIC» ER EMPTY THEORIZING

*It is a powerful protest
numbers, of its size, but also of the justice
persecution
able resistance*

publicist Jovan Raičević who toils through pages of print to answer the question which has been raised not only in Kosova but also world-wide: why should Kosova not be a republic, what are the reasons which impel the Yugoslav leadership to insist so rigidly in rejecting a demand which, if not according to the letter, is undoubtedly in the spirit of the Constitution of Yugoslavia (of course, if they take this Constitution seriously).

The first observation which comes to mind from reading such material is that, whereas earlier they did not deign even to mention this question, now, however, they are obliged to discuss it and argue about it. The central organ of the Socialist League of Workers of Yugoslavia itself has taken it up.

Second, it strikes the eye that the articles have pretensions to be rather more than simple publicity materials; they are presented as a kind of pseudo-scientific study with a theoretical-dogmatic form in which the political, economic, juridical, ethical and psychological factors are put together to knock down «Kosova – Republic».

What particularly characterizes the «Borba» articles, the main idea that runs through them, is the thesis that in post-war Yugoslavia the national question has found the most just and complete solution, that moreover the Yugoslav Federation constitutes an unrivalled example from this aspect, a

model unattained till now in the world. Somewhere Raičević issues the challenge: «In the whole world today, either in the East or the West, or in the so-called developing countries», is there another instance which can approach Yugoslavia from the viewpoint of its handling of the national question?

Thus, the first and most general explanation provided as to «why Kosova cannot be a republic» is that the national question is not raised in Yugoslavia today, because it has long been settled, and that the events in Kosova are nothing but an «accidental occurrence» which must not spoil the harmony of the «community», the atmosphere of «unity and fraternity» which prevails in the relations between peoples and nations in Yugoslavia. This implies that the action of the Albanians of Kosova is a completely isolated phenomenon, which is out of tune, which is simply «nonsense» compared with the whole picture of national peace achieved in the Federation. The foreign press reports that a psychosis of blaming the Albanians has been created and cultivated among the Yugoslav public, the finger is being pointed at the Albanians as the main, if not the only, source of all the misfortunes which Yugoslavia is experiencing in this phase.

This over-all assessment is presented to us as a postulate, as an abso-

lute truth. On the basis of formal logic this must exclude any discussion in connection with the national question in Kosova. It is not our purpose to dwell at length here on a problem which concerns the whole of Yugoslavia as a federation. We have had and have our own opinion and position, have said and say that Yugoslav revisionism does not provide a basis for a sound treatment of the national question either in theory or in practice. Beginning and becoming crystallized as a complete distortion of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the broadest plane, it could not but end up with failure in this field, too. In fact, the national policy in Titoite Yugoslavia has never been established on stable foundations, on solid principles pervaded by socialist ideals. It has been a policy inspired by pragmatism, a policy of adaptation to circumstances, trying to balance the contradictions and squabbles among the nations. This is why the rivalries between different nations and Slav and non-Slav ethnic groups constitute one of the most characteristic features of the internal life of the Yugoslav Federation. This has frequently led to clamorous developments, such as the fall of Ranković in 1966 and the purges in the 70's in the two most important republics – Serbia and Croatia. All these outbursts that have shaken Yugoslavia have had their basis in the national question.

«Borba's» boasts that «the development of Yugoslavia has proceeded normally and without upheavals» in this field convince no one.

The most important thing — and this is where we must concentrate our main attention, is that the main operations for «the settlement of the national question» in post-war Yugoslavia, the various deals and concessions were carried out at the expense of the Albanian nationality. Its fundamental rights were sacrificed on «the altar of national peace» in the Yugoslav Federation. Nothing else brings out better the true nature of the national policy in Titoite Yugoslavia. The Albanians and the territories inhabited by them have been used as pawns in the unprincipled game to placate the squabbles between the Slav republics. The later developments are well known but repetition is the best cure for short and weak memories. The greater part, the trunk — Kosova, was left under the wing of Serbia, while the rest — the branches, were divided between Macedonia and Montenegro. The opinion and desire of the Albanians was never consulted.

The Albanians on both sides of the border have always adhered to a consistent line. They did not fall into the trap of «Greater Albania» of the fascist brand, they believed in the ideals of the National Liberation War, in the principle of self-determination of nations and, on this basis, at Bujan in December 1943-January 1944, the Albanians on that side of the border, in the proper form and through the proper channels, sought unification with Albania as a right won through their struggle. Tito himself, in his meeting with Comrade Enver Hoxha in 1946, declared that Kosova was Albanian. However, it soon turned out that for the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia their recognition, during the National Liberation War, of the principle of self-determination up to secession for the people of Kosova was, in fact, simply a matter of tactics, and the course of events showed this. The variant of the «workers and pea-

sants'» republic of Kosova, put forward in 1940 by such a figure of the CPY as Moša Pijade, was not accepted, either. Solemn declarations and promises were cast into oblivion, and after being cut off from the Albanian trunk, Kosova was again partitioned within the Yugoslav Federation.

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During all these months we have heard it said that according the status of a republic to Kosova would undermine the foundations of the Yugoslav Federation and that such a thing would jeopardize the federative structures themselves. In this instance the argument has been developed along juridical-constitutional lines, and on this basis the demand «Kosova — Republic» has been described as illegal and unconstitutional.

«Borba» more or less repeats these apocalyptical forecasts. Raičević, too, talks about a great «confusion» which would allegedly be created in the Yugoslav federative system if the demand of the Albanian population were accepted. But how can one seriously reject a just demand with formal, juridical argument? The Yugoslav Federation with its internal divisions and subdivisions was set up without the participation of the Albanian population. The Yugoslav leaders and their propaganda cannot produce even one document which implies the authentic expression of the will of the Albanians in the various stages of the creation of Federative Yugoslavia, either during the National Liberation War (in the meeting of AVNOJ at the end of 1943 the Albanians not only were excluded from participation, but were not even mentioned), or after the war, when the federative structure was completed. The only act by the Albanians is the decision of Bujan, regardless of the fact that the Great-Serbs today may call it an unfortunate episode and even a black stain on the history of the National Liberation War. Consequently, even if the problem is ap-

proached from rigorously formal positions, we have to do with a «juridical flaw» in the process of the creation of the Federation in connection with the rights of the Albanian population, a «flaw» which excludes this population from responsibility for everything decided **in connection with it** at the various stages and instances. Can «Borba» be basing itself on the «law» of the Yugoslavia of the Krals to invalidate the demand for changing the position of the Albanians in present-day Yugoslavia?!

A general tendency has been clearly observed in the Yugoslav propaganda to counter the demand «Kosova — Republic» with a number of difficulties of a constitutional nature which are deliberately exaggerated beyond all reason. This may appear a convenient shelter, but is is completely insecure. Here the problem is turned upside down; to common sense the basis for reasoning in this case should be: whether the demand is just, and not whether eventual obstacles might emerge in the process of its practical realization. If there is good will, the obstacles are surmountable. After all, what is the sense of this fetishism of the juridical forms of constitutional acts?

Although they are fundamental acts, constitutions are not unchangeable or everlasting. There is no constitution in the world which, along with its main provisions, does not also envisage the respective procedures for necessary amendments or additions. The Constitution of the Yugoslav Federation makes no exception. In the foundation of the Yugoslav Federation there is an injustice which has been done to the Albanian population. Therefore, the essence of the question must be considered, and procedural considerations must not weigh unduly. The Albanians cannot be expected to carry the burden of combinations worked out in the past to their detriment. In their demand, the Albanians are not proceeding simply from a desire to disrupt the Yugoslav constitutional framework, but their aim is to have their rights recognized. The

conclusion emerges automatically: the authors of these combinations must untangle the knot on the basis of the just settlement of the national question in Kosova by recognizing its right to the status of a republic and to an equal membership in the Yugoslav Federation.

One excuse which is frequently mentioned to oppose the demand «Kosova – Republic» is that of the «specific autonomy» which is described as a unique phenomenon, «unknown up till now in political-legal theory and practice». In order to add conviction to the phrase there is the ready sequel that «true, the Region of Kosova is part of the Serbian Republic», but at the same time it is also a «constitutional element of the Federation» with certain rights «which are comparable with those of republics». In this case a long list is made of the positions and the responsibilities which members of the Albanian nationality (naturally, selected) can take in all the state structures at the republic or Federation levels. Naturally, all this is calculated to deceive the innocent in the hope that public opinion might be fooled with such transparent tricks.

Here they are speculating on the so-called «federative constitutional element» which has a declarative and formal character, which does not alter the essence, that is, leaves unchanged the position of Kosova, the content of which is not state political autonomy, but administrative autonomy. In the system of the Federation the Region of Kosova today is juridically a subordinate component of the Serbian Republic. Undoubtedly, the administrative autonomy which Kosova has today is an achievement, fruit of the efforts and struggle of the people of Kosova themselves against centralizing tendencies which have always aimed to reduce it to a simple unit of the internal territorial division. However, it always remains an administrative autonomy the limits of which are not only conditioned by the main prerogatives, which belong to the republic and Federation (never to the auto-

nous region), but also can be altered according to circumstances or the pressures of this or that current which assumes superiority in political life.

It is not surprising that in the countless meetings in the forums of the state and the party at all levels, in the chorus of the recriminations over the «concessions» which have allegedly been made to the Kosova people, different participants in the discussion, spokesmen for the Great-Serb chauvinist clan, have called loudly for the revision and restriction of this autonomy. Now they are passing from words to deeds. Great-Serb chauvinism is using the big stick. One aspect to the repressive policy imposed on the Albanian population is the police terror, the court sentences and the administrative punishment, the mass expulsion and dismissal. Another no less important aspects is the frontal assault on the achievements made in the Region of Kosova in the fields of education, culture and science, especially during the last ten years. «Borba» does not hesitate to mention these achievements as evidence of the importance of this autonomy and a proof for its value for the affirmation of the Albanian population. However, «Borba's» words sound like a cynical mockery today when the University of Prishtina, the schools and scientific and cultural institutions are under attack, when a general offensive is being mounted against the values of Albanian national history and culture. Masked as a struggle against «myths of the past» and «national romanticism», a wide-scale action is being developed the final aim of which is to deprive the people of Kosova of their history, to deny the national identity of the Albanians and to bring about their merger with the Slav mass. A strong tendency for a return to the policy of assimilation, although it has brought nothing but defeats, and even upheavals, is emerging.

The attempt of «Borba» to present the events in Kosova as the result of a deviation from the official policy, a deviation which is attributed to the so-called «national bureaucracy» of the

Region, is ridiculous. With the term «national bureaucracy» the stratum of Albanian officials of the local state and non-state structures is implied, who, always according to «Borba», assisted by «an intelligentsia with marked nationalist tendencies», has allegedly permitted, and indeed incited, a process of withdrawal from the «socialist community» which has resulted in a narrow national self-isolation. No, gentlemen of «Borba», such mystifications don't hold water! The course which has been pursued towards the Albanian population has been well studied, has been determined long ago and with full consciousness in the highest instances of the Yugoslav state. A number of «short-term and long-term» aims, both against the Albanian population in Yugoslavia (as an element of political calculations in its internal life) and in relation to the independent Albanian state in the hope that it will eventually fall like a ripe apple into the Yugoslav «basket», are linked with this course. The top Yugoslav leadership may have been taken by surprise by the concrete results of this policy, but not by the fact of the application of this policy, which it had formulated in every possible detail. Nothing has been done in the Region of Kosova without the full knowledge of the central state organs in Belgrade. For example: the conference held on the occasion of the centenary of the League of Prizren, to which the Yugoslav press is now returning to paint it in somewhat scandalous colours, had the green light from the top federative organs. «Borba» is silent on this account and lays the blame on a certain «national bureaucracy» which had allegedly misused the «specific autonomy»! Today the truth is: this policy has been subjected to a radical revision which has two main characteristics: on the one hand, the attack on the achievements of the Albanians, and on the other hand, a free field for the Great-Serb chauvinist trend to seek revenge.

Searching for arguments to reject the demand «Kosova – Republic» as theoretically baseless and practically unrea-

lizable, «Borba», attacks it by claiming that this implies what it calls «the vertical linking of all the members of the Albanian nationality» in Yugoslavia, regardless of where they live. The reference is to a state «linking» which would include not only the population of Kosova within the existing boundaries of the Autonomous Region, but all the Albanians wherever they are, including those who live dispersed in the other republics of the Yugoslav Federation. This adds «Borba», would be a political organization on the principle of nationality, and not on the territorial principle, which is the foundation of any proper organization of state life. Here the Belgrade newspaper thinks that it has washed its hands by alluding to the struggle which Lenin waged in his time against the attempts of the Bund to emerge as a centre representing all the Jewish workers of Russia, by basing itself precisely on the principle of a «vertical national linking». First of all, one must observe: since the demand «Kosova — Republic» is totally rejected, why bother to discuss certain supplementary aspects of it, certain further implications of it? When the head is removed what importance have the limbs? Second, although the Leninist heritage has suffered the most unbelievable distortions at the hands of the Yugoslav revisionists, one is still astonished at their boldness in wanting to use Lenin as a witness to justify an act of national oppression! Just imagine — they try to use Lenin who was the passionate defender of the small peoples, who mercilessly pilloried «his own» Great-Russian bourgeoisie, first of all!

As for the essence of the matter it is a clumsy falsification, an outright attempt at a sleight-of-hand. The problem of the Albanians in Yugoslavia cannot be compared with that of the Jews in the time of the Czarist Russia, and neither does the demand «Kosova — Republic» have the remotest resemblance to the pretensions of the Bund about the unification of all Jews under a «vertical national linking». The

Jewish workers at that time were dispersed in various regions of the Russian Empire, while the Albanian population in Yugoslavia is compact not only from the ethnic viewpoint but also from the territorial viewpoint. The territories inhabited by the Albanians in Yugoslavia constitute, in the main, a natural territorial entity. Geography speaks in favour of the Albanians' demand. It is precisely here that «Borba» sees the greatest «danger»: that the «Republic of Kosova» would lead to the «territorial concentration of the Albanian nationality» in Yugoslavia under «a single umbrella», and this would bring about that some regions (inhabited by the Albanian population) would break away from Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia in order to unite into «a compact Albanian region». But is there any more just and reasonable demand? Why must the Albanians of Yugoslavia be dispersed under three different «umbrellas» and not be united under one «umbrella», that of their own republic, always within the Yugoslav Federation? But see, here they raise the existing territorial divisions within this Federation as another unsurmountable obstacle. The observation which was made above in connection with the status of this Region is equally valid for the territorial division: this division was made without taking into account the Albanian population. After the war it was proclaimed that a new administrative division of liberated Yugoslavia would be made on the basis of the national criterion. However, in regard to the Albanian population, this criterion was trampled on with both feet. The territory inhabited by the Albanians was broken up within three republics and one autonomous region. This was done for two main reasons: first, it was a concession made to the concept of «Great Serbia» and conditions were created for a policy of oppression and assimilation of the Albanians; second, the territories inhabited by the Albanian population were used to give demographic and territorial consistency to the two smallest republics: Montenegro and Macedonia. Hen-

ce, this operation with the scissors, too, comes within the framework of the pragmatic policy which was adopted to overcome the contradictions which emerged in the field of the national problem. Here, too, the Albanian population was condemned to pay the bill for these combinations. However, these things are not decreed once and for all, are not unalterable. This is a matter of political will, and not difficulties of a constitutional nature.

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On more than one occasion since the events in Kosova, some circles in Yugoslavia have selected organs of the Western press to express «in confidence» certain of their most «intimate» feelings and thoughts connected with these problems. The French newspaper «Le Monde», which has now become a regular spokesman for the Yugoslav chauvinist viewpoints, especially attracts attention. Recently, it published an article by its correspondent in Belgrade, P. Janković, who is of Serbian nationality. As a good Serb, this journalist has lined up completely with the most extreme views of the Great-Serb clan. And the French newspaper gives him unreserved use of its tribune, while abandoning its boasted «vocation» of defending human rights on a world scale. Right from the start, Janković touched on the question of the status of Kosova and makes known the «clear-cut and definite» reply which has been given to this question in Belgrade. Kosova, he adds, «will never win» the position of a republic within the Yugoslav Federation.

