

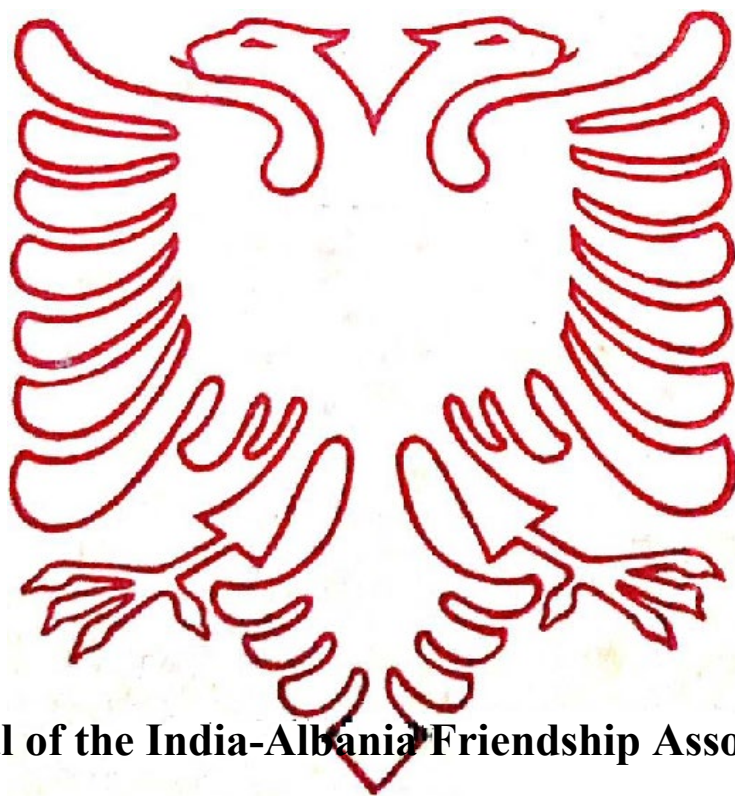
# **SOCIALIST ALBANIA**



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## **SKANDERBEG**

**– By Sofka Skipwith**

January 17th., 1979 was the five hundredth and eleventh anniversary of the death of Albania's national hero Gjergj Kastrioti, known as SKANDERBEG.

He lived in an epoch that bore the first indications of future change, of the breakdown of feudalism and the eventual formation of states more closely resembling modern nations, a period when cities flourished under a more advanced economic and social system and which saw the birth of the art and culture which was to blossom into the Renaissance.

But it was at that moment in history that Albania was called upon to bear the brunt of the Ottoman invasion, which extended over the entire Balkan peninsula and penetrated central Europe. Few people at the time appreciated the danger. The interminable quarrels between the feudal lords of Albania, as well as between the feudal states of Europe, eased the way for the invader.

Albania, small as it was, turned out to be the hardest nut for the Turks to crack, because of the violent opposition of its people. Turkish chroniclers of the day say:

"Albanians are born to resist, never to yield, never to show their anger...."

It was this factor that enabled Gjergj Kastrioti, a prince of Albania, to carry on for a quarter of a century, from 1443 to 1468, and with relatively small numbers, a successful struggle against the limitless forces of the Sultan Murad II and his son Mohammed II.

Skanderbeg realized that there could be a successful resistance to the Turks only if there were unity among the political, economic and military forces of the country and, in 1444, created the League of Albanian States, which was to be the supreme organ of war, with himself as its commander. This was the first step towards a united Albania, as against a plurality of feudal lords.

To a few enlightened contemporaries it was clear that the Sultan needed Albania as a bridge to Italy and Hungary and that, so long as the Albanians held firm, they immobilised significant numbers of the Ottoman forces, so barring the road to Europe. But the blind, self-centred policies of the European states led them to ignore Skanderbeg's appeals for united action against a common danger. His consciousness of the role played by Albania's resistance to the Turks is clearly seen in his words to an Italian prince who had shown little concern for the fate of Albania:

"You should know that if the Ottomans conquer us, Italy – which you look upon as yours – will fall into his hands."

Seen against the background of history, Skanderbeg's struggle is not merely that of a chieftain of genius. It is far more than an attempt by a handful of feudal lords to hold on to their possessions. His strong defence of national interests show that the war bore a popular character. Each victory was a blow against feudal disunity, was achieved by thousands of unknown fighters who brought to the battle their age-old experience of people's warfare. It was this factor, as well

as his superb strategy and tactics, that made Skanderbeg a national hero distinct from the long Pleiad of ordinary heroes. The world has seen many warriors and conquerors, and although it was finally the Sultan who conquered, it is not Murad II or Mohammed II whom one sees in the pantheon of outstanding figures in world history: it is Skanderbeg.

Skanderbeg's name is linked today with the heroic fortress of Kruja. There a statue has been erected to him, and a museum created where the Kastrioti house once stood. For it was Kruja that, on November 28th., 1443, Skanderbeg first hoisted on the Kastrioti banner—double-headed eagle on a red background – which today forms the national flag of Albania.

Then, in 1450, after the Turks had defeated the Hungarian army, they decided to subdue Albania once and for all. Murad II and his son, at the head of 100,000 men marched on Kruja, Skanderbeg ordered a general mobilisation, and within a few days had mustered an army of some 18,000. 1,500 were stationed in Kruja. 8,000 under his own command waited to the north of the fortress, the rest were organised into small units and sent to harry and ambush the Turkish army on its march.

In spite of heavy losses on the way, the Sultan encircled Kruja in May 1450. The fortress was heavily shelled, after which the Sultan demanded that it be handed over to him without further bloodshed. When this demand was rejected, he ordered a new attack with 600 lb. shells, which the Albanians had never seen, followed by an all-out assault. However, all attempts to take the fortress failed.

Meanwhile Skanderbeg was continuously attacking the Turkish forces, first from one side and then unexpectedly from another, as well as ambushing the caravans bringing them supplies from Macedonia and Venice, until at last Murad II raised the siege in October 1450 and returned to Adrianople leaving some 20,000 dead round the wall of Kruja.

This first siege was followed sixteen years later by another, in the spring of 1466, which was raised only after a whole year, in 1467, when the Turkish forces suffered another defeat at the hands of Skanderbeg. Three months later, however, Mohammed II once again attacked Albania. He was victorious in a battle near Elbasan and once again attempted to take Kruja. This third siege lasted only a few weeks before the fortress was once more liberated by Skanderbeg.

This, however, was his last victory. In January 1468 Skanderbeg, wracked with fever, was unable to lead his army into battle, into what was still another victory near Shkodra. And on the 17th. he died at Lesh.

Not until ten years after his death, however, were the Turks finally able to conquer Albania, and to take Kruja after a siege that lasted two years—from 1476 to 1478.

It is not surprising that the heroic resistance of the small citadel of Kruja has become synonymous with the legendary exploits of Albania's national hero, Skanderbeg.

## **THE DEATH OF SKANDERBEG**

*A traditional folk ballad*

A bitter, sunless day has passed,  
A day of darkest gloom,  
When even the heavens seemed to weep  
At some impending doom.

For yesterday, at break of day,  
Arose a fearful cry

Bringing grief to every heart  
And tears to every eye.

It was the knight Lek Dukagjin,  
Tearing his silver hair,  
Who cried out in a sorrow  
Greater than he could bear.

In trembling voice the weeping knight  
Cried: "Mourn, Albania, mourn!  
For our prince and father, Skanderbeg,  
Has died this day at dawn.

Come hither, lords and peasants,  
From cottage and from hall,  
To wet the earth with your warm tears,  
For orphans are we all.

Who is there to guard our homes,  
Our maidens and our corn?  
For our prince and father, Skanderbeg,  
Has died this day at dawn".

The very mountains cleft in two,  
The houses reeled and fell:  
The bells within the steeples  
Tolled their own death-knoll.

The heavens opened wide their gates  
While earth was left forlorn,  
For our prince and father, Skanderbeg,  
Has died this day at dawn.

# **THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA AND THE FIRST GREAT DEBATE**

FROM THE FOREWORD TO VOLUME II OF THE  
SELECTED WORKS OF ENVER HOXHA, TIRANA. 1975.

The documents of this period reflect the gigantic struggle of the Albanian people for the mass-scale collectivization of the countryside on a socialist basis, for raising the well-being of the working masses on the basis of the further industrialization of the country and the all-round progress of agriculture.

In the external field, they bring out the consistently internationalist stand of the PLA and its principled political and ideological struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism.

A good many of these documents were written in one of the most complicated situations for the international communist and workers' movement, which was a consequence of the revisionist decisions and theses of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. Many communist and workers' parties and the CPSU in the first place, were in utter ideological confusion. Consequently, in the Soviet Union and in a number of socialist countries, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist economic and social order had begun to slip into bourgeois-revisionist degeneration. Taking advantage of the great international authority of the CPSU and of the Soviet state, the Soviet leadership brought strong and unrelenting pressure to bear on the leaderships of the other communist and workers' parties to replace the Marxist-Leninist course with the revisionist course of the 20th Congress. The Khrushchev clique, which had usurped power in the Party and the Soviet state, did its utmost to remove from leadership all those who refused to adopt the revisionist course.

The same pressure was brought to bear on the PLA and its leadership. But far from submitting, the Party waged a stern struggle against it. The works of Comrade Enver Hoxha of this period reflect the revolutionary stand and the determination of the PLA to continue along its Marxist-Leninist road. They reflect the Party's courage and wisdom in overcoming the obstacles and difficulties, finding its bearings correctly in these extremely complicated situations, with Marxism-Leninism as its compass.

In these conditions, the PLA centred its attention on two main issues: first, on preserving the proletarian revolutionary character of the Party and its line, and second, on preserving the unity of the international communist movement, first and foremost, of the socialist camp, on defending Marxism-Leninism on an international plane.

The PLA did not publicly oppose the revisionist theses of the 20th Congress of the CPSU right from the start\* for two reasons. First, because at that time, a public debate would have been to the great advantage of the enemies of communism, who had

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\* Neither the PLA nor the CPC publicly opposed the 20th Congress of the CPSU in 1956. See Mao Tse-tung: Opening Address, in: "Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China", Volume 1; Peking; 1956. Ed.

launched a frenzied assault against Marxism-Leninism, the socialist camp, and especially against the Soviet Union, as the first and most powerful socialist state. Second, because the PLA was not yet finally convinced that N. Khrushchev and his group had betrayed Marxism-Leninism, and hoped that the Soviet leadership would realize and correct their mistakes. Therefore, at that time, the PLA defended the Soviet Union and the CPSU, considering this as a struggle for the defence of socialism, of Marxism-Leninism, of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement.

Nevertheless, the PLA maintained attitudes differing in essence from the Soviet views in regard to the acute international problems:

- to the revisionist thesis on the change of the nature of imperialism in the present epoch it opposed the Marxist-Leninist view on the inalterably aggressive character of imperialism;

- to the thesis on securing world peace mainly through talks between the heads of the great powers it opposed the view of securing peace through strengthening the unity of the socialist countries and uniting all peace-loving peoples in a single front against imperialism especially U.S. imperialism, through national liberation and socialist revolutions;

- to the thesis on the peaceful road as the chief road for the transition to socialism it opposed the view of preparing for the armed struggle as the chief road for the transition to Socialism;

- to the thesis on the dying out of the class struggle in socialism it opposed the view of the class struggle continuing as an objective and unavoidable phenomenon for the entire period of the transition from capitalism to communism, etc.