Apart from the fact that the explanation given for this categorical refusal has never been heard before, it also has the merit of being quite explicit. So: Kosova cannot become a republic, because «Yugoslavia is the motherland of its Slav peoples and not of the Albanians of Kosova who have their motherland across the border, in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.» Could it be stated more bluntly? Could

the inequality of the Albanians within the Yugoslav Federation be proclaimed more clearly? Up till now it has never been stated that Yugoslavia is a federation of Slav republics. We do not find this in its Constitution, either. Apparently, certain influential circles at republic or Federation level, confronted with pressures from all sides and in an excess of a euphoria of repression, have lost their heads and are opening and laying on the table many letters which they kept profoundly secret. Of course, when it is said that the homeland of the Albanians of Kosova (and we add the whole of Yugoslavia) is the PSR of Albania, this is true. And this is not denied in the least. But it stands to reason that this is not mentioned in order to condemn the division of the Albanian nation in two as a great historical injustice. Today even what a Serbian internationalist social-democrat like D. Tucović said about this at the time of First World War, is considered heresy. Here the aim is neither more nor less than to use the ethnic links of the Albanian people of Kosova with the Albanian people in Albania as an argument to deny the former the right to be equal with the other peoples within the Yugoslav Federation. This assumes the colour of racism. Here we have to do with an effort to justify a kind of «apartheid» against the Albanian population precisely because of the ethnic nationality they belong to. Hence, it emerges from this that the present-day Region of Kosova is not at all a form of state organization which opens fields to the affirmation of its population, but a means of discrimination, of elimination, which must keep it firmly in their present inferior position. This is the meaning of «specific autonomy»!

In its series of articles «Borba» guards against directly mentioning this kind of reasoning. However, it unmistakably echoes it by manoeuvring with certain considerations which we shall call of a juridical-international nature. The thesis that «a nation cannot have two national states», that since a separate state of the Albanian nation exists, a second Albanian state cannot

be created, and there is no room for two parallel states of the same nation, is intended to express these shades of meaning. In this connection, it must be made clear that in the present case there is no talk at all about the creation of two Albanian national states. Here, too, the propagandists of Belgrade are up to some trick. They pretend that they do not understand that the demand for the republic of Kosova does in no way raise the issue of the creation of a second Albanian state with the attributes of a separate participant in international relations. The aim of this demand is simply the alteration of the status of Kosova, raising it from the rank of the autonomous region to the rank of the republic, but always within the frame of the Yugoslav Federation. «Borba» refers to cases of the creation of «dual» national states after the Second World War (two Germanies, two Koreas), which it describes as the result of wars with «grave consequences in international relations» and as «the frontline of conflicts between blocs». Disregarding the fact that the situation is not comparable, because the republic of Kosova would not be a separate state, like two Germanies and two Koreas at the present time, still it is in order to ask: was the division of the Albanian people in two a result of peaceful processes? The separation of Kosova from the Albanian trunk was likewise a consequence of wars, concretely, of the Balkan Wars and the First World War.

The propaganda from Belgrade, and on this point «Borba» dwells especially, is ringing the alarm bells over the events in Kosova, describing not only the internal dangers for the Yugoslav Federation, but also the threatening developments in the plane of the international policy on the scale of the Balkans and indeed the whole of Europe. The matter is presented as though not only the stability of «non-aligned» Yugoslavia «outside blocs», but also the peace in this zone are connected by a very fine thread with the internal structure of the Yugoslav Federation. This is followed by a hail of «terrible» ac-

cusations against the PSR of Albania which, by coming out in defence of its compatriots, is not only «interfering in the internal affairs of a foreign state» and «undermining its internal order», but also is endangering peace, disturbing the equilibrium in the Balkans and Europe and opening the way to international complications and superpower intervention! The foreign policy of our country is declared «adventurous» and «expansionist».

Bluffing is a well-known method in the Yugoslav foreign policy, but we still have not seen it reach such culmination. The PSR of Albania has declared more than once through its top representatives that it is not in the least interested in weakening or destabilizing Yugoslavia, but on the contrary, that the Albanian people will fight beside the peoples of Yugoslavia in case of aggression, whoever it might come from. But does the stability of Yugoslavia rest on its internal juridical status quo? No sound reasoning can accept that the foundations of the Yugoslav Federation could be undermined by the simple alteration of the position of one region which wants to be raised to the rank of the republic within the Federation. In supporting the demand of our brothers in Yugoslavia we are acting within the bounds of international norms which recognize the right of «the mother state» to care for its compatriots outside its borders. Apart from this, we are convinced that the fulfilment of the demand of the Albanian population would eliminate a source of discontent and disturbances and, in the end, would lead not to the weakening, but to the strengthening of the internal situation in Yugoslavia. The interest of the peoples of Yugoslavia and the whole of the Balkan zone, if it is properly understood, requires that the problem of the Albanians of Yugoslavia should not be allowed to become a gangrene. The way to achieve this is not through savage police reprisals, or through campaigns of denigrating propaganda, but by allowing the Albanian population a position of dignity in the system of the Yugoslav Federation.

«Borba» follows up all this lengthy and highflown harangue about the internal and external complications, which allegedly will be the inevitable accompaniment of fulfilling the demand of the Albanians, with the thesis which identifies them (the Albanians of Yugoslavia), with a «national minority». It endeavours to analyse the concept of the «national minority» by giving us the content of the regime for this minority.

«The fundamental and vital question for a national minority in the framework of another state,» says the Belgrade newspaper, is that it must have «full national rights», for example, the «use of its mother tongue and schools in its mother tongue», and these must be «guaranteed by law». A national minority, it adds, cannot pretend to have its own state in the framework of another state. «Borba» goes on to display a liking for advice and moralization when it says that «national minorities are an inevitable aspect of the process of the creation of states», that «it is not possible to define the borders of states in such a way as to ensure that they are made up of a completely 'pure' and 'homogenous' national population»; therefore,... «the national minorities must not be sources of discord, but bridges for bringing peoples together».

To our way of thinking this reasoning is built on rotten foundations and is lame from the outset. The Albanian population of Yugoslavia is not a national minority. Up till now the Yugoslav propaganda itself has boasted that the term «national minority» has been eliminated from the official terminology, because, it claimed, it expresses a certain deprecation towards some ethnic groups, a certain inferiority of them in comparison with the other parts of the «community». We do not find this term in the Yugoslav Constitution, either. Now perhaps they have repented, and that is why they are talking about «national minorities» again. Many people might conform to the concept of a national minority, and naturally the question is not raised that it should be

eliminated from the internal state practice or international practice. However, for the Albanian population in Yugoslavia this is a very narrow concept. Here we are referring to almost half the Albanian people, who are situated within the Yugoslav Federation. «Borba» likes to refer to figures to prove its thesis and calculates that the Albanian population in Yugoslavia constitutes 7 to 8 percent of the total population, while it reaches 14 to 15 percent in the Republic of Serbia. Although the percentages have been «retouched» to some degree, we have the right to ask: why are such calculations not carried right through to the end? What position does the population of Montenegro and that of Macedonia occupy in the total population of Yugoslavia? From the viewpoint of numbers, the population of Montenegro and Macedonia come right at the bottom of the classification table but, nevertheless, they are not national minorities and have their own republics. «Borba» is silent about the fact that the Albanian population in Yugoslavia today amounts to about two million people, and hence is third in size in the whole Yugoslav Federation. Now we know that there is another «argument»: it is not a Slav population. Then it becomes clear once again that the obstacle is not their numbers but discrimination on a national basis.

The spokesmen for Great-Serb chauvinism also see other «dangers» in the eventuality that the right of the Albanian population to organize itself in a separate republic is recognized. Thus «Borba» says that, if the Republic of Kosova were recognized, it would be a state form of shutting the Albanian nationality within the narrow framework of its own «ethnos», and this would lead to «a separation and isolation from life and communication with the other parts of the Federation». In this case, as «Borba» forecasts, the members of the Albanian nationality «would exploit the newly-created national state» «to liberate themselves from the complex of the minority», to establish their own hegemony, and «to absolutize the interests of

the Albanian nationality». This would mean that the members of other nations and nationalities in this newly-created state would find themselves in a position of national minorities in relation to the Albanian nationality. This would result in efforts to displace these minorities and in mutual quarrels and clashes in general. All this would come about simply if the Albanians were given the right to have their own republic.

In other words, if Kosova became a republic, the Serbian minority which lives there would be oppressed and would not have any rights. In his judgement, the gentleman of «Borba» proceeds from a concrete fact, namely, that at present, since the Albanians are a minority in the Republic of Serbia, they are denied all rights. He thinks that the present position of the Albanians in Kosova will be that of the Serbs tomorrow. Therefore, for him the only alternative is the continuation of the oppression of the Albanians and the denial of their rights.

The claim about the so-called «xenophobia» of the Albanians, about their «incapacity» to lead a civilized coexistence with the other ethnic groups is more than just a slander. It takes not only a disdain for the truth but also no small dose of evil aim to make such insinuations about a population which has always been the victim of persecution, which has suffered every kind of outburst of the Great-Serb idea on its own back. No, gentlemen of «Borba», you are unable to slight the honour and the good name of the Albanians in their conduct towards the other ethnic groups. We need only recall the time of the National Liberation War: we can mention hundreds of cases of massacres committed by the Ustaše and četnici in various parts of Yugoslavia against the Slav population, but not in Kosova or in the territories inhabited by the Albanians in general. It was not rare for the Kosovaman to turn his back to the bitter past and take his Slav neighbour under protection to save his life and his property from the occupiers.

Finally, the Great-Serb chauvinist spokesmen never cease to astonish us with their logic. The Albanians can be a minority in relation to others (this is virtually their fate), while the others cannot be a minority in relation to the Albanians! Here again racist tones can be distinguished. We have always understood clearly that the Great-Serb chauvinist ideology has as its intrinsic element anti-Albanian prejudices which border on absurdity.

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The whole Yugoslav propaganda machinery has been set in motion in connection with the events in Kosova. The main means of public communication: the press, radio and television are being exploited to the maximum. Countless speeches, articles, talks and broadcasts have been made in order to distort the true meaning of events, to disparage the Albanians' demands, to throw mud at

the PSR of Albania over its stand in defence of these demands. Now «Borba» is making its contribution in this field by putting forward a whole «platform» which could be called «against the Republic». The whole thing is a pitiful reasoning devoid of any power to convince, without any foundation at all, which adds nothing to the stale phrases said long ago and which simply goes to prove once again how legitimate is the demand of the Albanians of Yugoslavia and how pointless, weak and even ridiculous are the «arguments» presented to obscure and liquidate this slogan. In fact, as has been observed by many, it must be admitted that the Yugoslav revisionists have rarely found themselves in such a tight spot as that which has been created following the events in Kosova: it is difficult to find a case as flagrant as this which has so clearly revealed the great gap which divides the words, learned theorizing and the democratic and socialist phraseology from their deeds and the living reality. It is an

undeniable fact that in the light of the events in Kosova and the stands which the leaders of Belgrade are maintaining, present-day Yugoslavia is becoming more widely known to progressive opinion as it really is, an unstable anti-democratic state which oppresses and kills its own citizens.

The propaganda from Belgrade can release any number of smokescreens to preserve what it can of the «prestige» of «non-aligned» «self-administrative» Yugoslavia in the outside world. However, it cannot cover up the fact that in Kosova and the other parts inhabited by Albanians today, it is carrying out an anti-democratic and inhuman act of repression and denationalization against a compact population. The demand «Kosova — Republic» will have greater repercussions yet. Just as it cannot get rid of a population of two million through so-called «drastic» measures, neither can it stifle a just demand with false reasoning and empty theorizing.

THE «NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER» OF THE GAP BETWEEN THE «NORTH» AND

by **GRAMOZ PASHKO**

*Under the slogan of the
«new international economic order»
imperialism and social-imperialism
are carrying out their policy
for the division of the world,
both from the economic
and the territorial point of view*

AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR IMPERIALISM ENTERED A NEW PHASE OF ITS GENERAL CRISIS. SOCIALISM BROKE OUT OF THE FRAMEWORK OF A SINGLE COUNTRY AND WAS TRANSFORMED INTO A WORLD SYSTEM. THE EXACERBATION OF ALL THE CONTRADICTIONS DERIVING DIRECTLY FROM THE MAJOR REVOLUTIONARY OUTBURSTS OF THE EPOCH MADE ITSELF MANIFEST, BESIDES OTHER THINGS, IN THE MOUNTING TIDE OF THE ANTI-COLONIAL LIBERATION WARS OF THE PEOPLES, IN THE DEMOCRATIC AND ANTI-IMPERIALIST REVOLUTIONS WHICH SHOOK THE COLONIAL SYSTEM OF IMPERIALISM TO ITS FOUNDATIONS. THE PEOPLES HAD AWAKENED, THEY COULD NO LONGER PUT UP WITH THE BARBAROUS EXPLOITATION, THE MERCILESS PLUNDER OF THEIR WEALTH, THE CONTINUOUS DRAIN OF THEIR RESOURCES BY THE VAMPIRES OF BIG MONOPOLY CAPITAL. BESIDES FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE, THE PEOPLES OF ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA ALSO DEMANDED THEIR EMANCIPATION, DEMANDED THE FULFILMENT OF THEIR ASPIRATIONS TO PROGRESS AND DEVELOPMENT.

As a result of these struggles, the classical colonial system of imperialism was disintegrated. In the 50's and 60's more than one hundred former colonial countries achieved independence, they were granted the right to call themselves independent and sovereign states. However, liberation from colonial yoke, achievement of independence **de jure**

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does not imply **ipso facto** real independence. The imperialists could not fail to find new means, through which they retained, even in these conditions, their former empires, that is, without preserving their jurisdiction over their «overseas provinces,» they continued their domination of them. In other words, even though imperialism recognized the independence of the former colonial countries, it managed to

INTERNATIONAL ORDER» AND THE DEEPENING BETWEEN THE «SOUTH»

keep intact those conditions of accumulation of capital in an international scale which are the basis of its very existence: cheap work force, raw materials, markets for the sale of finished products, military bases, etc., etc.

So neo-colonialism was born, which, as Comrade Enver Hoxha describes it, is the old classical colonialism transformed into a new colonialism.

In these conditions, the misery, starvation, impoverishment and ignorance the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America had inherited from the past, remained unchanged. The undeveloped countries, in which 70 per cent of the population of the world lives, own 40 per cent of the world mineral deposits, but they account for only 20 per cent of the world gross product and a mere 9 per cent of the world industrial production. In the beginning of the 70's these undeveloped countries provided less than 7 per cent of the world goods export which, on its part, was made up of unprocessed products to the amount of 85 per cent, which went to feed the industries of the great metropolises. From the bulletins of UNO it results that the population of the world grouped in countries with under 240 dollars income per capita is in excess of 1.5 billion people. Of them, 420 million people, who have a yearly growth rate of 5 million in absolute figures and in given areas, especially in the equatorial zones, represent about 28 per cent of the population, live under the minimum level of subsistence (about 1,400 calories a day per capita) (The State

of Food and Agriculture, FAO, Rome Aug. 1979, Docum/C 79/2, Aug. 1979, C 79/20, p. 12).

Soon after the proclamation of their independence the peoples of these countries grew increasingly aware that the independence they had achieved was a mere illusion. So the people's masses began to raise their voice in opposition to the deepening of the process of imperialist plunder. The rising flames of this struggle, which spread more and more, so much so that it posed a serious threat to the imperialist interests, forced the ideologists of monopoly bourgeoisie, the fire extinguishers of the revolution, to find the appropriate means and ways to combat it. Here belongs the movement for the transformation of the economic relations existing between the undeveloped countries and the developed countries — a movement comprised in the program of the so-called «new international economic order,» which, through the participation of the developed capitalist-revisionist states would allegedly serve as a basis for the establishment of «global stability,» levelling out the gap existing between the industrialized «North» and the backward «South» — producer of primary materials.

The first conference of the undeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America was held in Bandung in 1955 with the participation of 29 different countries. It demanded that the developed countries should meet the demands of their former colonies. Ob-

viously, this was rather asking for alms than a program of struggle. In this manner, from the very beginning of its existence the movement of the undeveloped countries was channelled on a wrong course. It saw the solution of the acute problem of the so-called developing countries only in the concessions, hand-outs and «big-heartedness» of the developed imperialist countries. By that time, imperialism had set in motion all its machinery of multiple penetration into these countries. Neo-colonialist plunder now is organized in more sophisticated forms, going on under most sweetly coated methods and manifestations. The multi-national companies, centred in the big metropolises, became the principal tool through which the imperialist powers continued to retain their economic control of the undeveloped countries. In 1976 they controlled the commerce and most of the primary materials produced in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In order to escape the clutches of the imperialist powers, the newly liberated countries began to carry out the policy of nationalization of some sources of primary materials. In the period from 1956 to 1972 they managed to nationalize 20 per cent of all the assets owned by the multinational companies which controlled the market and sources of primary materials. However, the imperialist powers did not stand passively by, watching this process. In order to stem this wave, which jeopardized their vital interests, they

counteracted by means of protectionist measures, blockades and even military intervention and putches. The events of the beginning of the 70's confirm this fully, showing that imperialism makes no concession whatsoever when its interests are at stake. Here we may mention the military takeover in Chile, Argentina, Bolivia, etc., which were connected with the interests of the American multinational companies of copper, tin, etc., the provocation of civil wars in South Africa, an area in which the interference of the Soviet social-imperialists is growing more and more in intensity.

With the outbreak of the great economic crisis which is affecting the entire capitalist world from 1973 to this day, the developed capitalist countries tried to shift part of the burden of this crisis on the shoulders of the undeveloped countries exporting primary materials. In this manner, along with cuts on the import of these materials, freeze of purchase prices and protectionist measures, they began to resort to indirect methods in order to step up the neo-colonialist plunder of these countries. Thus, high rates of inflation and constant devaluation of currencies of the developed countries, which are used as means of payment by the undeveloped countries, brought about a marked fall in the purchasing power of the latter. At present, the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are finding it more and more difficult to secure, through the export of their primary materials, the financial means necessary for the purchase from the developed countries of the technological equipment they need for the development of their own industry. If the purchasing power of the undeveloped countries is reckoned at 100 for 1970, it went down to 85 per cent in 1973, 76 per cent in 1974, and 70 per cent in 1975 (See «Mondo Economico», N. 3/1980). Mainly due to the devaluation of the dollar, the pound sterling and other currencies, parallel with the high rates of inflation in the developed countries, the negative balance of payments of the undeveloped countries continues to develop at disquieting rates — from 11

billion dollars in 1970 to nearly 40 billion dollars in 1974.

All indications are that the movement for the regulation of economic relations between the undeveloped countries and the developed countries not only had achieved nothing in the last two decades, but also that the gap between them had grown even deeper. In this manner, the reactionary cliques in the undeveloped countries linked the popular movements of their countries with international conferences, the programs of the UNO, which from the second half of the 70's up until this day have kept trumpeting aloud about their results, which have been nothing but bitter fruit, instead of deepening the struggle for independence, the struggle for economic and political emancipation, instead of hitting hard at the imperialist and neo-colonialist powers.

In March 1974, at an extraordinary session of the UNO, the problem of the undeveloped countries was raised and a program was charted for the economic development of these countries, a program consisting of three cardinal points: 1 — stability of import of primary materials on the part of the developed countries and overall adjustment of commercial relations with the undeveloped countries; — 2 transfer of technology through various mechanisms («aid», credits, and others) to the undeveloped countries, in order to promote the industrialization of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America; 3 — a «fair» regulation of the activity of the multinational companies, which take the primary materials from the undeveloped countries.

A year later, in March 1975, the Conference of Lima, which laid down the objectives to be reached by the undeveloped countries by the year 2000, was held. It also sanctioned a program for the so-called «new international economic order.» In this program not only the great imperialist powers and the modern revisionists, but also inter-state organisms, amongst which the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, etc. were involved. The objectives of the Conference of Lima forecast a

rapid «growth» of industrial production in the undeveloped countries. Until the year 2000 these countries are supposed to turn out 25 per cent of the world industrial output instead of 9 per cent they turn out at present, by proceeding at growth rates nearly twice as rapid as those of the developed capitalist countries. These objectives, which call for major efforts in the field of investments and accumulation, were «supported» by the imperialist powers and the revisionist countries, which allegedly would take upon themselves a leading role in the «new international economic order» by providing these countries with the necessary «aid», investments, etc. The tutelage of the developed capitalist countries over the undeveloped countries expressed itself in three directions: first, in a program of aid «without strings attached,» through which the capitalist-revisionist countries would «grant» the undeveloped countries 0.7 per cent of their total national product free; second, through regulation of export-import relations, according to which a «fair» system of preferential price and tariffs for the goods which the poorer countries export to the developed countries would be created; third, through recognition of the right of organization and management of these programs by inter-state organisms such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and other organisms affiliated to the UNO.

Naturally, such programs that call on imperialism to give voluntary assistance to the countries it actually exploits, call on it to give up its plunder which lies at the foundation of its very existence, are utterly utopian. In the final account, all this serves to facilitate the game of imperialism, because it sanctions its interference in the affairs of these countries. The reality has shown that very soon these programs became the opposite of what they were initially proclaimed; neo-colonialist plunder not only is not reduced, but on the contrary is further intensified, and consequently the gap between the developed countries and the undeveloped countries grows wider. Hence, the «new international economic order» did

nothing other than open a new chapter in the neo-colonialist plunder by the metropolises. In these conditions the «North-South» dialogue only re-created the old colonies in new forms, increased the export of capital, sanctioned a new redivision of the world between the imperialist-revisionist powers. «In other words, now as in the past, the same process of the export of capital is going on, though in different forms, with 'honeyed' explanations and propaganda,» stresses Comrade Enver Hoxha. «The ruthless exploitation of the peoples of these countries remains the same or becomes even more ferocious; and the plunder of natural assets continues.» (Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution», Tirana 1978, p. 117, Alb. ed.).

The long years of the «North-South» dialogue channelled through the official organisms regulating international relations have yielded only bitter fruit for the undeveloped countries. All the conferences of the organisms which had volunteered «to take up the tutelage» of the undeveloped countries, have merely confirmed this fact. The Conference of Manilla, held in May 1979, endorsed the American version of the new order, namely, that of the integration of the undeveloped countries into the American sphere of influence; endorsed the policy of giving up the struggle of the undeveloped countries for their rights. The Conference of Delhi, held in January 1980, recapitulated the objectives of Limma. On the basis of the results achieved from 1975 to this day, the conference laid down the objective that by the year 2000 these countries should increase their production to only 16 per cent of the world gross product, against 25 per cent previously forecast for all the undeveloped countries taken together. This was accounted for by the low rates of production growth and the export slump.

The export rates of the undeveloped countries as a whole in 1978 have shown a slight increase of 1.7 per cent against the year 1977. However, from an examination of the structure of export by the undeveloped countries emerges that

most of the poorer countries, especially those of Africa, show a fall in their exports. The African continent, as a whole in 1978 exported 4.2 per cent less than in 1977, whereas the rates of export for Asia and Latin America are 5-6 times less than those of the industrialized countries in the same period (See «Mondo Economico», Nr. 3, 1980). The structure of imports by the undeveloped countries is also an indication of the further deterioration of the situation due to a slump in the industrial production of the undeveloped countries, especially in regard to their traditional primary materials. At present, the undeveloped countries import from the developed countries 14 times more mechanical and electrical equipment than they did in 1963.

The program of «aid» by the developed countries to the undeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, as we have already pointed out, provided the assignment of 0.7 per cent of the gross national product of the capitalist-revisionist developed countries to the undeveloped countries. In 1979 the part of the national product given to the undeveloped countries as aid by the OECD countries, amounted to only 0.4 per cent, excluding the United States of America, which this year gave in aid only 0.2 per cent of its national product.

The aid of the United States of America, in direct or indirect forms — through inter-state organisms such as the World Bank, conceals sinister reactionary schemes. Thus, in the beginning of the 70's, 80 per cent of the American aid to the undeveloped countries went only to the puppet government of South Vietnam. In 1979 half of it went to Israel, under the stipulations of the ill-famed Camp David Treaty (See «The Economist», 13 September 1980). The nature of the «aid» by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund is similar. As a rule, this aid is given in long-term credits at low interest rates, however these credits have a number of enslaving clauses, which bear the brand of American imperialism which has the right to veto even

though it contributes only 20 per cent of the share capital in these organisms. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund accord their «aid» mainly to reactionary regimes, to those which are more obedient and knowtow more readily to the demands of imperialism. The French newspaper «Le Monde Diplomatique» of August 1979 carried an article in which it admitted that the World Bank accorded aid to the countries of Latin America only in periods when these countries were ruled by dictatorial regimes, whereas in the period of the populist or democratic regimes, the World Bank did not give them a single dollar.

The aid accorded by the Comecon countries to the undeveloped countries is still more insignificant. They give only 0.04 per cent of their national product in aid, while at the same time, carrying out an unrestrained policy of expansion towards the undeveloped countries; this is especially true of the Soviet Union.

Another problem which the developed countries «took upon themselves» to «solve» in the context of the «new international economic order», was the industrialization of the new countries, «the elimination» of monoculture in these countries. If we refer to data published in the world press it results that monoculture and one-sided development is the main feature of the economy of the undeveloped countries even today.

In the second half of the 70's purchase of technology from the developed countries became almost impossible for the undeveloped countries because of high inflation and devaluation of currencies, as well as due to other causes such as protectionist measures, embargoes, discrimination, etc, so much so that only ten countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have an industrial activity which accounts for 20 per cent of their gross national product, while 17 others have an industrial activity that accounts for 15 per cent of their gross national product. The rest of them have only a minimum industrial activity. On the other hand, the industry of the countries of the

«new industrialization» is full of grave and almost insoluble contradictions. It is not only an appendage of the industry of the metropolises, which is especially true of those branches of industry which absorb cheap labour power, such as the light and textile industries, the production of consumer goods, the assembly of parts produced in the developed countries, but it is also an industry which is almost totally controlled by the multinational companies. This is the case with Hong Kong, with the multinationals controlling 100 per cent of its industry, India — with 92 per cent, South Korea — with 77 per cent, Mexico and Brasil with 65 per cent, Argentina and Singapor with 60 per cent (See «Le Monde Diplomatique», Feb. 1980).

The current tendency of imperialist powers towards investment of capital in the processing industry of the undeveloping countries is connected, in the first place, with the degree of the threat of popular movements for nationalization, and in the second place, it is connected with those countries in which political guarantees are stronger and the savage reactionary regimes of which stand ready to crush with fire and steel any movement of the people's masses. That is why in recent years the USA channelled 40 per cent of its investments into the processing industry of the undeveloping countries, while West Germany invested 60.4 per cent and Japan 40 per cent, etc. in the same branches of these countries.

The main aim of the imperialist and social-imperialist powers in their penetration into the undeveloped countries is to make supra-profits. Thus, for instance, according to recent data, the United States of America for every dollar invested in Latin America gets back five dollars of profit, Great Britain and France make profits amounting to twice the account of their invested capital. Let us consider only the confections. In 1977, eighty per cent of the total amount of the confections export from the undeveloped countries was realized by four countries: South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and India. The development of this industry is connected with the

extension of the activity of the Japanese multinational companies in these countries.

Besides this, through their advanced technology the imperialist powers endeavour to hitch the unindustrialized poor countries to their own chariot; this method has proved much more effective than the simple practice of giving «aid» and credits in the form of money-capital. Very significant and ample proof of this is the practice followed by the Western multinational companies and firms such as Volkswagen, Ford, IBM, etc. These firms have scores of branches spread all over the globe, most of them operating in the undeveloped countries. However, none of these branches produces all the parts or carries the production process to the end. The Volkswagen, for instance, has car assembly factories the parts for which come mainly from Europe, some of its larger plants are in Ecuador and Mexico, but they turn out only a few and very specialized parts.

The Soviet Union, too, directly or indirectly, by means of its satellites in the Comecon, is trying to penetrate into the undeveloped countries, either under the cloak of the program of the «new international economic order» or in the context of «aid», cooperation, etc. From 1970 to 1979 exchanges between the countries of the Comecon and the undeveloped countries have increased fourfold, the balance showing a marked preference for the countries of the Middle East (exchanges with them have increased eightfold) and less with the continent of Africa, which at present accounts for only half of the volume it occupied in 1970 (See «Le courrier des pays de l'est», January 1980). The trade of the Soviet Union with these countries is prompted by openly predatory aims. The active balance of the Soviet trade with these countries in the last nine years amounts to 10 billion rubles. The settlement of debts is done either through repayment in kind with products or through new credits which pave the way for the export of more Soviet capital to these countries. In this manner the Soviet Union plundered the gas deposits of Afghanistan,

which until 1977 had delivered to the Soviet Union 25 billion cubic meters of gas or put under its control the metallurgical, oil and aluminium industries in India. The multinational companies the Soviet Union has set up in the undeveloped countries, organized on the basis of joint ventures with the local companies, enable it to control a very large capital. To quote an example, in 1978 the Soviet Union ensured the control of a capital of about 3.9 billion dollars only through a credit of 270 million dollars. (See «Le courrier des pays de l'est», January 1980). Soviet companies operate in those branches of industry which either offer better prospects for profit, in the form of primary materials which the Soviet Union lacks, such as phosphorites, bauxites, and oil, or facilitate the further expansion of Soviet influence on the oil-rich countries. In 1978 Soviet capital in the undeveloped countries amounted to nearly 4 billion dollars, mainly in the form of medium-term credits at 3 per cent interest rates. However, the Soviet strategy has long-reaching objectives; the aim of its economic expansion is to get a foothold in strategic key positions in order to establish its town social-imperialist dictate.

Under the slogan of the «new international economic order» imperialism and social-imperialism are carrying out their policy for the division of the world, both from the economic and the territorial point of view.

The United States of America has intensified its neo-colonialist penetration into the undeveloped countries. With 5.2 per cent of the population of the world it has under control 60 per cent of the mineral deposits of the world. Political, economic and military pressure, direct intervention, threats and blackmail — these are the ordinary means for the intensification of neo-colonialist expansion. Typical of this policy is American interference in the countries of Latin America. American capital invested in the South-American sub-continent has increased tenfold since the end of the Second World War, occupying 17 per cent of all investments of the United States of America abroad, and 81

per cent of its investments in the undeveloped countries. These investments bring back 18 per cent of all its profits abroad, most of which return to the United States, with the remainder being re-invested in these countries. West-European and Japanese imperialism as well as Soviet social-imperialism are showing a growing desire to invest in this sub-continent. Although for the time being there are no manifestations of a large-scale involvement of the latter in this sub-continent, which remains almost exclusively a sphere of American influence, still the West-German capital has invested here 28 per cent of all its investments in the undeveloped countries, Great Britain 20 per cent, etc.

The countries of the European Common Market are increasing their presence in their former colonies. The EEC is expanding towards the undeveloped countries of Africa, the Carabbians and the Pacific, especially after the two Agreements of Lomé (1975 and 1979). By means of several enslaving agreements with these countries, Western Europe is making large-scale investments there and plundering their primary materials, also assisted by preferential tariffs. Of the total import of the EEC countries from the ACP countries 95 per cent is made up of primary products, raw materials, of which 80 per cent comprise mainly oil and sugar (See «Problemes Economiques», N. 1684, 30 Juillet 1980).

In the «North-South» dialogue Japan does not lag behind either. Its neo-colonialist expansion is becoming more and more pronounced in Asia, especial-

ly in South-east Asia. It has entered agreements with the countries of ASEAN, which in recent years imported an amount of 8 billion dollars worth of Japanese goods, a fourfold increase as against 1970. Japan is the main partner of these countries, accounting for 40 per cent of their total imports, and of most of their exports.

The widening gap which the «North-South» dialogue is trying to bridge, is expressed most clearly in the increase of debts. From 5 billion dollars which the poor countries were indebted to the industrialized imperialist countries in 1955, in 1977 their indebtedness grew to 207 billion dollars, in 1979 it rose to 250 billion dollars and in 1980 went up to 450 billion dollars. These colossal debts are very heavy links in the chain binding the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to their former metropolises. Only ten of the more industrialized countries in the undeveloped world account for 80 per cent of these debts. Brazil's debts, for example, amount to 60 billion dollars. Brazil and Mexico have to refund one third of the hard currency they gain from their exports to cover the interest rates on credits. The perspective is clear: in 1986 the undeveloped countries taken together will use 36 per cent of the value of their exports to repay the interest rates on the credits they have received.

Another corollary to this indebtedness is that nearly half of these debts is due to the private banks of the imperialist powers, especially to those operating on the markets of European

hard currencies. The undeveloped countries, and here we refer only to those which suffer the consequences of the debts, consume the largest part of European credits; from 1976 till 1979 they have consumed 50 per cent of the total sum of credits accorded by the financial markets of European currencies. By September 1980 their indebtedness was 250 billion Eurodollars for short-term loans at very high interest rates. However, with galloping inflation in the developed capitalist countries and fluctuation of interest rates, which in 1980 reached about 20 per cent, i.e. twice as much as in the beginning of this same year, an increase of 5 per cent in the interest rates on these markets will bring about an increase of 13.5 per cent in the hard currency needed to repay the debts.

As a conclusion, it is evident that the «North-South» dialogue is fraught with growing contradictions in all fields — economic, political, ideological, etc. The purpose of this study is to cast a cursory glance over some of its main aspects, to draw a picture of the negative results of the five years of existence of the «new international economic order» which obviously is a new form to cover up neo-colonialist plunder, a means of imperialist expansion and neo-colonialist plunder, of export of capital, of the economic and territorial division of the world. Its aim is to create a new international division of labour in which the «South» is destined to serve as a source of accumulation of international capital, of extension of the limits of exploitation, of guaranteeing the sources of maximum profit.