At a time when, under the influence of the CPSU, the majority of the communist and worker's parties had ceased their struggle against Yugoslav revisionism, the PLA continued this struggle without let-up and with the greatest severity, not only because Yugoslav revisionism was the enemy of Marxism-Leninism and constituted a danger to the whole international communist and worker's movement but also because the struggle against it greatly assisted the struggle against every kind of revisionism, especially against the anti-Marxist theses of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. Although the sharp edge of the struggle of the PLA was directed against Yugoslav revisionism, it was readily understood that the blow was directed against revisionism in any country and in any party, that the theses used against Yugoslav revisionism were opposed to the theses of the 20th Congress.

The PLA did not lack courage to point out all its hesitations, doubts and opposing views, to the CC of the CPSU through party channels, without making these differences public, because that would have meant putting weapons in the hands of the enemies of communism. It tried to resolve these differences through talks and consultations in a comradely spirit, as things should always be done between fraternal working-class parties. However, the further Khrushchev and the other revisionist leaders went down

the road of the re-establishment of capitalism in their countries, down the road of collaboration with American imperialism and world reaction against communism and the world revolutionary movement, the more thoroughly the real features of the Soviet revisionists became recognized. And the more clearly the betrayal of the Soviet leadership came into the open, the more fierce became the struggle of the PLA for the exposure and ideological and political destruction of Khrushchevite revisionism.

This volume also contains the Speech delivered by Comrade Enver Hoxha at the Meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow in 1960. In line with the directive of the CC of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha made a direct criticism there of the revisionist theses of the 20th Congress, as well as of the Soviet leadership for defending and spreading a series of antisocialist and anti-communist activity through and through.

The documents of this period reflect the split between the correct revolutionary line of the PLA and of a number of other communist and workers' parties. At that period, however, the clash had scarcely begun and could not have the depth and severity it was to assume later. Therefore, the documents of this volume should always be judged bearing in mind the time and circumstances in which they were written.

## CHINESE REVISIONISM

by Fiqret Shehu

*The following is an excerpt from a report entitled "The broadening and deepening of the struggle against all the currents of modern revisionism is an historical necessity" delivered by Fiqret Shehu, member of the Central Committee the Party of Labour of Albania and Directress of the VI. Lenin Higher Party School, at the Scientific Session of the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies on problems of present-day world development held in Tirana from October 2-4, 1978,*

Chinese revisionism, the trend which has come out only recently, but which is in fact an anti-Marxist trend with deep roots, is a very great danger to the cause of the revolution and socialism and the freedom and independence of the peoples at the present time. A characteristic feature of this revisionist variant is that it proclaims the theory which it propagates to be the highest stage of Marxism-Leninism, a third stage in the development of Marxism. However, as a theory, Chinese revisionism is nothing but a conglomerate theory, a hodge-podge of all sorts of ideologies ranging from the idealistic mystical ones of antiquity to the theories of present-day bourgeois ideologists of right and "left" opportunist views, ideas of Proudhon, of Bernstein and Kautsky, of Trotsky and Bukharin, of Browder, of Yugoslav, Soviet and "Eurocommunist" revisionism and so on.

The entire ideological platform of the Chinese revisionists, all of the theses propagated by them concerning the cardinal questions of Marxism-Leninism and the question of the revolution and socialism in the context of each specific country, and on the international plane, are anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary from start to finish. Likewise, their strategy and political tactics, which are based on such an anti-Marxist ideological platform, as well as the actions inspired by it, are completely anti-proletarian and reactionary. Thus, in regard to China itself, both during the Chinese revolution and after it, the standpoint of the Chinese leadership has been that of liberalism and bourgeois democracy both in theory and in practice. At no time has it been for the hegemonic role of the proletariat and for waging the class struggle in favour of the working class. Instead, in theory, it has preached the thesis: "the countryside must liberate the city", which denies the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution and is a deviation from Marxism-Leninism; while in practice, it has acted in such a way that the petty bourgeoisie have a dominant role in the revolution; whereas after the revolution, the Chinese revisionist leadership has followed the line of class conciliation and of permitting the existence of the bourgeoisie as a class. It has maintained an opportunist, benevolent stand towards the exploiting classes, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has put it, and in practice it has shared the state power with them. At no time have the Chinese revisionists been for the undivided leading role of a party which is fully a party of the proletariat, a party of the Leninist type, but they have propagated and practised the principle of political pluralism, the principle of the existence of many parties, including parties of the bourgeoisie, which, according to their views, should continue to exist in China as long as the communist party exists.

Later on, they came out against the Marxist-Leninist ideology being the only prevailing ideology in a socialist country, and preached ideological pluralism with "let a hundred flowers blossom, and a hundred schools of thought contend", which is being widely propagated today by the "Eurocommunists", with whom the Chinese revisionists have points in common in their revision of Marxism-Leninism on many other questions too.

On the international plane, the Chinese revisionists revised Marxism-Leninism, proceeding



from their strategic goal, which, regardless of the fact they come out with the banner of anti-social-imperialism and anti-hegemonism, is in essence identical with the strategic aim of the Soviet revisionists and is intended to make China an imperialist superpower, to justify the typically imperialist and hegemonic policy of this great power which is doing everything it can to become a superpower. This strategy is served by the theory of “three worlds”, which the Chinese revisionist leadership presents as a world strategy. In fact, the real content of the theory of “three worlds” is the denial of the leading role of the proletariat in revolution and of its right to carry out the revolution, denial of the right of the peoples to rise in liberation struggle against repressive and rapacious imperialism.

The theory of “three worlds” is diametrically opposed to Lenin’s ideas concerning our historical epoch. When he speaks of the class which is at the centre of this epoch, its main content, the main direction of its development, he gives the main features which distinguish this epoch and which constitute the only basis on which correct, revolutionary tactics can be built.