RESOLUTION OF THE 1st CONFERENCE PARTY OF

RESOLUTION OF THE 1st NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA

I

We are in the fourth year of the World War which was begun as an imperialist war and was transformed into a national liberation war after the perfidious attack of nazi Germany and its satellites on the Soviet Union, the homeland of the workers and peasants, the country where the peoples live free and happy, antagonistic classes have been liquidated, the exploitation of man by man and oppression of nation by nation have been liquidated, the country which has proclaimed its peace-loving policy in the League of Nations, in non-aggression pacts, in pacts of mutual assistance against aggressors and in friendship treaties. The Soviet Union has always defended the interests of the small peoples without meddling in their internal affairs. After the outbreak of the second imperialist war it has tried to circumscribe the conflict and to keep it away from its borders. It was there that Hitler's war juggernaut ground to a halt, because there it was no longer faced with unprepared armies, did not find peoples disorientated by the fifth column, did not find traitors like in bourgeois Europe, where the traitor governments had prepared the terrain for the coming of Hitler. There the army has emerged from the people and serves their interests conscientiously, it defends the great deed of the October Revolution — the Soviet Union. This army has stemmed and is repelling the attacks of the fascist hordes. The large-scale offensive of the victorious Red Army, which began in the end of 1942, has resulted in the liberation of many cities and regions and the annihilation of whole enemy armies. On the various fronts in the vicinities of Moscow, Leningrad, Tula, Stalingrad, Hitler's picked troops met their doom on the Soviet land. The heroic defence of Stalingrad astonished the whole world and clearly showed the strength of the Red Army.

In the beginning, Hitler planned to occupy the Soviet Union and wipe out the Red Army by means of a surprise attack to be carried out within a short time, but the

heroic resistance and the strategy of the Red Army destroyed his plans and transformed the conflict into a drawn-out war. Later Hitler intended to wage a position war, but the powerful attacks of the Red Army forced him back, to give more and more ground with each passing day. The war is becoming ever fiercer and Hitler's war machine is suffering irreparable damage. Nazi Germany has suffered irreplaceable loss in men and material, its economy is being wrecked, while the Soviet Union has inexhaustible sources of men and material in reserve. The successive defeats and other losses have come as a shock to the German people, who see no end to this war,... and they have begun to demoralize the Hitlerite army, too, while on the other hand, the morale of the Red Army and of the peoples of the Soviet Union remains always high; the enslaved peoples have turned their hatred against the nazis into an open armed war and are becoming a serious threat to Hitler and Mussolini.

Hitler hoped to bring England and America round to his side, in an effort to isolate the Soviet Union and create the possibility of raising a crusade against it. However, through the vitality and the intelligent policy of the Soviet Union, one month after the fascist aggression against the Soviet Union, England enters into an agreement with the Soviet Union. This was re-affirmed later in the strong alliance of London and Washington in the common struggle against fascism, for the opening of the second front and the liberation of the enslaved peoples, without meddling in their internal affairs and the mode of government; this alliance will remain in force twenty years after the war. In order to cope with the fascist threat the progressive peoples and nations united and threw themselves into the common struggle against the one enemy. Hitler's attempts to isolate the Soviet Union failed, and a coalition was formed against nazi Germany and its allies. Hitler found himself isolated, instead.

OLUTION E OF THE COMMUNIST ALBANIA March 17, 1943¹⁾

The sincerity of the alliance between the Soviets and the Democracies is realized and affirmed through their very struggle.² This sincerity has its sound guarantee in the determination and unity of these three great nations. The Conference of Casablanca,³ the declarations of Churchill, Eden and Roosevelt and the fiery and ceaseless manifestations of the people in the streets of London, New York and Washington show that the opening of the second front is imminent. This becomes a certainty for us when we recall the words of Comrade Stalin:

«Often people ask: Will there be a second front in Europe, though? Yes, sooner or later there will be a second front. And this not only because we need it, but because, and above all, our allies need it no less. Our allies cannot fail to understand the fact that, after France was put out of action, the lack of a second front against fascist Germany may have evil consequences for all the freedom-loving countries, including our allies themselves.»⁴

At the head of this alliance of the freedom-loving peoples stands the Soviet Union which bears the brunt of the war on its shoulders. The peoples of the whole world are now seeing with their own eyes the strength and the certain victory of the Soviet Union and its allies against fascism, the enslaved peoples are winning their freedom and independence through their own war and by linking themselves with the war of the Soviet Union and its great allies.

The combat operations and the landing of the Anglo-American allied troops in Africa and their large-scale air raids on the industrial and military areas of Germany, Italy and Western Europe have squeezed Hitler into an iron ring. The national liberation movement of the enslaved peoples, with the communist parties at the head, has gathered great strength and reached the stage of the armed struggle.

Now Hitler has not men enough to cope with the attacks of the great anti-fascist coalition forces, he has not workers enough to put up fortifications and produce war materials, the war is consuming his best armies, and his reserves are ebbing low. Therefore, with the assistance of the various quislings of Europe, he tries in every possible

way, using even sheer force, to mobilize the whole of the continent in order to levy as many soldiers as possible, as many slave workers as possible. Now that he has come to face a great threat, now that his armies are suffering defeat after defeat on the Eastern Front and on the African Front, now that he sees the menace of a second front and the increased vigour of the national liberation war of the enslaved peoples, he has raised the spectre of the «bolshevik danger», trying, in this manner, to split the Anglo-Soviet-American alliance and mobilize reaction of the whole world, and especially of Europe. The whole fifth column, all the traitors with Petain, Laval, Antonescu, Quisling,⁵ and the other tools of fascism at the head, have been mobilized. The systematic plunder, the terror, the dejection into which they have been plunged by fascism, the defeats of fascism on the various fronts, and especially on the eastern front, the imminent opening of the second front, all this makes the enslaved peoples of Europe unite and rally round this powerful alliance and fight arms in hand against the occupier. The national liberation war in the Balkans has a very fierce character, and after Hitler's attempts to mobilize them by force, their war has become even fiercer, reaching the point of the armed struggle in Greece, Bulgaria, and especially in Yugoslavia, where the national liberation army has developed into army-corps and has liberated a great part of the country.

The national liberation war of the peoples of the Balkans opens new prospects to them, develops their fraternity and eliminates national antagonisms which Hitler and Mussolini want to use to their advantage. They need the armies they have in the Balkans for the war on other fronts and in other countries threatened by the second front, therefore by means of the traitors of the Balkan peoples — Antonescu, Boris, Palevič, Nedić, Merlika, Bushatli,⁶ etc, they try to foster chauvinism and to incite these peoples to fratricidal war in order to use them to suppress the national liberation movement, try to organize the Balkan army out of the Balkan peoples themselves in order to serve the interests of fascism, to liquidate the national liberation struggle and to cope with an eventual second front...

The great proportions the war on the Mediterranean front has assumed and the great and constant weakening

of Italy open new prospects to and strengthen the anti-fascist and anti-war movement in Italy, increase the possibilities for a break-away of Italy from the Axis. Certainly, this would have major consequences for the Balkans, and especially for Albania.

The inevitable destruction of fascism, the horrors of the war, the wrecking of the economy, the role of the revolutionary forces in the national liberation struggle, the importance and role of the Soviet Union in this liberation struggle, all this opens up the prospect of the final liberation of the oppressed working masses.

II

With its policy, the former regime had isolated Albania from the foreign world and allowed fascist Italy to interfere in its internal affairs, thus facilitating the preparation for and the actual occupation of the country. It granted Italy major economic concessions and put the organization of the National Army in the hands of Italian instructors. Fascist officers and propagandists infested all Albania, and availing themselves of the rottenness of the state apparatus, compromised officials of the regime and systematically prepared and organized the fifth column. General Pariani, Jacomoni, Giro⁷ and some of their more determined assistants distinguished themselves in these activities. This fact, added to the very weak links of the former regime with the people or total lack of them, explains clearly why Italy put down our resistance so easily. The various military groups which assembled in different parts of Albania at the decisive moment of the invasion were unable to put up serious resistance because they were not well armed and betrayed by the ruling clique.

Upon the invasion of Albania fascism began a demagogical campaign on a broad scale. It presented itself as the «rescuer» of the Albanian people from the oppressive regime of Zog, promised that it would bring justice and economic prosperity and that it would make good all the injustices of Zog. So it managed to bring round to itself part of the opponents of the former regime and the personal enemies of Zog or of his entourage. It succeeded in exploiting religious antagonisms, too. The traitors, the personal enemies of Zog and the various parasites became efficient tools for the enslavement of the people.

1. — The 1st National Conference observed that fascism intended to legalize its yoke by allowing the country a sort of a parliament and putting at the head of the government some scum of Albania like Shevqet Vërlaci, adopting a program which they hoped would make the regime of occupation acceptable to the Albanian people.

The Albanian people had a low political level. They hated the occupier, but... did not know what fascism was, because there was no progressive political party which would eventually be able to set up an anti-fascist front. The is why it was misled by fascism, to a certain extent. The deceptive demagogy of fascism advertized the «prosperity», especially in the economic fields. New jobs were created, workers' wages were raised and, in the beginning, this deceived the common people who were

suffering all the evils of the grave economic crisis. Fascism promised that it would build roads all over the country, that it would improve the land, would open canals, mines, would set up industries, in other words, would make Albania a «paradise» with all its blessings, and especially would give «jobs and bread». Initially the economy seemed to prosper, but this prosperity was more in appearance than in reality. In reality, the occupiers lay their hands on all the assets of the country, the exploitation of the minerals became the exclusive right of the Italian companies, the customs were taken in concession by the Royal Italian Customs against a ridiculous compensation, the sale of goods of everyday use was monopolized by the great Italian companies which allowed the big merchants, the traitors and blackmarketeers a small share of the spoils. The economy of the country was ruined. Immediately after the war with Greece broke out, the economic situation of our country, which had rapidly been losing much of its prosperity, became disastrous especially for the lower strata, there were no more jobs for the workers, prices sky-rocketed beyond imagination, goods were in very short supply on the market. In the theatre of war operations, in the southern regions, thousands of families lost their homes, agriculture, and especially animal husbandry, were ruined.

The population is growing more and more discontented with each passing day; its former hatred against the occupier assumed the form of open opposition with a political colouring. People began to discard the indifference of the first days, strikes and demonstrations with ever increasing vigour (the Technical School, the Gymnasium of Shkodra, the Commercial School of Vlora, the «Stamles» factory, the November 28 demonstration in 1939 in Tirana and Korça) began, fascism began to be exposed among the people, and the national liberation movement spread among the broad masses of the people.

Not only was the Vërlaci Government unable to suppress the indignation of the people against the occupier, not only was it incapable of reconciling them to the occupiers, but especially and above all it was not in a position to put down the ever strengthening national liberation movement. Fascism grew acutely aware of the threat posed by this movement and tried to nip it in the bud by resorting to all means — intrigues, demagogy and especially brute force, in order to ensure that Albania remained its submissive servant, an important base to secure and strengthen its position in the Balkans. The Vërlaci Government showed itself weak to the task; therefore, another tool was needed for the implementation of this policy. And fascism found this tool in the person of Mustafa Kruja who had long begun his work of betrayal.

2. — Mustafa Kruja initiated his hideous career with his participation in the traitor Durrës Government of 1918⁸ and his activity to wreck and fight the Congress of Lushnja. He went on with his treacherous activity outside Albania, too, until the events of April 7, 1939. He is the dirtiest figure of the April 7 traitors, the most disgusting type of the sold-out inveterate traitors. No sooner had he been placed at the head of his government, that he set about his bloody work for splitting the movement against the

occupier by means of political manoeuvres and intrigues, as well as brutal force.

His government saw in the Communist Party their irreconcilable enemy of fascism and the most vigorous and most capable force for the organization of the national liberation struggle, that is why it tried to destroy and isolate it from the people and to destroy it, by presenting all mass movement, all opposition to or protest against the government and the occupier as a movement of a purely communist character. By so doing it sought to estrange the nationalists from the national liberation movement and to bring them gradually round to its own positions, to alienate the people and the patriots from the Party and the liberation movement. In this way the traitor Merlika wanted to neutralize the efforts for the creation of a national liberation front, of which his patron, the occupier, was in deadly fear. Besides this, he carried out a chauvinistic policy, ceaselessly trumpeting the big lie of «Greater Albania», which he advertised as success and deed of fascism and its policy and, at the same time, speculated with «the Serb and Greek threat», with which they intended to mislead the national feelings of the Albanian nationalists and to create inexistent preoccupations for them and push them into positions which not only did not harm the occupier, but on the contrary, made its task easier, by creating a diversion and inciting fratricidal conflicts among the Balkan peoples. In order to sabotage the setting up of the National Liberation Front, to rally as many people and forces as possible around the occupiers, he addressed himself to the reactionary nationalists, bajraktars, fugitives and such other people. He profited from sit-on-the-fence attitude of many nationalists in order to spread the idea that a strong Albanian state apparatus must be created in order to combat Italy «when time comes», and especially to be in a position to defend «Greater Albania» from an eventual Serb and Greek invasion; by so doing, he wanted to justify and facilitate the raising of men for the militia and the army. It must be noted that he did his utmost to put down the movement of the Albanian people with internal reactionary and mercenary forces, sparing the occupation forces which were needed on the different fronts outside Albania.

Merlika's attempts to rally around himself the nationalists and to integrate them in his policy of betrayal and compromise met initially with some success, just as the recruitment of the militia. Many reactionaries joined him and helped him in his intrigues and terrorist measures against the population, some nationalists were misled by his demagogy, and either collaborated with him to a certain extent, or did not oppose him. Merlika linked himself closely with some people who had placed their own narrow interests above everything, who either were opposed to or had no confidence in the development of the national liberation struggle. Availing himself of the influence some inveterate traitors enjoyed in our mountain regions and of the economic situation there, he succeeded in raising a sufficiently great number of militiamen whom he used against the ever mounting struggle of the people, against demonstrations, sabotage and fighting actions. His government became the government of bloody reaction and terror. He gave a relentless chase to all the

patriots, all those who were against the occupier, mercilessly killed, hanged, jailed and deported hundreds of people, attacked and put to the torch whole villages, as well as houses in the towns. But the movement of the Albanian people did not die out, on the contrary, it gained ever greater strength with each passing day; the partisan and volunteer detachments were strengthened. The Communist Party has been the only organizer and leader of the struggle against this unexampled reaction; it has always stood at the head of the struggle; it has always tried to collaborate with all the honest and patriotically-minded nationalists against the occupiers; it was the initiator and master-mind of a broad conference in September 1942¹, in which many nationalists with different political tendencies participated. There the bases of the national liberation councils, the organs of this struggle and of the people's democratic power, were laid. This Conference took a great step forward towards unity and the formation of the National Liberation Front; this conference enabled all those who want the national liberation struggle to take active part in it.

The growing strength of the front against fascism, the strengthening of the positions of the allies, the successes of the Red Army and of the national liberation war in Europe, the destruction of the economy of the country, the shortage of food-stuffs, the systematic plunder by fascism, the exposure of Merlika's demagogy, the failure of his attempts to mobilize the army in favour of the occupier and to increase the forces of the militia allegedly in order to ensure more favourable conditions for our independence from the occupier — all this has made it clear to the people that they must fight the occupier.

The constant extension of the national liberation movement had as its immediate response the declarations of Hull, Eden and Molotov, who solemnly recognized the freedom and independence of Albania. These declarations have had a positive political impact on the nationalists and the people. These declarations have discredited even more the policy of Merlika in the eyes of the people and have turned away from him many nationalists who were still under his influence. Merlika remained with that part of the traitors whom the Albanian people know but too well. He tried once more (November 1942), by means of a pathetic demagogical appeal, to wreck the unity of the people, to put out the National Liberation War, and thus save his shaken positions. But the war is becoming ever fiercer, it is becoming ever more vigorous and an increasing number of patriotic elements are rallying around the movement.

The policy of Mustafa Merlika failed. Fascism needed other tools in order to suppress the national liberation movement.

3. — Merlika was replaced with Eqrem Libohova and his cabinet, around which fascism hoped to rally fresh forces from the ranks of the nationalists in order to improve the situation in the eyes of those dissatisfied with the former cabinet and to win over the people by deceiving them by means of some pseudo-reforms. In reality, fascism was lavish with its promises this time; in order to boost the new government it promises reforms upon reforms, and

presented the situation as if the new government had accepted to assume the charge only after the occupier had accepted its firm conditions for a self-government. But this did not produce the effect they hoped for; the people did not let themselves be deceived and the government had no sufficient influence to impose itself on them.

As a matter of fact the government of Eqrem Libohova was only a step towards bringing to power the government of Maliq Bushati. It continued in the same line and with the methods as Merlika. Under this government sons and daughters of the people were taken hostage and terror continued with the same ferocity. This sparked off mass protest actions and demonstrations in many cities of Albania and increased the intensity of the struggle of the people. From these demonstrations, from the continuation and ceaseless exacerbation of the struggle, fascism saw that it had not found the appropriate tool for its policy.

4. — The main goal of the government of Maliq Bushati, the successor of the government of Eqrem Libohova, is to rally all the reactionary elements and, directly or indirectly, to split the national liberation movement, and together with the forces of fascism to suppress this movement, to achieve what the governments of Merlika and Libohova were unable to achieve. This government adopted to a new tactic. It is trying to strengthen the fifth column as one of the best means to sow discord, is endeavouring to revive and strengthen chauvinism in order to divert the nationalists from the real war and bring us to bloody war with our neighbours. That is why it comes out again with the slogan of an «Albanian army and gendarmerie» and of the «Serb and Greek threat». It works on the same lines as the policy of the Merlika Government, but on a new broader platform, with greater inclination to compromise with the nationalists, which is what the occupier needs most. Generally, it relies on the elements linked with Merlika, as well as on reactionary elements, on those who had stood aloof from Merlika and on all traitors and opportunists.

Fascism has understood that the policy it inspired in the Merlika Government was too narrow-minded and was not resilient enough to open the door of compromise to the nationalists, it has understood that changes must be made, that the nationalists should be given a better illusion of self-government. In this manner greater possibilities can be created to hitch the reactionary elements and the conservative nationalists to the chariot of fascism and, through them, to estrange part of the nationalists from the struggle, and thus break the National Liberation Front. Simultaneously with this policy, it tries to strengthen its position by stern military measures. That is why Pariani, one of the men most loyal to the fascist regime, the man who prepared the military occupation of Albania and who, consequently, knows well our country, has come as a viceroy.

5. — The 1st Conference observed that a kind of differentiation is taking place in the ranks of the nationalists in regard to the National Liberation War and the Communist Party. The section of reactionary nationalists, who directly or indirectly collaborate with the government of Maliq Bushati, is more and more coming out into the open. But, on the other hand, there is an increasing number

of nationalists who have understood that it is only through the National Liberation War that independence is won. But there is a section of nationalists who stand on neutral positions; they have not yet understood the character of the National Liberation War, have no trust in the forces of the people and in the imminent defeat of fascism. This section can play an important role in the National Liberation War, therefore it should not be underestimated or neglected.

Part of the nationalists are rallied in the «Balli Kombëtar», in which, in general, there are differences of opinions and unclarity about the National Liberation War, participation in the present government and other political questions. There are many of those, especially among the rank-and-file, who are for the National Liberation War and great possibilities exist that they will enter the true road of this struggle. Many elements of the «Balli Kombëtar» have fought and continue to fight the occupiers arm in hand. A united militant national liberation front with these elements is possible.

But is must be noted, however, that parts of the chiefs of the «Balli Kombëtar» are die-hard conservative and ready for compromise. They conduct a two-faced policy, trying not to break relations altogether with the national liberation movement, while remaining linked up with the occupier, intending to pass from one government post to another government post and determined to keep the posts, no matter how the situation might change.¹⁰ They still do not want to understand that this old policy is doomed to failure and helps solve nothing apart from their narrow interests. They are afraid of the National Liberation War, because they see that it closes the door to all compromises with the occupier and allows no political manoeuvres, because they see that this war makes the people conscious of themselves and separates them from those who deceive them, from those who exploit them for their personal interests, because they see that the struggle will wipe out their influence among the people and will bring to the fore men more aware of the interests of the people. We may also add that the first signs that bourgeois parties, which break away from the reactionary nationalist chiefs (the «radical nationalists of Korça, the «28 November» group in Shkodra, etc.) are forming.

III

1. — The 1st National Conference observed that the national liberation movement is gathering strength with each passing day, that it has struck roots among the people and is rallying around itself more and more active forces of the people, honest patriots who have gained awareness of the political moment they are living through, are taking part in the movement in ever greater numbers, thus mobilizing ever broader strata of the population. Many steps forward have been taken in the union of the Albanian people. The national liberation councils and the partisan and volunteer detachments are a vivid expression of this new life of unity and struggle that is becoming a reality in Albania.

The vigour of the National Liberation War, the successful combat actions against the enemy have emboldened

the people and have given them confidence in their own forces.

The Communist Party was the first to issue the call for the union of the Albanian people, the first which has been working to achieve this union with persistence and in a concrete manner, has directed continuous appeals for the union of all the active forces, of all political trends, against the occupier.

The Communist Party has been at the head of the National Liberation Movement, has been at the head of the war, has mobilized the people and thrown them into struggle, not only through agitation and propaganda, but especially through concrete fighting actions.

As a result of the broad participation of the people in this struggle, the creation of the National Liberation Army of the Albanian people is well under way.

2. — The 1st National Conference observed that the political line of the Party has been correct and that important, though still insufficient, successes have been achieved. In order to go with sure steps towards the general uprising of our people, it charges the party members with the following tasks:

a) All the party organizations and members must understand well the present stage, must have a clear understanding of the National Liberation War and of the fact that any step outside the framework of this war would do great harm to the war and our Party.

b) All the party members must know how to orientate themselves in these difficult circumstances and be in a position to overcome all the obstacles facing them; all must work for the mobilization of as broad sections as possible, for the mobilization of as many soldiers as possible, to set up new detachments and battalions and to strengthen the existing ones, with the aim of ensuring the formation of larger units and the creation of the National Liberation Army; we must struggle to eliminate all sectarianism in regard to the mobilization of fighters for the partisan and volunteer detachments.

c) They must work to make the people aware of the necessity for and aims of the National Liberation War; this war and its successes, the political mobilization of the people in the fight against the occupier and the local traitors, for a free, rejuvenated, independent and democratic Albania, in which the Albanian people will live a better and happier life, must be explained to and popularized amongst them.

d) They must realize and strengthen the unity of the Albanian people, regardless of the economic status, the various political trends and currents and religious beliefs; we must be patient with the nationalists so as to achieve sincere unity or collaboration with them.

e) They must take care of the people who are for the National Liberation War even if at times they are undisciplined and unstable; we must be very patient with them and convince them to become our allies, because «better an unstable ally than an enemy».

f) They must organize the national liberation councils of the villages and towns which will be true organs of the people's democratic state power and of the National Liberation War which will destroy the fascist state power.

3. — They must popularize:

a) The Soviet Union, the homeland of the workers and peasants, the brilliant work of Lenin and Stalin, the land where the oppression of nation by nation and the exploitation of man by man has been liquidated, the powerful champion of the struggle for the liberation of the peoples enslaved by fascism.

b) The glorious and victorious Red Army, which is liberating mankind from the fascist beast and is bringing freedom to the enslaved peoples and is astonishing mankind with its heroism.

c) The powerful coalition of our Anglo-Soviet-American allies which is preparing and bringing ever nearer the doom of fascism.

d) The heroic struggle of the enslaved peoples which is inflicting heavy losses to fascism and assisting the struggle of our people, and the struggle of the Balkan peoples, in particular. We must develop and strengthen the fraternity among the Balkan peoples.

A. — a) We must popularize the Communist Party as the banner-bearer of the struggle for the liberation of the people from fascism, as the defender of the rights of the lower strata of the population.

b) We must expose fascism by means of agitation and propaganda amongst the people, explaining to them all its crimes - plunder, deception, killings and violence, so as to make them vigilant towards the fifth column and expose it; we must expose all the local traitors, tools in the pay of the occupier, with the government of Maliq Bushati at the head, which is trying to form an army and a gerndarmerie such as «The Guard of Greater Albania» which, in reality, is the guard of the interests of the occupier, which wants to continue its struggle against the National Liberation Movement in a new manner.

c) We must immediately take a correct political stand on every question of importance.

In this way we will successfully lead the national liberation struggle towards the uprising of all our people.

IV

1. — The 1st National Conference unanimously hailed the directives and acknowledged the assistance of the Communist International, which have been given to our Party at the right moment and have enabled it to maintain a correct stand towards the National Liberation War, as well as its permission and advice about this Conference and the election of a definitive Central Committee.

2. — After heaving the reports on the organizational, political and other problems of the National Liberation War, the 1st National Conference unanimously approved them.

3. — The Conference observed that the Provisional Central Committee has laid the foundations of the Party, has implemented a correct line for the organization, strengthening and centralization of the Party with precision and according to plan; it observed that the Provisional Central Committee has provided the Party with a correct political and organizational line, has been able to detach it from the former harmful methods of works and has led it towards its strengthening and unification,

with the result that the number of Party members has increased 270 per cent within one year and a half, has imparted a vigorous rhythm of work to the Party, has created the youth organization, thus ensuring that the broad masses of the youth rally around the Party, has led the Party with sure steps towards the present National Conference.

4. — The 1st National Conference hailed the correct stand maintained by the Provisional Central Committee towards the «Zjarri» Group, its timely and energetic measures for purging and strengthening the Party, and in the constant assistance it has given the party members in order to make them aware of the danger of the group spirit.

5. — The Conference observed that from isolation from the masses, which existed in the work of the former groups, the Party has gone over to active work among them. Recently more importance has been attached to work among the strata of the poor, and this has begun to yield the first successes which are apparent.

The hatred of the people against the occupier has been encouraged and strengthened, while their confidence in themselves and in their active forces has been built up. Thanks to the activity, the actions and struggle of our comrades, the masses have dispelled the fear which, in the past, made them overestimate the strength of the enemy and, the confidence in the national liberation struggle and its eventual victory have risen to a new height, in some circles in particular. Thanks to the correct political line and the organization of the fight against the occupier the masses have greater faith in the Party, the people see in the Communist Party their sure leader towards the victory over the occupier, they see in the Party the main factor, the promoter of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Movement. The Soviet Union has been popularized among the people who have begun to see it with great love and confidence, as the homeland of the workers and peasants, as the standard-bearer of the struggle for the liberation of the enslaved peoples; the love of the people for the glorious and victorious Red Army and their trust in it have increased. Good work has been done to ensure the unity of our people and some results have been achieved (the Conference of Peza, the national liberation councils and the partisan and volunteer detachments). The Party has adopted a clear-cut stand towards any event of political importance, and has expressed this stand through leaflets, proclamations, through its organ «Zëri i popullit», has issued bulletins of news in all districts, has translated and duplicated Marxist-Leninist booklets and books for the training of cadres; work has been carried out in the ranks of the Albanian army and successes have been achieved; the army has desisted from actions organized by the enemy, and from time to time small groups of men have deserted and have joined the partisan and volunteer detachments. Leaflets as well as communiques and copies of the central organ of the Italian Communist Party «Unità» in the Italian language have been distributed among the soldiers of the occupation army.

6. — The stern and, at the same time, correct stand of our Party towards the «Zjarri» Group has caused the

sound elements of this group to break away from Zisi Andrea, its archaeo-Marxist leader of treason and compromise, and assisted them to return to correct positions.

7. — The Provisional Central Committee has been able to safeguard the Party from its avowed enemies — the Trotskyites and archaeo-Marxists, as well as from the internal enemies and the anti-Party elements, in general, and establish unity.

V

1. — The 1st National Conference observed that, on a whole, these groups were not linked with the masses, were far from genuine communist work, were in opposition to each other, an opposition which reached the point of fierce struggle. The narrow spirit of sectarianism, opportunism and parochialism prevailed in them. Failure to implement the decisions of the 7th Congress of the Communist International caused grave political and organizational errors. The theory of cadres, as well as the negation of the existence of the proletariat in Albania, and, as a consequence, the negation of the possibility of the existence of a communist party, have made themselves felt. Boastings have been heard about some supposed links with the Communist International and attempts have been made to mislead people by means of a seal¹¹ which was claimed to be that of the Communist Party of Albania. Narrow cells (of 2 to 3 members), isolated from the masses and operating in a rotten spirit of secrecy, have been formed. These groups had contacts with archaeo-Marxist and Trotskyite elements, as well as with politically suspect elements who exercised a strong influence on them. Their opportunism went to such lengths as to lead them to a compromise with the Trotskyite traitor Zai Fundo. Above all, they have not assumed or have not been able to adopt a definite stand in important political moments, and when they have managed to do so, this has not prevented them from falling into mistakes. The strife existing between them has not allowed them to take the appropriate stand: a) towards the various movements that have taken place in Albania, or towards the important internal problem which faced the country on April 7, 1939; b) towards the second imperialist war; c) towards the Italian-Greek War and the Italian-Yugoslav War.

It must be noted that over this period leaflets have been distributed from time to time, but the slogans they carried have been mistaken, writing, as they did, about a Soviet Albania, a communist Albania. The stand maintained towards the fascist aggression against the Soviet Union was good to a certain extent, but there were also mistaken or premature slogans such as, «Let us call on the people to rise up in arms,» without establishing proper links with them and without making any preparation.

These groups have provided the first elements for the formation of the Party and, to a certain extent, have publicized communism, but they have done this in their own way, hiding behind nationalism¹² («Bota e re» and the utilization, on some occasions, of legal activity). These are to be recorded as their successes.

2. — They have fallen into grave organizational mistakes. In 1939 the groups set up for themselves a Central Committee on insincere and organizationally mistaken bases,

and this, as it was only too natural, disintegrated in 1940; even then they carried on the strife amongst themselves to a fiercer level, for the ceasing of which a commission of arbitration was formed later, in 1941, with the purpose of achieving a co-ordination of their actions, but this, too, was doomed to failure as it had no rights and, moreover, was established on totally erroneous organizational bases. In November 1941 all the groups accepted to merge into one party, and for this purpose came to a meeting of the representatives of the three main communist groups. Immediately after that meeting a Provisional Central Committee was formed comprising elements who gave the due guarantees.

VI

1. — The 1st National Conference observed that for concrete results to be achieved, for unity in the Party to be created, great obstacles had to be overcome. The progress of work in the right direction and the rapid orientation of the comrades in the new work of the Party has been hampered by: sectarianism, parochialism, rotten secrecy, morbid familiarity, all vestiges left over from the activities of the groups in the past; by the group spirit which has been manifest in some morbidly ambitious people (Anastas Lula — Qorri, Sadik Premte — Xhepi, with some elements of the groups around them, as well as some other elements from different groups), who have wrecked the work of the Party, have tried to set up a faction within the Party and who, thanks to the vigilance of the Party, have been excluded from its ranks together with their assistants, when it saw that they were not taking the right road, while at the same time it took measures to eliminate their harmful work for the creation of a faction; by the distrust with which some comrades have seen the creation of the Party; by the between-two-stools stand maintained by some comrades who have moved from the Party to return to their former group friends, indisciplined in their activities or inactive for the cause of the Party and this has objectively assisted the destructive activity of the groups.

2. — The 1st National Conference observed that mistakes and concessions have existed in the process of the work of the Party: a) the threat of the anti-Party elements — Trotskyites, archaico-Marxists and elements thrown out of the Party, has been underestimated; the members of the Party have not properly assessed the Trotskyite threat and, as a result, have not known how to fight it; b) the members of the Party have not always had clear ideas about how to work amongst the nationalists. By not understanding the role of the Party in this struggle, some of them have fallen into the positions of the nationalists who want the Party to lose its individuality and merge with the National Liberation Movement, they have accepted the bourgeois ideas held by the nationalists and have tried to smuggle them into the Party. These ideas lead to the liquidation of the Party. Some others have maintained an arrogant stand towards the nationalists, which is irreconcilable with the correct line of the National Liberation War for the setting up of the joint front against the oc-

cupier. In general, there existed the opinion that work among the nationalists consisted only of talks and combinations with their chiefs, hence insufficient importance has been given to work from below; c) manifestations of sectarianism have been noticed in the efforts to rally the patriotic forces, as a result of failure to understand the war and the role of the National Liberation Army, as well as failure to understand the role of the Party in this war, which has been further deepened by the March 1942 directive on the organization of partisan units, that were described as «the armed forces of the Party», which [directive] could bring about the isolation of the Party in this struggle. Nevertheless, this directive has not been implemented because it has been superseded by another [directive] issued later, in June 1942, although at that time the guerrilla units and detachments were in the process of formation. A narrow understanding of the National Liberation War has prompted some organizations, especially those of the Vlora region, to consider the national liberation councils as organizations of the Party.

3. — a) A narrow understanding of the work among the youth has provoked the emergence of manifestations of sectarianism in the mobilization of the broad masses of the youth and tendencies of parallelism with the Party; b) many a time the comrades have not been in a position to find their bearings in the situations created and have fallen into the positions of the ignorant majority. As a result, slogans which have not been duly controlled have taken been up by the comrades and have sporadically emerged even in communiqués and demonstrations; c) cases of uncontrolled elements infiltrating the ranks of the Party have come to pass because of lack of vigilance on the part of the comrades; d) agitation and propaganda have been often restricted, and insufficient attempts have been made to link up organizationally with the masses of the people, especially those of the countryside; e) sympathy for the Party has been often confused with the influence of the Party, which has frequently led to exaggerated optimism, which is the cause of the satisfaction with small results by some comrades; f) proper importance has not been given to the work among the workers, among the broad masses of the working people, as in Kuçova and Selenica, among the dockers, construction workers, the workers of the cities and other places and craftsmen, among whom little work or no work at all has been done; g) very little work has been done in the northern regions, especially in that of Kukës, where no step forwards has been taken in the organizational field.

4. — The education of cadres has been insufficient. a) The younger comrades have not been entrusted with functions of responsibility and work has been monopolized in the hands of a restricted number of comrades; b) likewise, cases of lack of initiative on the part of the comrades have been observed; c) there have been frequent vacillations from exaggerated secrecy to impermissible deconspiration which, coupled with the inability to orientate oneself in time, has been exploited by reaction to inflict heavy losses in cadres (Tirana, Shkodra); d) the group elements have been treated with no proper sternness, often their mistakes and concessions have not been seen in the proper light, and as a result, a correct stand and the necessary rigorosity have not existed.