Thus, according to Marxism-Leninism, it is the proletariat which is the main political motive force of our epoch, while according to the Chinese revisionists, the main motive force which drives the wheel of history forward, is the “third world”. For every genuine Marxist-Leninist, the fundamental content of the present epoch is the transition from capitalism to socialism. The historic task which requires solution is the overthrow of the capitalist order and the building of the socialist order, and the way to carry out this task is by the proletarian revolution. However, with its theories, the Chinese leadership denies all these fundamental features of our epoch and these cardinal issues of Marxism-Leninism without scruple. According to the analysis which our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have made on the Chinese leadership's deviation from Marxism-Leninism, the counter-revolutionary, opportunist position of the Chinese revisionists can be seen clearly from the fact that in spreading the idea of a lack of a revolutionary situation in present-day Europe, in formulating the task of the proletariat and other working people of Europe as to take the side of their own bourgeoisie for the “defence of the fatherland” against the threat of war which Soviet social-imperialism is preparing, they are preaching a policy of agreement between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie which is the most harmful and dreadful policy for the country. They call on the proletariat to renounce the class struggle, the proletarian revolution and the struggle for the overthrow of its own and the international bourgeoisie, the struggle for socialism.

The view of the Chinese leadership which defines Soviet social-imperialism alone—and not the two superpowers—as the main and the most dangerous enemy of the peoples; which presents United States imperialism as “in decline” and “on the defensive”; as imperialism with which a socialist country can be united in a broad front for joint opposition to Soviet social-imperialism; etc., is also extremely opportunist and, in fact, a denial of the proletarian revolution. According to this view, one can have a preference in assessing imperialism, one can treat the two imperialist superpowers differently, one superpower being allegedly aggressive, the other being on the defensive, while according to Marxism-Leninism, from the political point of view, imperialism as a whole has a tendency to violence and reaction, and, after the victory of socialism in a country, the problems must be solved not from the angle of preferring this or that imperialism, but proceeding solely from the interests of the development of and consolidation of socialist revolution. To claim as the Chinese leadership does, that the presentation of United States imperialism as less dangerous than the new Soviet imperialism is based on Lenin’s analysis of the situation in 1917 when he stated the danger that the new German imperialism posed, while

forgetting Lenin's other thesis, put forward a year and a half later, that American imperialism is behaving as ferociously as German imperialism, etc., and moreover, to disregard the great danger to mankind which United States imperialism represents today, means from the philosophical viewpoint to act as a sophist, to consider questions separately, to draw historical parallels and not make concrete analysis of the question in the concrete conditions. Whereas, from the political point of view, such a position of the Chinese revisionists, which is an expression of their compromise with United States imperialism, is open betrayal of the cause of the proletariat and socialism.

The views of the Chinese leadership about United States imperialism as the imperialism with which one may collaborate to cope with the danger of world war, reminds one of the preachings of Kautsky who, in his time, spoke of the indispensable need to rely on United States imperialism to stop the war. The basis of this identity of views is that both Chinese revisionism and Kautskyism prettify imperialism as a whole and United States imperialism in particular; that both propagate a non-class policy and aim at ensuring class conciliation at an international level too. And it is known that defence of class collaboration, denying the idea of socialist revolution and revolutionary methods of struggle, adaption to bourgeois nationalism and renunciation of the class viewpoint and class struggle are the ideological foundations of opportunism. These are also the ideological foundations of social chauvinism, which is one of the characteristic features of the Chinese revisionists.

It is self-evident that in a conglomerate theory like that of the Chinese revisionists, genuine socialism cannot be conceived and neither can it be built with their practices. Socialism, conceived on the basis of an anti-Marxist theory, cannot be anything else but petty-bourgeois or bourgeois socialism, which, for ample reasons, has the support of the big bourgeoisie world-wide, especially the U.S. imperialists, and finds support from such an old agency of imperialism as Yugoslav revisionism as well as all sorts of other revisionists.

The ideological and political physiognomy and the specific features of each of the present-day revisionist trends are such as to give rise to various distinctions and contradictions among them. The distinctions and contradictions between the revisionists, especially in today's conditions, are expressions of contradictions among monopoly groups and within the bourgeoisie of the country or area where each revisionist trend operates. This is the basis on which the divergencies and contradictions between the Soviet revisionists and the "Eurocommunists", and especially the sharp contradiction between the Soviet revisionists and the Chinese revisionists, exist, each of them trying to win over as many revisionist parties in different countries as possible to its side and to its policy and to ensure for itself support and aid from American and other imperialists. But without going at greater length into the contradictions which exist among various revisionist trends, we deem it necessary to stress that they must be evaluated correctly. They do not alter the essence of revisionism, neither as an ideological trend nor a strategic goal. In fact, all trends of revisionism are branches from one single trunk. In ideology, they are variants of bourgeois ideology, and in practice, in the final analysis they serve the same master, the reactionary world bourgeoisie.

## THE RATIO BETWEEN LOWER AND HIGHER WAGES

The Party of Labour of Albania has pursued the line of the gradual narrowing of the differences in the level of income and the living standards between the working class and the cooperative peasantry and the categories within them, between town and countryside; it has always been careful to maintain as correct a ratio possible between the pay of the cadres and the income of the workers and cooperative members, to avoid flagrant differences in income which give rise to the birth of a privileged stratum and directly endanger the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of socialism. At the same time, the Party has always fought against tendencies towards petty bourgeois equalitarianism in the field of remuneration which is also alien and harmful to socialism.

In accordance with this revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist line, the wage system of the workers and the employees and the system of the remuneration for work for cooperative members have been set up and systematically improved always based on the socialist law of distribution according to work. The implementation of this system in practice has made it possible for the differences between lower and higher wages, between the income of the employees and the workers and cooperative members to be narrowed and to have more correct proportions.

On this question the Party of Labour of Albania has always proceeded from the teachings of Lenin who stressed that *"The corrupting influence of high wages is indisputable both on the Soviet State Power as well as on the masses of the workers.... The principle the Paris Commune and every proletarian State Power demand that wage of an employee be no higher than the wage of a good worker, they demand that career seeking be fought with actions and not with words"*.