5. — The Conference observed that the various organizations have made mistakes and concessions; in Korça, there have been signs of parochialism and lack of hatred against the enemy; in Shkodra, there have been signs of parochialism, inertia and leftovers of the old method of work (sectarianism); in Gjirokastra, the weak links with the Central Committee have caused the misinterpretation of its directives.¹³

All the organizations have not attached due importance to the organizational question, as the main question of the Party, and have made other mistakes and concessions of minor importance.

Despite the great successes achieved by the Party within this short period of time, the 1st Conference has also observed many shortcomings, concessions and manifestations of inactivity, and charges the party members with the following tasks:

WORK AMONG THE WORKERS

Although we have passed from the old method of work to the new method of work, all that could be done amongst the workers' masses (as in the industrial centres of Kuvçova, Selenica, etc.) still has not been done. a) So, work in these working centres must be strengthened in order to link the Party organizationally with the workers who are the most progressive mass in our country, the people most oppressed and exploited; work must be carried out among the workers in the mines and oil-fields, factories

and building sites, while not neglecting the craftsmen who represent the greater part of the labour force of our country. b) We must penetrate deeper into the workers' masses and from them raise determined members for the cause of the Party, by opening the doors of the Party to the workers, and this especially today. c) We must swell the ranks of the partisan fighters with workers, so that the National Liberation War is always based on sound elements determined to fight against the enemy through to the end.

WORK IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

Special importance must be devoted to work in the countryside, because the peasantry constitutes the great majority of our population and, therefore, it must be the main source of the forces of the present war. For this purpose the communists must: a) carry out the broad mobilization of the peasant masses for the National Liberation War without regard as to distinctions between the rich and the poor; b) they must organize actions, conferences and meetings in order to ensure recruits for the territorial partisan and volunteer detachments, and to organize and strengthen the national liberation councils; c) they must organize the peasant masses and lead them in the war, mobilizing them on the basis of everyday problems such as taxes, fines, black-marketeering and plunder, etc by fas-

cism; c) they must disseminate culture and education in the village by opening courses against illiteracy and other courses, thus enabling the villagers to gain access to culture, giving them what all the former regimes had denied them; e) they must mobilize the peasantry to resist arms in hand to any plunder on the part of the occupier and its minions; f) they must work ceaselessly in order to create a fighting unity between the workers and peasants, a unity which will be the strongest weapon in the present National Liberation War; g) they must explain to the workers and the poor peasants that they are the natural allies of each other and that through common struggle they will escape suffering, hunger and oppression and will achieve a better and happier life.

WORK IN THE ALBANIAN PARTISAN AND VOLUNTEER NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY

For our Party to be able to become the true leader of the National Liberation War we must understand the importance of the formation and strengthening of the National Liberation Army. All the party members must have it clear that this is the main sector today, and that although work has been done in this sector, and results have been achieved, this work and these results are still insufficient. For this purpose it is necessary: a) that our organizations do their

utmost to mobilize as many people as possible, especially from among the peasants and the youth for the partisan and volunteer units; b) that from the partisan and volunteer units we set up the regular National Liberation Army which will be a formidable force against the occupier and a sure and reliable guarantee for the liberation of the country; c) that all the fighting units and party

organizations carry out ceaseless and broad-scale political and clarifying work to explain the objectives of the National Liberation War to the fighters, informing them about the events in the world and in our country, urging them to be exemplary in discipline, determination, self-denial and courage, developing mutual love and comradeship among

them; d) that we convince them that actions against the occupiers and their tools, the local traitors, are absolutely necessary, that they do away with any opportunism that may emerge in this direction; e) that we must swell the ranks of the Party with the best, most determined and most disciplined fighters.

WORK AMONG THE YOUTH

1. — The 1st National Conference observed that with the setting up of the organization of the Communist Youth, with the correct line and assistance given by the Provisional Central Committee, work among the youth has been put on the right road and important successes have been achieved. Nevertheless, there are masses of youth who have not been included in the Communist Youth; this has come about because the comrades have not understood well the line of the work among the youth and have not worked properly and with the due care in this direction.

Taking account of the fact that the youth is the living source of fresh forces for the Party, that the youth is the inexhaustible force of the National Liberation Army, the organizations and members of the Party are faced with these tasks: a) to understand well the line of the Party in regard to the youth; b) to inform our youth about the

happy and cultured life and the heroic struggle of the youth of the Soviet Union, who are giving the example how they serve the interests of their people; as well as that, to inform the youth about the self-denying and courageous struggle of the youth of the enslaved peoples, and based on this example, to channel the energies of our youth into the road of the sacred liberation war of our people; c) to explain to the youth what reaction and fascism have brought them; d) to give the youth more assistance through the comrades of this so important a sector; e) to rally the youth of the countryside and city through meetings, conferences, sports, cultural and other associations, and assist the Communist Youth to liberate the young people from any fascist influence, to assemble the anti-fascist youth and lead them into the fight against the occupier for a better and happier future.

WORK AMONG WOMEN

1. — The 1st National Conference observed that following the founding of the Party the first steps have been taken in the work among women and that some successes have been achieved among the masses of women, especially the intellectual women, but still not among the worker and peasant women.

Although the woman of our country lives in special and difficult conditions, even under the yashmak in some regions, despite the traces of the ages-long slavery and heavy oppression by the fascist occupier, which brought misery, suffering and dishonour to the Albanian woman, our comrades have not yet attached due importance to this sector of work and have not worked as much as they should.

Taking account of the importance of the role of woman in society, and especially in the National Liberation War, the party organizations and members are faced with these tasks: a) to mobilize the broad masses of women to meet the first necessities of life; b) to form the anti-fascist front of the Albanian women, organizing the women's anti-fascist councils which will rally and mobilize the masses of women of all social strata and political tendencies; c) to organize meetings, conferences, courses against illiteracy, courses for nurses, etc; d) to mobilize women for participation in the various fronts for the National Liberation War (as fighters, nurses, etc), and thus struggle for national liberation and a happier future.

ASSISTANCE TO THE VICTIMS OF REACTION AND IMPORTANCE OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FUND

With the fight of our people, with the Communist Party at the head, against the perfidious occupier and the traitors of our people there have been and will be many victims

calling for assistance. Therefore, the whole population must be mobilized for this purpose. The occupier continues to crush the people with terror, while reaction is becoming

ever more savage; parallel with this the number of those in need of assistance is ever on the increase. Therefore, we must seriously concern ourselves about and set about systematic work to assist the victims of reaction. In order to be able to continue the National Liberation War as we should we must set up the system of the national liberation fund, which will be extended to all the national liberation councils, which will be engaged more actively in collecting

aid in money, food and other materials to help the National Liberation Army, the families of the fighters killed in action or militating in the ranks of this army, those whose houses have been burned or who have had to abandon their homes to escape the occupier, as well as the families of the poor. Our organizations should devote particular importance to this work; it is in this manner that the army is linked with the people and the people with the struggle.

ORGANIZATIONAL TASKS

1. — The 1st National Conference of the Communist Party of Albania put forward as the main task for all its organizations and members the strengthening and extension of the Party organizations, the consolidation of the unity of the Party and the raising of the level of cadres. Now that we are waging the National Liberation War, these tasks become even more imperative, greater and call for a greater sense of responsibility. Therefore, we must: a) strengthen the work of the party cells both at the base and in the partisan and volunteer National Liberation Army of Albania, divide the work proportionally among them, and hold regular meetings; b) pay special attention to the development of the cells amongst the workers; c) set up party organizations in the countryside, because without them the work of the Party and the National Liberation War will have no success; the comrades must show the greatest care in this, especially those working in the regions of Central and Northern Albania; d) do away with the old sectarianism towards the admission of new members in the Party, in particular now that we are waging the National Liberation War which is bringing forth staunch, disciplined, devoted and courageous fighters; e) today, in particular, the party organizations should devote particular attention to the admission of women into the Party, especially women from the poor strata of the town and countryside, and raise their political level so that they become leaders; f) work within the Albanian army in order to win its support for the National Liberation War, and within the occupation army by setting up anti-fascist and anti-war councils in those areas.

2. — In the complicated situation, unless proper work is done to raise their political and theoretical level, our young cadres will not be able to carry out successfully their numerous and varied tasks they are faced with, and will not be able to distinguish between the main current tasks and the minor ones in this complex situation; therefore, the 1st National Conference charges the leadership: a) to wage an energetic struggle against ignorance, for this is the source of many mistakes and deviations; b) to do the maximum to enable the party members to be educated in the Marxist-Leninist spirit as soon as possible and on the most sound bases; c) to get the party members into the habit of studying, even in this time of war, because today, in particular, the need for this is greatest; to combat and eliminate the opinion still held by many comrades that the pre-

sent is a time of war and not of books, because together with the gun we need the book, too; d) to duplicate the Marxist-Leninist literature and continue the reprinting of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (b) which constitutes an invaluable treasure and great experience which teaches us how to train and educate cadres, how to combat opportunism and other deviations and how to assimilate the Marxist-Leninist theory; e) to overcome all obstacles and difficulties and organize a course of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (b) in order to raise the level of the comrades; f) to enable the comrades to learn in study groups or individually; g) to teach the comrades to work with the materials of the Party and take care of them; h) the comrades in the leadership must have warm and comradely relations with other comrades; i) to combat any symptom of domineering in the ranks of the Party.

3. — All sectarian phenomena within the Party must be wiped out; a) the comrades should be encouraged to display their qualities and be assigned to the most suitable posts in which they can contribute more to the Party; b) we should eliminate all hesitation in entrusting young comrades with posts of responsibility; c) we should encourage initiative, for it is generally lacking among the comrades; d) the rank-and-file comrades or the lower organs should not expect everything to come from above, but on the contrary, should be able to cope with the situation relying on their own forces and talents; e) in the Party there is trust and check-up, check-up which is continuous, is necessary for the improvement of cadres; in this manner cadres are selected and care is shown for them; f) the feeling of responsibility should be encouraged to further develop among the party members and, in particular among the leading cadres.

4. — As far as vigilance is concerned, a great deal has been done, but this not enough; a) we should develop in our comrades vigilance against the provocations which the enemy tries by all manner of means to organize in our ranks, and against secret enemies; b) we should combat the importation of any alien idea which our various enemies try to introduce into our ranks; c) we should combat every negative vestige which has remained in them as a leftover from the past; d) we should fight relentlessly against various deviationists, and thus prevent anything alien from infiltrating our ranks; e) we should

be vigilant over the admission of new members; the cell is fully entitled to admit new members, except for those expelled, without waiting for decision of the higher organs; the new members should be clear what the Party is, what its role and importance are.

5. — We must fight mercilessly against Trotskyite elements, against all deviationists and enemies of the Party; we must take seriously the purging of wavering, inactive and irresolute elements from the Party, and especially elements infected by the group spirit. The organizations and members of the Party must keep fighting mercilessly against the enemy of the Communist International and of our Party, the Trotskyite Zai Fundo and the other Trotskyite elements such as Dhimitër Fallo, Aristidh Qendro, Niko Xoxi, Niko Kondi, Andrea Zisi, etc. It should not be forgotten that Zai Fundo and some other Trotskyite scum have connections and influence among some honest patriots; therefore, it is the duty of the party organizations and the comrades to publicly expose these handits.

6. — Since the enemy is trying by all manner of means to discover our organizations, we are faced with the duty to strengthen secrecy so as to prevent the enemy from harming us. We must also strengthen and steel the discipline in our ranks.

It should be emphasized that the stand of our comrades towards the occupier has, on a whole, been good. Our young Party takes pride in this. But there have been cases when some individuals have maintained a weak stand, among whom the dirty provocateur Ludovik Nikaj.

All the comrades who fall into the hands of the enemy must resist, as become the members of the Communist

Party, in order to keep the name of the Party above everything and always defend the interests of the Party and the people.

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This Conference will mark a great change in the work of the Party, in which complete unity has been manifested, in which all the members are ready to fight mercilessly against all and every harmful shortcoming, to purge the ranks of the Party, to strengthen and broaden them. The Conference has understood the importance of discipline and the extent of the threat the Trotskyite gangsters and the deviationist elements pose to the Party, which it is ready to annihilate.

Although our young Party is faced with many and difficult tasks, it will march proudly forward towards final victory under the banner of the Communist International, of Lenin and Stalin, and will discharge its obligations towards the working masses and our people.

We must be merciless against the enemy and always stand in the forefront of the struggle against the sworn enemy of mankind and our people — fascism.

We must build such a Party and look after its purity — as the great Lenin has taught us, as the great Stalin has taught us, a highly revolutionary Party which will take its well-deserved place in the glorious ranks of the Communist International.

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Central Party Archives

1 The date is that of the opening of the Conference.

2 The Anglo-Soviet-American alliance (coalition) was created during the Second World War after the attack of Hitlerite Germany on the Soviet Union. Britain and the USA, forced by the demands of the overwhelming majority of the peoples for the creation of a single front against fascism, as well as by the unfavourable situation created in Europe after the defeat of France, had to enter into alliance with the USSR against Hitlerite Germany. For this purpose in the course of the war joint treaties and agreements were signed, meetings and Conferences of the leaders of the three states, the Soviet Union, Britain and the USA, such as the Tehran Conference in November-December 1943, the Conference of Yalta (Crimea) in February 1945, were held. The creation of the Anglo-Soviet-American alliance responded to the interests of all the peace-loving peoples. Despite the relentless efforts of the Hitlerites, on the one hand, and the reactionary circles of the USA and Britain, on the other, to break the alliance and to isolate the Soviet Union, the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition stood up until the complete destruction of the aggressive fascist bloc. This coalition played a historic role in the Second World War, despite the difference of principle in the war aims of the coalition partners — the Soviet Union and the imperialist states — the USA and Britain.

3 The Conference of Casablanca was held in Casablanca (Marocco) from January 14 to 26, with the participation of the prime minister of Britain Churchill and the president of the USA, Roosevelt, as well as the chiefs of the headquarters of the two countries and their advisers.

4 J. V. Stalin, «On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union», publication of the Ministry of People's Defence, 1952, p. 60, Alb. ed.

5 Petain, H. Ph., French marshal, traitor of the French people. After the occupation of France by nazi Germany in 1940, he was one of the heads of the fascist Vichy government together with P. Laval. In 1945 he was sentenced to death for high treason, but the sentence was committed to life imprisonment through the intervention of the Anglo-American imperialists.

Pierre Laval headed the French pro-Hitler government of Vichy (1942-1944).

Antonescu J., fascist military dictator of Rumania, 1940-1944. In 1941 he joined the war of fascist Germany against the Soviet Union. After the liberation of Rumania by the Soviet Army he was arrested and executed as war criminal.

Quisling, head of the Norwegian fascists. His betrayal facilitated the occupation of Norway by Hitlerite Germany in 1940. Prime minister of the traitor government of Norway. His name has become a synonym for traitor.

6 Boris III, King of Bulgaria (1918-1943). In the years of the Second World War allied Bulgaria to Germany and made it its satellite.

Palević, Nedić, traitors of the Yugoslav people, agents and collaborators of the German occupiers, leaders of the fascist reactionary forces against the Yugoslav national liberation movement.

Merlika — Mustafa Kruja, one of the fascist traitor leaders and one of the main responsible for the war crimes against the Albanian people, agent of fascist Italy. He chaired the Albanian quisling government from 1941 to January 1943.

Maliq Bushati, a traitor, responsible for war crimes against the Albanian people, one of the eminent figures of the «Balli Kombëtar»; after Mustafa Kruja and Eqrem Libohova he headed the fascist quisling government from February to May 1943.

7 General Pariani was sent to Albania by Mussolini in 1928, together with 40 other Italian officers in order to organize the Albanian army of Ahmet Zog. He carried out intelligence activities for the preparation of the terrain for the complete occupation of Albania by fascist Italy in 1939. He was considered by Italian fascism as an outstanding specialist in Albanian questions. After the dismissal of F. Jacomoni in March 1943, he was appointed viceroy and representative of Mussolini in Albania.

G. Giro, Italian fascist hierarch. A specialist in Albanian questions, assisted the plans of the Italian fascist government for the occupation of Albania.

8 The government of Durrës was set up in December 1918 by the so-called Congress of Durrës which was organized on the initiative of the Italian occupiers, by the Albanian agents in the service of Italy and the big landowners. This government carried out an anti-Albanian policy to further the Italian plans for colonizing Albania. It tried by all manner of means, resorting even to armed force to prevent the convening of the Congress of Lushnja in January 1920. After the creation of the Albanian government by the Congress of Lushnja, the government of Durrës ceased to exist in February 1920. Mustafa Kruja also was a member of the government of Durrës.

9 This refers to the National Liberation Conference of Peza which was held in September 16, 1942.

10 In fact the leadership of the «Balli Kombëtar» had long made regular contact with the Italian occupation authorities. As emerged later, «Balli Kombëtar», as an organization, was set up with the assistance of the fascist occupiers themselves. At the time when the 1st National Conference of the Communist Party of Albania held its

proceedings, it was still not known that precisely at this moment, on March 15, 1943, two of the members of the Central Committee of «Balli Kombëtar» — Ali Bey Këlcyra and Nuredin Bey Vlora signed the notorious «Dalmazzo-Këlcyra» protocol with the commander-in-chief of the Italian occupation troops, Dalmazzo, in Tirana, which clearly shows the criminal collaboration of «Balli Kombëtar» with the fascist occupiers. Speaking on behalf of the «Albanian nationalists» and with «the complete approval of his excellency Maliq Bushati», by means of this protocol they reassured General Dalmazzo that «no insurgent movement will take place in South Albania», that they would exercise all their influence to prevent attacks on and sabotage actions against the Italian occupiers.

11 This refers to the «Zjarri» Group, the leader of which, lying shamelessly, boasted of having connections with the Communist International, even of having the «seal» of the Comintern. By means of this the «Zjarri» Group claimed to have the right to call itself the Communist Party of Albania.

12 This refers to the utilization of the legal possibilities by the communist groups, especially the Korça Group, which on many occasions organized a common front with a number of nationalists as in municipal elections, etc issued the legal review «Bota e re», infiltrated the youth sports organizations set up by the regime of Zog, etc.

13 Here reference is made to the grave errors committed by the former regional committee of the Party for Gjirokastra during 1942. The Provisional Central Committee of the Party had noticed that the Regional Committee for Gjirokastra did not maintain regular links with the Central Committee, that its tendencies to break away and operate outside control from above were becoming ever more apparent. These tendencies led to the creation of a dangerous faction within the Party. That is why in August 1942 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania sternly condemned the errors of the Regional Committee for Gjirokastra, which was given a grave warning. Bedri Spahiu, who at that time exercised the functions of the political secretary of the Regional Committee was the main responsible for this state of things.

Under the influence of Bedri Spahiu, the Regional Committee for Gjirokastra opposed the conclusions and measures of the Central Committee. Faced with this situation, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania was obliged to disperse the Regional Committee for Gjirokastra in October 1942. A new regional committee was elected in its place.

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A NEW ESCALATION OF IMPERIALIST BLACKMAIL AND THREAT

«ZËRI I POPULLIT» — organ of the CC of the PLA

As reported, the President of the USA Reagan decided that American imperialism is to go over from experimentation to the serial production of the neutron bomb. The generals of the Pentagon call it a «clean» weapon which exterminates human beings without damaging material objects within its range. With utter cynicism they point out its superior «values» as against the conventional atom bomb, and all but present the production of this bomb as a step forward in the service of mankind, since this new weapon allegedly alleviates suffering, spares objects, buildings, etc. Despite all this it is clear that the serial production of the neutron bomb is another step ahead on the reckless criminal road of imperialism against the peoples, against their freedom and independence on the road of nuclear blackmail the imperialist superpowers have set out.

American imperialists, the war strategists of the Pentagon, in their rivalry for military supremacy with Soviet social-imperialism, in order to dictate, from the positions of strength, their hegemony-seeking and neo-colonialist policy on sovereign nations and countries, now seem to consider all their stockpiles of armaments and continental and inter-continental missiles with nuclear

warheads to be insufficient. Their criminal and inhuman nature knows no bounds. The constant exaltation of blackmail and threats, the constant build-up of their arsenals with new weapons of mass extermination, which are intended to make even more effective their role in the new blood-bath they are preparing for mankind, if they are allowed a free hand, is in the nature of the superpowers, in their inherent character.

The peoples on all the continents cannot sit idly by and submit in silence to the blackmail and dictate by the superpowers. It is a fact that in various countries of the world, including the United States of America, the youth, the broad masses of working people have come out in the streets to oppose with determination this new threat posed to mankind. The demonstrations organized for this purpose in Bonn, Brussels, Rome and Paris, as well as in the cities of the United States and other countries of the world, have an openly political character and their proportions are massive. Thus, we see that the anti-imperialist awareness of the peoples, their mobilization to oppose the nuclear blackmail and the threat of a new world war, which may break out as a result of the hegemony-seeking and expansionist plans of the

imperialist superpowers, is growing.

The decision of the American imperialists to go ahead with the production of the neutron bomb, for different reasons and from different positions, aroused a wave of opposition not only amongst the peoples and the masses of working people of the world, on the whole, but also amongst the Atlantic allies of the United States themselves. In some way or other, the European allies of the United States, for example, have voiced their reservations about this new step of American imperialism. This they do either under pressure of their own people, or because they see that the production and eventual stationing of the neutron bombs outside the United States makes them more vulnerable to the clashes and rivalries of the superpowers, forces them willy-nilly to share the tragic consequences of the possible utilization of these weapons in the bloody battlefields of the future. This stand of his NATO allies forced Reagan to declare, in order to reassure them, that «the new weapon will be produced and stationed in the United States alone,» and that only after «preable consultation» with the relative countries will it be stationed outside the United States. As is seen, regardless of its «po-

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lite» words, American imperialism wants to get Europe involved in the arena of a nuclear encounter, to use it as a shooting range of its neutron bombs, to shift the war to Europe in order to employ it as a cat's paw to further its own interests.

The Soviet social-imperialists made an instantaneous reaction from their own positions, coached in vehement words and threatening overtones. The production of the neutron bomb by American imperialism worries them only because it causes the «upsetting of the strategic balance» between the United States and the Soviet Union. They describe the neutron bomb as an «inhuman weapon» and «condemn» its production. But all these remonstrations are connected only with the fact that their main rival — American imperialism, has the neutron bomb ready in hand and can use it, if it sees it necessary, against its main rival in the contest for hegemony, that is, either by actually attacking the Soviet Union with it, or using it as a means to threaten Soviet positions. Their opposition, therefore, has nothing in common with the opposition of the peoples to this new weapon of American imperialism. This is also apparent from the fact that the Soviet social-imperialists also have tested this weapon which, in their case, they no longer consider «inhuman». Now they emphasize that they «will not sit idly by.» In this context, «Krasnaya Zvezda», organ of the Ministry

of Defence of the USSR, reiterated Brezhnev's statements that «the economy, science and technology (of the Soviet Union) are in a position to ensure the Soviet production of any kind of weapon,» and stressing that the question is about the neutron bomb, goes on to say that the «Soviet Union also has tested this weapon.» As is seen, the same logic operates both for American imperialism and for Soviet social-imperialism, the logic of justifying any action, no matter how criminal, provided it serves their interests, prevents the rival from gaining supremacy in the military field, because this would lead to the weakening of the positions of the one or the other power in the rivalry for world hegemony.

The only ones in the whole world, who had an access of satisfaction at the decision of the American president to go over to the production of the neutron bomb, were perhaps the Chinese leaders. What, for various reasons, Reagan himself did not dare to voice, was said by the Chinese Hsinhua news agency which stressed that «the bomb is an important achievement in the defence and security of Western Europe.» The French news agency AFP, in a commentary on this official stand of the Peking leaders, says, «the observers consider these comments as indicative signs of China's ardent desire to see the neutron bomb stationed in Western Europe.» The Chinese social-imperialists, as the close

allies of American imperialism, who want to see Europe enveloped in the flames of war, fan up this fire with great zeal. Of course, here there are a number of considerations which Chinese social-imperialism makes in its own interest. However, the neutron bomb, like any other weapon, may be used in Europe or it may be not, but it may be used in Asia and even against the Chinese people, just as 36 years ago when American imperialism dropped its first atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki of Japan.

The continuous arrogant actions of the superpowers in their unrestrained race of atomic armaments clearly shows to the peoples of the world how deceptive are the endless plans and projects, conferences and talks that are being held for years on end allegedly for the purpose of disarmament, which are only a farce to hoodwink more peoples and states in order to legalize the nuclear monopoly of the United States and the Soviet Union, to force them to submit to their nuclear blackmail. «The problems of war and peace,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «have always preoccupied the peoples of the world, the broad masses of working people, who do not want a new catastrophe to befall humanity... For the peoples it is important not to fall into fatalism, not let themselves be turned into passive observers and be caught unawares, they must be prepared

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for the worst and fight to prevent this from happening.» These problems are becoming even more acute with the rising aggressiveness of American

imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, with the continuous escalation of their venture-some and hegemony-seeking policy, as is shown by the

decision of Washington to produce the neutron bomb and the threat of Moscow to retaliate by doing the same.

AREAS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OR OUTRIGHT COLONIES

«BASHKIMI» — *Central organ of the Democratic Front of Albania*

When Peking gave the green light to Western capital, American, Japanese, West-German and other companies rushed to invest their capital in China. However, it turned out that the Chinese economy was too weak to satisfy their appetite and no sooner had the ink dried on the documents of these agreements than the foreign firms began to cancel the contracts. To prop up the tottering prestige of the Chinese economy Ten Hsiao-ping dispatched all over the world his envoys to publicize the «economic potential» of China, the «vitality» and the «stability» of its economy. On the other hand, in order to profit from foreign credits and investments, Peking also resorted to other methods, like that of the creation of special economic areas which might as well be called colonies of the foreign monopoly companies inside China. So far, four such areas have been set in Southern China, in which the firms that have invested their capital are the real masters. They exploit the primary ma-

terials, produce various commodities and sell them at prices they themselves fix. Every firm manages production and carries on trade according to its own rules. And despite this, they are dissatisfied with some «restrictions» imposed on them by the Chinese side. The foreign investors travelling between China and Hongkong complain about the «complicated formalities» they have to undergo before they get their visas, etc.

Now that they have squatted down in this country, they cannot put up even with the formal restrictions imposed on them by the chiefs in Peking. Therefore, the Chinese leaders obligingly declared that they would «remove all custom duties on all import articles, except alcoholic drinks and cigarettes». Hence, from now on there will be no restrictions not only on the import of Western technology but also on the inflow of consumer goods of Western trade-marks, as well as no barriers to the penetration of the Western way of living.

«The foreigners will obtain their visas more easily.» From now on, whenever they like, they will have access to Shengchen and other areas, because Peking has handed them the keys to these places. «All restrictions on the use of hard currency inside these areas will be removed,» although this, according to what a Chinese high official, «is contrary to the rules.» Hence, the Chinese currency is losing its value in these areas. This, besides other things, prevents the Chinese state from gaining control of the circulation of the hard currency and of concentrating it in its own hands inside the country.

«The authorities of these areas will be given greater competences so that... the demands of the foreign investors are fulfilled more rapidly.» Thus, the administration of these areas will be independent of the Chinese state, outside its control. «The enterprises will have greater freedom in employing and dismissing the Chinese workers,» which is much the same as

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in the capitalist countries or in the colonies, where the monopolies have absolute rights on the workers and treat them as they see it fit for their own interests. In these areas, workers' wages are several times lower than the salaries of the employees of the investing companies, but still they are higher than the wages of the Chinese workers outside this area. This is deliberately done in order to enable foreign companies to compete with the local enterprises, to lure the more qualified workers into their factories, which is one of the ways to ensure rapid profits at the lowest possible expenditure through the ruthless exploitation of the workers. As if it were not enough, the investors demand that exploitation should be intensified, as the «Chinese workers are not very efficient»

and do not sweat for foreign capital as much as they should.

The local bourgeoisie of these areas is doing its part for the exploitation of the working people. The Chinese administrators there are also partners of the Western businessmen. They participate in the organization of work and in the sharing of profits. Thus, many contracts signed for the construction of various projects in the areas of Shengchen provide for joint ventures, in which «the foreign investors share the profits with their Chinese partners». In this manner, the Chinese workers of these areas are subjected to a twofold exploitation: by the local bourgeoisie and the Western bourgeoisie.

Regardless of all the rights which Western capital has gained in these areas, it is

very cautious in its investments. First, it wants to know how much it will profit, and only then makes investments. On the other hand, Western capital is trying to coax China to fall into line with it, giving it some occasional hand-outs. This explains why of the 400 million dollars envisaged for the building of projects in Shengchen, less than 100 million have already been allocated, the rest being withheld in anticipation of the profits that will be made from the first instalments.

These are the consequences of Peking's ambitious policy to transform China into a superpower. This is the bitter fruit of the «four modernizations», for which the Chinese people are paying a heavy toll through the sweat of their labour which has long been put up for auction.

PEKING STEPS UP COLLABORATION WITH REACTIONARY REGIMES

THE ALBANIAN TELEGRAPHICAL AGENCY

The Chinese social-imperialists have strengthened their links with the fascist and racist regimes in various regions of the world, paying special attention to collaboration in the military field. Along with the United States and the other imperialist powers, China has given its support to the South-

African racists' efforts to build up their military potential, by supplying them with arms and various equipment. Following in the footsteps of Washington, Peking is also extending the links of collaboration with Pretoria in the field of nuclear research. The Western press informs that

South Africa gives China uranium ore, which the Chinese militarists need in order to build up their nuclear stocks. Part of the mineral, after enrichment, is returned to Pretoria which uses it for its armaments program. The American newspaper «Washington Post» informs that this colla-

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boration, which is co-ordinated by Washington, has been the object of discussion during the talks of the American Secretary of State Haig with senior Chinese officials during his recent visit in China.

The Chinese revisionists are extending their links with the Chilean fascists, too. According to information, Chinese «specialists» have paid special visits to Santiago with offers to the Pinochet regime for collaboration with China in nuclear research. Peking supplies Chile with various armaments, which along with American weapons, are used to suppress the people's resis-

tance in this country. The arms sale occupies a good place in the Sino-Chilean trade exchanges, which have increased 8 fold since 1973, when Pinochet came to power. Meanwhile, in recent years China has given Chile credits, amounting to 220 million dollars, and has extended economic exchanges with it. For these links to be strengthened, the Chinese and Chilean enterprises created a Sino-Chilean «joint company» which, as the news agencies report, will specialize in the export of Chinese goods to Chile and the other countries of Latin America.

Peking has close collaboration with the clique of Mobutu in Zaire, which it supplies with warships and «advisers» for the training of military forces, with the regime of Oman, where the Chinese «specialists» take part in the building of military barracks in the north and the south of this country, as well as with other reactionary regimes. The Chinese social-imperialists are going further down on their counter-revolutionary course, which is conditioned by the police of close alliance with American imperialism and their own expansionist aims.

■

POLLUTION OF THE ENVIRONMENT — A THREAT TO THE HEALTH OF THE WORKING MASSES AND A SOURCE OF PROFIT FOR THE CAPITALISTS

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

In the capitalist and revisionist world the pollution of the environment has become a serious problem with grave consequences for the health of the working masses. The pollution of the environment by industrial waste, chemicals and oil products, flowing without control into rivers, seas and oceans has reached such proportions that the ecologists have sounded the alarm and foresee dramatic consequences for several countries.

Poisonous matter is thrown into the atmosphere without the slightest sense of responsibility by giant capitalist enterprises. Hankering after maximum profit, their owners take no account of people's health and make no investments in the construction of plants for filtering and depuration. A typical example of the pollution of the environment is the United States. At present, in this country about 32,000 areas have been polluted by poiso-

nous matter in the form of acids, pesticides or various radio-active waste. In this country, where industry is mostly geared to the production of armaments and the construction of atomic weapons, there have been serious failures in plants working on radio-active materials like in Long Island and elsewhere, with leakings of radio-active materials which have endangered and impaired the health of thousands of workers employed in these

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plans, as well as those living in the vicinity. But this is not all. According to analyses made, 212 great rivers and lakes of the United States are totally polluted by chemicals and pharmaceuticals irresponsibly thrown by enterprises of the chemical and pharmaceutical industries. Another 256 lakes and rivers are threatened with complete pollution. The number of invalids or, in general, victims caused by industrial pollution in America is among the highest in the world, and most of them are workers.

The «polluted island» — this is how Japan is called today, because it is among the countries in which the environment is so very dangerously polluted. Over the recent five years the pollution of the air and waters in Japan has become twice as great. There are 32 tons of poisonous gases per every square kilometre, which represent that highest figure in the world. It is a fact known world-wide that the inhabitants of the Japanese

coastline are victims of chronic infection.

Italy is considered today the most polluted country of the European continent. According to reports of the local press, 90 per cent of the Italian coast is dangerously polluted up to 6 kilometres off shore. The Bay of Naples has been turned into a cesspool and a permanent source of infection for its inhabitants who, on many occasions, have also been infected by cholera. The «Drama of Seveso» was called the tragic incident which happened in that country some years ago and resulted in a large inhabited area being affected by a cloud of dioxine which leaked from a chemical factory. Dioxine is one of the most powerful poisons which can linger in concentrated form for many years on end without loss of its activity. As a result many workers of the plant and inhabitants of the surrounding area suffered grave consequences.