In the implementation of this great teaching of V.I. Lenin, in accordance with the concrete conditions of the development of and the socialist construction in Albania, the Party of Labour of Albania step by step has continually taken measures to narrow the ratio between the medium wage of the workers and the higher wages of the employees. Nine years ago, on the 29th of April, 1967 in the Declaration of the Central Committee of the Party and the government it was stressed that the establishment of correct proportions between the wages of the workers and the employees is a measure of principled importance which blocks the road to bourgeois degeneration, career seeking and many other evils. Following the Declaration, the differences between lower and higher wages in Albania reached the ratio of 1 to 2.5. Now following the latest decision, this ratio is narrowed even further. Today in Albania the ratio between the average wages of workers and the salary of the director of the same enterprise is 1:1.7; that between the average wages of the workers in general and the salary of the director in the Ministry is about 1:2; that between the lowest and highest wages of the workers within the same branch is about 1:1.5-1.65 etc. These ratios are set by law.

This is a concrete and unprecedented implementation of the Marxist-Leninist thesis, a great reality of the proletarian justice in Socialist Albania, where a post is not a privilege and where cadres are integrated with the masses. *"Living standards"*, Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses, *"should not be allowed to rise with big differences, officials should not be allowed to live far better than the workers and the peasants to live at lower standards than their allies in the city. Our Party is fighting and will always fight to unceasingly to improve the life of the people but the life of everybody, the correct principle of not having equality in wages but neither privilege for anybody and differences of wages between the workers must constantly narrow their margin."*

The lowering of higher wages, together with the measures to lift over and above the basic wage of the working people of literature and art, education and science, better harmonizing the material stimuli with the moral stimuli is an expression of the class treatment of the problem of

wages. This has the aim of further revolutionizing, from the material standpoint as well, the relations between cadres and the masses, and also the relations in the very fold of the cadres, a vital premise to protect people, especially the cadres, from alien influences and degeneration. Experience shows that bureaucratism is nourished by higher wages. Bureaucratic elements always lean towards the deepening of the ratio in wages through many ways and means. The working class, under the leadership of its Party, has fought and is fighting against these tendencies, maintaining a clear-cut revolutionary class stand. Therefore, the measures contained in the decision of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania towards lowering higher wages have a profound ideo-political and social content, they have their national value, but they are also an important contribution to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism. They express the desire and interests of the entire Party and people, of the working class, the cooperative peasantry and the people's intelligentsia; therefore they have met with complete approval everywhere, and have been received with enthusiasm and high mobilization towards socialist construction and the defence of the homeland.

## UGLY WORK

*In a recent issue of the journal "Third World Unity, dated December 1978, under the heading "Internationalism Without Comment" a quotation appeared from a speech by Enver Hoxha: "Twenty Years of New Socialist Albania" dated November 28<sup>th</sup>, 1964 and published from Enver Hoxha: Speeches and Articles 1963-64", Tirana. 1977. While this journal welcomes renewed current interest in the affairs of Albania in India in this instance the manner in which matter concerning Socialist Albania has been presented has been injudicious. The excerpts in "Third World Unity" from this speech of Enver Hoxha are so chosen so as to distort the content of this speech by tearing selected extracts out of context. We give below an extensive extract from the original speech and in order that the reader may judge for himself the nature of the mutilation performed by "Third World Unity" the excerpts printed in that journal have been emphasised.*

The treacherous activities of the Khrushchevite revisionists have inflicted very great damage on the unity of the socialist camp. The Khrushchevites and Titoites have worked hard for the destruction and disintegration of the socialist camp, this reality of our times, this major victory of the working class throughout the world. This treacherous activity was desired and actively supported by US imperialism.

Now even the enemy knows that there are major contradictions within the socialist camp, not only between Marxists and revisionists, but also between the revisionists themselves. These contradictions have been manifested in all fields; in the ideological, political, and military fields and in the field of economic relations. As a result of the treacherous policy of the revisionists, ugly anti-Marxist trends have found favourable ground in the relations among socialist states. Such are the great state chauvinist policy and of the mother party, the policy of dictate, of speculation and exploitation, sentiments of nationalism, of gaining at each other's expense, and so on.

*Our Party and our people are well aware of the leading role of the Soviet Union in the socialist camp. We never have and never will underrate its leading role in the international arena. But the major role of the Soviet Union and its aid should always be based on Marxism-Leninism, on respect for others, on the principles of proletarian internationalism, and not on anti-Marxism, on chauvinism, on attempts to impose its will on others. N. Khrushchev and his group used the aid of the Soviet people for the purpose of subjugating the People's Republic of Albania. And when they failed, not only did they cut off aid to the Albanian people, but they even disarmed them before imperialism.*

I shall not dwell on further examples to describe the grave situations of relations in the socialist camp. It is an indisputable fact that the re-establishment of unity on the present foundations, without radically and courageously purging the revisionist injustices and policies, is unthinkable.

We are of the opinion that the whole revisionist platform, on which the relations among socialist countries are based today, should be swept aside; the economic, political, and military collaboration, as well as all the basic agreements that govern relations in the ranks of all the countries of the socialist camp, must be re-examined and put on a Marxist-Leninist course. The rights and obligations of each socialist state, and mutual aid should be defined jointly and with complete unanimity, taking into account both the interests and sovereignty of each, as well as the general interests of the socialist camp. The principles of aid for one another should be respected, rejecting both chauvinist and nationalist aims. Aid should not be used either as a means to keep

others under somebody else's pressure, or as a means to plunder, or to weaken the one that gives it. Unity along such lines prevents commandism by the big state and creates the real strength of the socialist camp, eliminates nationalist trends and strengthens internationalism, eliminates revisionism and strengthens Marxism-Leninism, eliminates the tendency to economic political exploitation and speculation and no longer permits any kind of pressure or blackmail. A socialist camp of this kind strikes terror into the imperialists, is the guarantee of world peace, is the greatest aid for the liberation and prosperity of the people in the world, is the guarantee of the triumph of the revolution, socialism and communism.