The phenomenon of environment pollution is widespread

in the revisionist countries of Eastern Europe, too, especially in the Soviet Union. About 11.4 million tons of polluting substances were spread in the air of this country during the past year alone. In some heavily industrialized regions the pollution of the environment is 400 times higher than allowed. In the Soviet Union, the activities of the war industry are fraught with heavy consequences for the health of the population. Last year, as a result of failures and accidents in several factories producing chemical and biological weapons in the southern part of the country, thousands of workers and inhabitants of the surrounding areas were infected by lethal diseases and many of them died.

In China, 15 out of 27 major rivers are polluted to such a degree as to seriously endanger the health of the population. In 42 out of 44 big Chinese cities drinking water has become a permanent source of epidemics causing the death of thousands of people.

A TRADE UNION UNDER THE CIA

«BASHKIMI»

The arsenal of subversive means of the sinister Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is wide-ranging. A whole army of spying agents and missionaries, carrying on their acti-

vity under all sorts of disguises — as diplomats, military or economic advisers, journalists, businessmen and even as members of the so-called «Peace Corps», is in the ser-

vice of this secret weapon in the hands of American imperialism. Recently, however, the American press and political literature are more and more frequently mentioning

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the links of all-round collaboration between the reactionary trade-union AFL-CIO with CIA. Having the one counter-revolutionary objective, CIA and AFL-CIO have joined in partnership.

According to reports from different news agencies, the activity of the CIA to penetrate and control the trade-union movement in a number of countries began in an organized manner even before the end of the Second World War. This activity of CIA coincides with the new strategy of American imperialism for the establishment, by all means and at all costs, of its world domination after the war. In this context, the Office of Strategic Service (OSS), the predecessor of CIA, created an agency to combat the progressive forces in the world trade-union movement. Arthur Goldberg, later Labour Secretary of the Kennedy administration and recently ambassador of the USA to the UNO, was in charge of this agency. According to an admission of one of its functionaries, «The Labour Branch at the OSS did everything in its power to establish control over the trade-unions in post-war Europe. The American secret service was greatly assisted by its agents who had infiltrated the worker movement.» As well as that, the American secret service created the «Free Trade Unions Committee», as its main weapon to split the European trade-union movement.

However, the activity of the

CIA to infiltrate the world trade-union movement and to place it in its service assumed an organized form only after the creation of AFL-CIO in 1955 as a result of the merger of the American Federation of Labour (AFL) with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). After this merger, the agents of CIA were put in charge not only of the Executive Committee of this trade-union organization, but also of all its branches throughout the world. Under the supervision of AFL-CIO, or its agencies operating under the guise of trade-union or friendship associations, and with its direct subsidies, a number of reactionary trade-union organizations, student associations, peasant organizations, etc were set up in many countries of Latin America, Africa, Europe and Asia. Their aim was to split and liquidate the revolutionary worker movement and to consolidate the political, economic and strategic positions of American imperialism in the countries where they carry on their activities. The American press has it that AFL-CIO, under the supervision of the CIA, after the 1960's, set about work for the establishment of specialized agencies which would operate in various regions of the world. In 1962 it set up the American Institute for the Free Labour Development (AIFLD), which was directed by the men of AFL-CIO, and 70 American monopolies operating in Latin America. In the intentions of the Executive Council of AFL-

CIO, the main objective of the educational programs of AIFLD is to train workers and trade-unionists to cooperate with their patrons and governments in order to stop the penetration of progressive ideas into the trade-union movement. Scores of thousands of workers and trade-unionists of Latin-American countries attend courses and seminars organized by AIFLD in the United States and other countries of the American continent.

The personnel trained in the courses of AIFLD took an active part in the preparation and organization of the fascist coup in Chile in 1973. As the foreign press says, the reactionary trade-union chiefs trained in the courses of AIFLD organized strikes for economic claims on a national scale in the period of the Allende government all over Chile, which led to economic chaos and the weakening of the positions of the Government of Popular Unity there.

In Africa, again through AFL-CIO, the Afro-American Centre of Labour was set up in 1965 as an instrument to pave the way for the penetration of the American monopolies into the various countries of Africa and to split the progressive trade-union movement in Africa.

In the same way, in 1968 the heads of AFL-CIO, with subsidies from CIA, set up the Asian-American Institute of Free Labour as a means to extend their activity to Asia, too. The members of this insti-

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tute took an active part in the program of «pacification» carried out by the American imperialists in Vietnam at that time in order to sabotage the liberation war of the Vietnamese people against US aggression.

The heads of AFL-CIO strive to present the international organisms of this trade-union centre as forms of assistance for the world trade-union

movement and of strengthening the international ties of the proletariat. However, their subversive activity and financial links with the American government and monopolies show the opposite. The American press admits that these organisms receive 8 million dollars a year in the form of subsidies from the American administration, in addition to millions of more dollars they

receive from the monopoly companies. These facts need no comment. «What the American government cannot do, because it would be considered interference in the internal affairs of other countries, what CIA cannot do because of the danger of exposure,» the American analyst Sidney Lens writes in one of his books, «ALF-CIO does on their behalf.»

OLD NAZI ART IN THE SERVICE OF NEW NAZISM

«DRITA» — organ of the Writers and Artists' League of Albania

Not without publicity the American press reports about a «gesture of friendship» on the part of the USA towards West Germany: the return of four paintings by Adolph Hitler and more than 6,000 works of art which more or less glorify the incursions of the nazi armies in Europe and North Africa.

Following the capitulation of nazi Germany, the Great Powers — the Soviet Union, the USA, Britain and France, signed an agreement on finding, confiscating and destroying all nazi-inspired works of art in order «to block the way to the revival of nazism». However, in flagrant violation of the spirit of this agreement, the US forces in Germany secretly sent to Washington everything of the kind they found in Germany. These

«works» were carefully preserved and displayed, up till recently, in American military and state institutions, military bases, even in the Capitol and the Pentagon. The nazis themselves could not have found a better place to preserve them!

The return of the nazi paintings to their «homeland» and the timing of this gesture are by no means accidental. Thirty-six years have gone by from the time the Third Reich was defeated, but the outcries of the nazis are becoming ever more vehement in West Germany. The forces which represent this black plague of mankind have now regained the right of citizenship in West-German life. Bent on their revanchist course, they are demanding, among other things, assistance

from the old nazi culture and art. These have been publicized and exhibited in a number of art fairs, such as the one organized in Munich, in which among other «works» three water colours by Hitler were shown. In another city — Heidelberg, a play, based on a novel entitled «Michael — the Fate of a German through His Diary», by one of the principal ideologists of nazism, Goebbels, was produced. The play is an attempt at immortalizing the Hitlerite order, at evoking the work of the nazis, at arousing the nostalgia of a sinister past. The publicity given to the recent two events in the nazi «cultural» life has nothing fortuitous about it, neither is it inspired by «artistic values» of Hitler's water colours. All this is part of the efforts to

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evoked, through the history of culture and art, the Hitlerite past and its men, to bring it closer to present events, to make it serve the aims of the old and new nazi forces — German revanchism.

In order to spread and publicize this nazi atmosphere as widely as possible a tremendous propaganda arsenal is working full tilt in West Germany. Everything is done openly and in a well-organized manner in all fields in all directions. The fascist parties, organizations and groups have their own press and means of information. Today in the German Federal Republic are printed 121 pro-nazi press or-

gans with a total circulation of 1,600,000 copies. To this must be added over one million books which glorify the Third Reich, the strength of the Hitlerite war machine, the atrocities of the nazi criminals. Of course, «Main Kampf» of Hitler, the memoirs of Goebbels, Goering, etc have pride of place in West-German bookstores. This setting is made more complete through the propaganda of Hitlerite music, those marches which accompanied the nazi armies in their criminal aggression against the peoples. There are big record companies specialized in the production of records with «Music for the SS-men».

In this context, it is obvious that the return of an entire gallery of nazi works of art is a source of great satisfaction for the nazis in the Bonn government. And they are quite right. In this manner, a new boosting was given to the propaganda of the old and new nazis.

As for the «generosity» of Washington, there is nothing surprising about it. Fascism, whether inside the USA, or in its allied countries, is the reserve weapon, always ready to be put in action in favour of the bourgeoisie, the more so when the question is about keeping ferocious nazism alive and virulent.

A GRAVE SITUATION FOR THE SPANISH YOUTH

«ZËRI I RINISË» — organ of the CC of the LYUA

The ceaseless deepening of the general economic, political, and social crisis, which for many years now has the capitalist system of the world in its grip, cannot fail to have its impact also to the life of capitalist Spain. Decrease of production, many cases of bankruptcy, lowering of the real wages of the working people, rising prices, increased unemployment, etc are manifestations of this crisis.

In Valencia or Madrid, in Burgos or Guadalajara, everywhere there are thousands of jobless, most of whom young

people 18-25 years old. The Spanish officials themselves are compelled to admit that over 13 per cent of the active population of Spain is jobless, which means that in Spain today there are 1,700,000 unemployed. As regards the number of the unemployed in relation to the population, Spain ranks among the first, not to say that it tops the list, among the European countries. This large army of the unemployed, which tends to grow more and more every day, is an expression of the deep economic crisis under which ca-

pitalist Spain is labouring for many years now. For a long time this country knows no increase of industrial and agricultural production, and in many important branches of industry production is constantly falling.

The first to be laid off is the youth. In 1980, according to Spanish official data, 502,400 young people of the age of 18-25 years were jobless. This figure does not include those who enter the labour market for the first time, but only those who have been sacked from their jobs. According to

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statistics published by the Ministry of Labour, at the end of 1980 the number of young people unsuccessfully applying for jobs reached a total of 578,000.

The future of the Spanish youth is gloomy. The fascist regime of Franco did nothing for them, only prisons, persecution and police violence. Juan Carlos with his «moderate Francoism» is toeing the same line as his predecessor. Thousands upon thousands of Spanish youths are forced to leave their Homeland and emigration improves nothing.

The Spanish student youths are in no better conditions. The bourgeois educational system guarantees them no future jobs. This, of course, does not affect that section of the students who come from the «noble families». The newspaper «Vanguardia Obrera», the central organ of the Communist Party of Spain (M-L), in one of its recent issues writes about the high unemployment in the ranks of those graduating from schools or universities. Twenty per cent of those graduating from se-

condary vocational schools fail to find jobs of any kind, let alone jobs according to their training.

The same fate await the university graduates. The Spanish bourgeois newspaper «Diario de Barcelona» writes that every year 11 per cent of the Spanish graduates cannot be accommodated in working places. This explains the fact that the number of students enrolled in the Spanish universities shows a continuous decrease every year. The phenomenon of the emigration of higher specialists, a phenomenon which the bourgeois press puts under the heading of «brain drain», is characteristic both for Spain and for many other capitalist countries. This «drain» costs Spain about 8,000 graduates a year.

An important factor which makes its influence felt in the increase of unemployment in the ranks of the youth is the large-scale and ever increasing depopulation of the Spanish countryside. Thousands of young people abandon the countryside for the cities. The capitalist countryside is not

in a position to secure them a livelihood, therefore they flock into the cities in the hope that they can find something better there; but they are soon disillusioned.

The «surplus» labour power is especially great in the Spanish cities. According to official data, about 68 per cent of the youths coming from the countryside into the cities do not find jobs. The Spanish officials are compelled to admit that in 1982 things will not improve, either. To a total of 1,1 million jobless youths at least another 180,000 will be added.

The progressive youth of Spain is more and more taking the road of the struggle as the only way out. United around its organization — the Communist Youth Union of Spain (M-L), under the leadership of the Communist Party of Spain (M-L), it will fight together with the proletariat and the other working masses against the bourgeoisie in power, against the capitalist system, until this system is destroyed, because only in this manner can it achieve victory, can it realize its aspirations.

LATIN AMERICA IN THE GRIP OF THE CRISIS

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

Regardless of its many natural assets and great human resources, Latin America today is one of the regions of the world where the crisis, which

has the entire capitalist-revisionist world in its grip, has reached its climax. Its economy is in ruins. Galloping inflation ever increasing

prices, growing unemployment, bankruptcy on a large scale — these are some of the consequences of the crisis in this region. According to data re-

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cently published by the Economic Commission of the UNO for Latin America (CEPAL), the average inflation rate for 27 countries of South America, Central America and the Carabbeans in 1980 was 53.6 per cent higher than in 1979. This figure is three times the increase rate of inflation in the rest of the world. In Chile, Brasil, Paraguay, Salvador, Argentina, etc this increase has been even greater.

The ever growing penetration of foreign, mainly American, capital, and unrestrained capitalist competition, have ruined thousands of enterprises of different size in different countries of Latin America. As a result, hundreds of thousands of workers have swelled the army of the unemployed. Nowadays about 40 million Latin American workers, or one third of the active population of the continent, are jobless. Most of them are young people who, as a rule, «are the last to be given a job and the first to be laid off.» Although about 20 per cent of the population of Uruguay is forced to emigrate in order to escape the fascist violence and terror of the military regime there, 15 per cent of the labour power of the country is jobless. One in every four Panamians fit for work is unemployed. Unemployment has affected one fourth of the labour power in Brasil. Only four of the greatest industrial centres of this country — Belo Horizonte, Porto Alegre, Rio de Janerio and Sao Paolo, number about 1 million un-

employed. In the course of 1980, over 427 Chilean enterprises closed down, throwing thousands of workers in the streets. One in every five Chileans is jobless. During 1980, about 700 small and medium-sized enterprises went bankrupt in Argentina. There are such countries as Paraguay and Haiti where unemployment affects as much as 68 per cent of the able-bodied population.

In various countries of this sub-continent production is falling, the cost of living is going up, etc. According to the London published weekly bulletin «Latin America», in 1980 Bolivia's tin production, the main export of this country, sunk to its lowest level for the last 14 years. The gross national product of Costa Rica in 1980 fell 2 per cent as against 1979.

The reactionary regimes in the various countries of Latin America have thrown their doors open to the penetration of capital of the multi-national companies which have entrenched themselves in these countries and make the law there, thus making the burden of the economic crisis heavier and more catastrophic for them. As a consequence, the countries of this sub-continent are more and more deeply immersed in debts. Their political, economic and military dependence is growing rapidly. According to information from the UNO, in 1955 Latin America's foreign debts were 2.2 billion dollars while they

increased to 20 billion dollars in 1970, and to about 120 billion dollars in 1980. Today, their indebtedness has increased to the tune of 145 billion dollars. Interest rates amount to 38 billion dollars for this year alone.

The deep crisis, which has Latin America in its grip, is fraught with bitter consequences for the masses of the people. According to what the foreign press says, about 150 million Latin Americans today live on the poverty level. About 70 million are not in a position to earn a livelihood. One sixth of the population of this continent is illiterate. Of 368 million inhabitants of Latin America, 230 million suffer from shortage of drinking water; 60 million children suffer from malnutrition; 38 million children of school age cannot go to school.

The peoples of the various countries of Latin America have risen and are fighting today against this state of things. Thousands upon thousands, even millions of workers and peasants, young men and women, students and democrats have resolutely risen on the barricades of the class struggle in the streets of the cities of Chile, Salvador, Brasil, Guatemala, Peru, Colombia, Paraguay, the Dominican Republic, etc. In various countries of Latin America such as Salvador, Guatemala, Colombia, etc hundreds of thousands of patriots, who enjoy the support of their people, have taken up arms and are fighting for freedom.

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry should be supported by a valid receipt or invoice. This ensures that the financial statements are reliable and can be audited without issue.

In the second section, the author outlines the various methods used to collect and analyze data. This includes both primary and secondary research techniques. The goal is to gather comprehensive information that can be used to identify trends and make informed decisions.

The third section focuses on the implementation of the findings. It provides a detailed plan of action, including specific steps and timelines. The author stresses the need for clear communication and collaboration among all team members to ensure the successful execution of the project.

Finally, the document concludes with a summary of the key points and a call to action. It encourages the reader to take the necessary steps to implement the recommendations and achieve the desired outcomes.

The second part of the document provides a detailed analysis of the market conditions. It examines the current state of the industry and identifies the key factors that are influencing its growth. This analysis is based on a thorough review of industry reports and expert opinions.

The author also discusses the challenges that the industry is currently facing. These include changes in consumer behavior, increased competition, and regulatory changes. By understanding these challenges, the organization can better prepare itself for the future.

In addition, the document highlights the opportunities that are available in the market. It identifies areas where the organization can leverage its strengths and gain a competitive advantage. This includes exploring new markets and developing innovative products and services.

The final part of the document provides a detailed financial forecast. It includes projections for revenue, expenses, and profit over the next five years. This forecast is based on the assumptions made in the market analysis and provides a clear picture of the organization's financial future.

Very good conditions, which are continuously improved, have been created in the PSR of Albania for the working people, the youth and children to spend their holidays and vacations in a cultured manner. The many beauty spots, beaches and rest-homes, complete with all accomodations and services, are open for the working people and their children to spend their holidays. In the photo: One of the rest homes in Durrës.



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