Our party thinks that the aid to countries fighting colonialism, which is an important duty of the socialist camp, should also be seen in this light. This aid should be given in a fraternal way and not linked with dirty political interests. The people of the small underdeveloped countries of Africa and other continents want sincere friendship and not empty words. The aid which is given to peoples as charity by the modern revisionist and which is used for purposes of plundering their natural resources, has nothing in common with Marxism and internationalism, and even less so when that aid is cut off for the purpose of exerting pressure, or organizing plots to overthrow the leaders of these peoples, because someone does not like them. These are the methods of colonialist capitalists. The heroic fraternal peoples of Africa and of other continents have suffered from them for centuries on end. The great state chauvinist views that the peoples of small, under-developed countries can be dominated by bribes and threats hold no water in the epoch of Leninism. Marxism-Leninism, justice, the people's great strength will not allow you to act for long according to your capitalist, bourgeois, revisionist whim. The people's history has provided great proofs of this, and day by day it continues to provide them.

*Unity of the socialist camp can be achieved if the differences existing today among various socialist countries are first settled through bilateral or multilateral talks. Our party has been and is always ready for talks of this kind, for this is dictated by the general interests of the socialist camp.* But we have declared, and stress again, that to pave the way for bilateral talks in which the People's Republic of Albania will be in a position of genuine equality and not as a defendant, the Soviet government must publicly acknowledge its mistakes and the material damage which it has caused the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people through its unilateral and anti-Marxist acts. It should publicly admit that it broke off diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Albania on its own initiative, that it suspended all credits and organised the economic blockade against our country, causing great damage to the construction of socialism in Albania; that it has interfered in the internal affairs of our country, going so far as to call for the overthrow of the leadership of the Party and the Albanian state; that it has slandered the Albanian leaders, calling them agents of imperialism, and so on and so forth.

This demand of our people and our Party is proper, Marxist, and principled. The above acts of the Soviet government against the People's Republic of Albania are not mere technical errors, they have their ideological and political basis.

Perhaps, the present Soviet leaders would wish and think that, despite all this we Albanians should go to Moscow and kowtow to them, for we are of a small country. Or perhaps they think that now that N. Khrushchev has been sacked, their conscience is clear as far as the Party and the Albanian people are concerned/ It is obvious that they are gravely mistaken on both counts Marxism-Leninism does not recognize big and small, but only equals among equals, therefore, the guilty should acknowledge their guilt. As to the other matter, it is known that what was said and done against the Party of Labour of Albania, was not N. Khrushchev's personal doing alone, but, as the Soviet leaders themselves delight in repeating, they were collective decisions.

Not only were they decided upon by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but they were also approved by the Plenum of the Central Committee, and brought before the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It is also known that in order to have them approved by the Congress, and later, so that the attitude of the Soviet leaders towards the Party of the Labour and the People's Republic of Albania should become "the general line of the communist movement" Mikoyan, Kosygin, Brezhnev, Suslov and others took an active part in the slanderous attack against our Party and people. Therefore, the fact that Khrushchev is no longer at the head of the Soviet government does not at all affect the heart of the problem. Responsibility for all anti-Albanian acts rests on the leadership of the Soviet Union and it is up to them to correct them courageously. It is only thus that conditions of equality can be created to make bilateral talks possible and to establish the unity of the socialist camp.

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We  
wholeheartedly greet the formation  
of  
India-Albania Friendship Association  
and the  
Publication of its Journal "Socialist Albania"

Bal Mukand Sharma  
*President*

Shambu Dayal  
*Manager*

Bal Kishan Shama  
*Principal*

Sardar Patel Junior High School  
PILKHUWA (Ghaziabad)

## LABOUR LEGISLATION

The aim of labour legislation in Albania is to ensure the full implementation of the socialist principles "work is a duty and an honour", and "**from each according to his ability, to each according to his work.**" Work for all and the implementation of these principles are guaranteed by the socialization of the means of production and the planned organization of our economy. In our country there are no economic crises or unemployment. Work has become the source of the well-being of everyone and the basis of our social system.

In the past many Albanians had to migrate in order to earn a livelihood. You would find them employed where the work was hardest and most difficult: in the coal mines of France or the United States of America, on the building jobs in Australia or the farms of Argentina. Most of the families of these emigrants experienced many family tragedies. That is why the places where the emigrants were farewelled were called by the people "The meadow of tears". Many songs of sorrow have been composed about the cursed migration, about the young brides left without their husbands the children who did not know the fathers forced to go abroad to earn their daily bread.

In the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania we read:

"Work is the foundation of the entire economic-social life of the country Work constitutes the main source from which every citizen ensures the means of livelihood.

Thus, as has been the case up-to-date, the state has put the guarantee of work for every citizen at the foundation of the whole life of the country, as a right and a duty for every citizen. This is guaranteed by the political, economic and social conditions of the socialist order. It is based on the existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat which runs the economy and the whole life of the country.

The principal laws dealing with the work and life of the working people, with employment, conditions of work, wages and social insurance, are drawn up after having solicited the opinions of the workers and trade unions. This has made it possible to divest the labour laws of unnecessary complicated formulations and make them simple, clear and understandable to the masses, thus enabling them to check up on their application in practice.

The workers are guaranteed an 8-hour workday by law. For certain categories of workers engaged in difficult jobs the working day is reduced to 7, 6 or 5 hours, without any reduction in wages. Overtime work is not allowed except in special cases.

In addition to the weekly day off and official holidays, the workers and employees enjoy the right to an annual vacation with pay. A good number of workers, like those working in mines, metallurgy, chemical works, the oil industry, tobacco factories, the health service, education and culture, etc. are entitled to supplementary leave of up to thirty-six work days a year. In order to enable the workers to spend their vacations and relax in a pleasant environment, holiday homes have been set up which are used by tens



of thousands of workers every year.

In the conditions of the further revolutionization of the school, in order to make it easier for the workers to attend courses while continuing with their jobs, the hours of work for those who are studying, are reduced and supplementary leave with full pay is granted them to prepare for and take their examinations. This supplementary leave is from three to six hours a week for part-time school attendance, from 15 to 25 days a year for taking examinations, and up to 30 days a year, for taking final examinations.

The law gives equal rights to men and to women on the basis of the principle "equal pay for equal work". The state gives special protection to women and minors. Pregnant women, nursing mothers and people with medical certificates, are not allowed to work night shifts or overtime, or do heavy work. Nursing mothers are entitled to not less than half an hour off work every 3-4 hours to feed their babies, plus the time necessary to travel from work to the nursery or home and back. This time off is included in their worktime. Working women also enjoy other facilities which enable them to take part en masse in production work and to carry out their duties as mothers and housewives.

In line with the principle that "**people are the most important asset**", the Labour Code and other dispositions on safety at work attach special importance to protecting the health and life of the workers. Thus, workshops, factories and other establishments where work goes on, are designed, built and utilized according to the rules of technical safety, sanitation and hygiene. The use of machines, mechanisms and installations, which present a danger is permitted only after they have been equipped with protective devices and when the workers have been given sufficient training in the use of these devices. The workers and employees on jobs liable to endanger their health are provided, free of charge, with protective clothing, and equipment (goggles, masks, helmets, ear muffs, gloves, boots and so on). In the branches of production which emit dangerous gases and vapours, in addition to other protective devices, the workers are given antidotes. Such steps for the prevention of occupational diseases and accidents are a major factor in preventing temporary disability and invalidity from constituting a disturbing problem in our country.

In Albania, in addition to the free medical service, all workers and employees and members of agricultural cooperatives are guaranteed social insurance. The necessary funds for social insurance are provided entirely by the state and are a supplement to workers' wages and salaries. Social insurance provides for all eventualities covering the working people from before they are born, throughout their lives and their families after their deaths. Social insurance provides aid for the workers in case of temporary incapacity to work, ranging from 70 to 85 percent of their wages and payable from the first day of occupational disease, the incapacity because of injury at work or occupational disease, the compensation payment ranges from 95 to 100 percent of average earnings. Women workers and cooperativists are entitled to paid maternity leave from 13 to 15 weeks, paid at the rate of 80 percent of their average earnings.

Old age pensions for workers are differentiated on the basis of how difficult their work is. Full old age pensions are available to men who have reached the age of 50, 55 or 60 years with 20 or 25 years at work and the women at 45, 50 or 55 years of work with 15 and 20 years at work. The pension is paid at the rate of 70 per cent of average earnings. Pensions are also paid to invalids, to those who lose the family breadwinner, and to those who have displayed special merits in the struggle for the freedom, independence and socialist construction of the country.

Social insurance benefits also apply in the agricultural cooperatives. Maternity leave payments and the benefit for the birth of each child, as well as pensions, are paid in a centralized way by the State Social Security organs. On the decision of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour and the government, which came into effect on April 1, 1976, the proportion of normal earnings payable in town and countryside in maternity, childbirth and age benefits, was equalized, and the minimum age benefit payable in the countryside was increased.

Social security payments for temporary incapacity to work are paid from the social security funds of the agricultural cooperatives, themselves<sup>^</sup> '.

State control over the application of the Labour Code and the laws on social insurance, ordinances, decision and instructions is exercised by the supreme organs of the state, the social insurance organs, inspectorates of labour, safety at work and health. But the trade unions, the organizations of the working class, perform a very important function in the direction. They are extensively engaged in making the workers familiar with the laws so that they are rigorously applied, in fighting manifestations of bureaucracy and technocratism and in enforcing discipline on everybody.

Under the Labour Code, a worker has the right to complain about any disagreement to the trade union organisation on his work centre, in the first place. In this way the role and authority of the trade unions is greatly enhanced. This is a very important democratic solution, because they are organisations of the workers themselves and have first-hand knowledge of the worker's conditions and what worries them.

# THE SMITH

*A short story by Dhimiter Shuteriqi*

Perhaps the most important person on a construction site, after the engineers, is the smith. A factory,, a machine and tractor station, a new village is built: all need a smith, a smith with his simple forge as in days gone by, or a smith with modern equipment like that of a small factory.

Books tell us that the smith came into being with the Iron Age. Sherafedin was now an old man, but not as old as that. It seemed sometimes that he had spent his whole life going from one construction site to another. He had helped to build three power stations, like that on which he was now engaged at Vau i Dejes, and had been decorated five times for outstanding work. He had gone to Mat with one child (his eldest son Sulo, who was a tunneller), and there two more sons had been born and named Mat and Hydro; on the next construction site at Shkopet, his fourth son had arrived and following the pattern, had been called Shkopet; and on the site of the largest power station of all, at Vau i Dejes, his family had increased by two more children: a girl, Deje, and a boy, Besnik.

At first a construction site is just a collection of huts: large ones for people, and small ones for tools. And the smallest of all the huts at Vau i Dejes was Sherafedin's smithy, which served also as Jiving quarters for his large family which, in addition to his wife Zyra and their children, included also his old widowed mother. He had built the hut himself, with the help of Sulo and his wife, and it had been named officially Smithy No. 5. And such are the times we live in that even Sherafedin himself-was sometimes referred to as "Smith No. 5".

Sherafedin was a quiet man, not given to making a fuss about things, but now he was upset and worried. The work at Vau i Dejes had come to an end; the camp was breaking up; every day more and more people were packing up and moving on to other jobs But Sherafedin seemed to have been forgotten; no word had come from the Party as to where he was to go next. "What are they playing at?" he asked himself; "is unemployment coming back? Are they going to try and build socialism without smiths...?"

One day he buttonholed a member of the Bureau of the Party who was passing through the camp, and told him of his concern. But the smiling reply had told him nothing: "Don't worry, old man; we haven't forgotten you !"

Now the nine thousand workers had left the site, most of them on their way to work on the new power station further down the river at Fierza, and the camp was silent and deserted except for the occupants of Smith No. 5. The only sound to be heard was that of the waters rushing out of the concrete tunnels of the newly-opened power station and the hum of the great turbines within. The only people who came to the smithy were occasional visitors from the nearby Mjeda cooperative farm, wanting to borrow a hammer or to have a broken sickle repaired. The old anvil gathered dust, and Sherafedin grew more and more despondent.

Then, one day, the uncertainty was over. The Chairman of the cooperative farm came to see him.

"Better here than in Fierza, eh?", he said; "that's a terrible place, you know. Six months of freezing winter every year; ten feet of snow from November right through to April...".

"Really?", said the smith, puzzled.

"That's why I've come to see you. I went to see the Party a month ago, and I said: 'You can't send Sherafedin to Fierza, not with that family of his, his sick wife, his mother nearly eighty. It would be a crime ! Leave him with us ! He's done his share of pioneering. We have a vast amount of iron work here; we want him as Head Smith'. And they said: 'Yes. He's earned it, has

Sherafedin'."

"So there it is", went on the Chairman. "No more dirtying your hands. You'll be an administrator, in charge of all our smithies, seven of them. You'll be Head Smith, a new grade created specially for you. Quite an honour, eh?"

He waited, expecting to hear sounds of pleasure, even gratitude, from the smith. But Sherafedin remained silent. His sons had often told him that, now that he was past retirement age, he should take things easily and enjoy more of the comforts of life. Why did he not settle in Shkodra ?, they had suggested.

A red flush spread over Sherafedin's face, and the Chairman went on :

"You know the district now; it's a beautiful place. You'll have a proper house, with a garden; your children won't have to change their school again; and you'll be allotted a cow..."

Sherafedin exploded:

"A cow !", he shouted; "what the hell should I do with a bloody cow !"

The Chairman blinked in surprise :

"It doesn't appeal to you ?"

"It does not!", said the smith.

The Chairman rose angrily to his feet.

"Well, I'm sorry about that", he said; "but I'm afraid it's all arranged !"

And he went quickly out of the hut....

Zyra, who had listened to the interchange in silence, looked anxiously at her husband:

"What are we going to do ?", she asked.

"Do ? we're going to Fierza, of course", bellowed Sherafedin.

And he went out, slamming the door of the hut behind him with such force that he almost broke it.

He sent an urgent, reply-paid telegram to the Chief Engineer in Fierza; this, he felt sure, would do the trick. But no reply came that day, nor the next day, nor the day after that. On the contrary, the Mjeda Chairman sent a brusque note round saying that they must vacate their home within fifteen days, since the administration of the site had now passed to the cooperative farm, who wanted to use the hut as an office.

The smith did not reply to the note but, without saying a word to his wife, thumbed a lift on a lorry going to Tirana. That afternoon found him in the foyer of the Ministry of Public Works, saying:

"Is the Minister in ?"

The commissionaire peered out of his cubbyhole at the blackened face in front of him, at the burnt, calloused hands, at the dusty boots.

"I'm afraid the Minister is not available", he said; "could someone else help you ?"

"No .said Sherafedin; "I must see the Minister".

"I'm afraid that s not possible", said the commissionaire firmly; "the Minister doesn't come to his office in the afternoon".

"There's a car outside , said the smith, equally firmly.

"That is not the Minister's car. If you would care to leave your name...."

"I am Sherafedin", said the smith, "from Vau i Dejes".

"I will see that the Minister is informed of your call", said the commissionaire; "and now, if you will excuse me "

"No, I won't excuse you, comrade", said the smith with some heat, and he banged his fist on the counter; "I have come to see the Minister, and I intend to see him. If you will kindly get in

touch with him by phone and tell him that Sherafedin is here and is very angry !”

“I will ring his secretary ”, said the commissionaire.

“I don’t want his secretary; I want the Minister. He knows me... he’s given me five decorations and he knows I wouldn’t waste his time. Please get on the phone to him right away ! Now ! I don’t have much time”.

The commissionaire was about to emit a crushing reply when a car screeched to a halt outside, and feet hurried up the steps. The smith turned... it was the Minister ! He recognised his visitor at once, and shook him by the hand :

‘Whatever are you doing here, Sherafedin ?’

“Trouble, Comrade Minister !”

“What trouble is that ?”

“I’m being pushed around”.

“I find that hard to believe”, said the Minister; “come upstairs and tell me about it”.

And to the surprise of the commissionaire, the Minister took hold of the smith’s arm and disappeared with him up the stairs.

Sherafedin came down half-an-hour later, a filter-tipped cigarette between his lips. He was nodding happily, and seemed to be talking to himself.

The commissionaire saluted him respectfully:

“You’ve finished your business with the Minister, Comrade”, he asked.

“Yes, I’ve finished”, said Sherafedin, his black lips creasing into a smile; “one telephone call from the Minister, and we’re all off to Fierza tomorrow. And now, where can I get the bus back to Van i Dejes ?...”

## GIVE US COURAGE

— A Poem by Aleks Caci

Before the raised fist  
Bosses and tyrants  
Tremble like lies  
And the world  
That groans and dies  
In the den of the night  
Jostles with cries  
At the sound of liberty.

And to the skies  
Rising gloriously  
Like a liberating star—  
The flag of the Party  
With hammer and sickle.  
A steel hand holds it high  
Stalin of the little people,  
Stalin. ....

And the labourer of Muzekie  
Barred by the bey from his house  
From joy and liberty,  
Listens with his heart to that name.  
And there in his hut  
Amidst tears and despair  
He cries with all strength ;  
"Stalin, give us courage !"

## IN THE MUSEUM

— A Poem by *Llazar Siliqi*

I gaze in the museum  
at images of fallen comrades  
who gave their young lives  
for the Revolution and died in the holocaust  
for you, my country!

And as I gaze in silence,  
I seem to hear a voice which says :

"Do not look on me  
with such sad eyes!  
Death has not separated us,  
for life unites us still:  
We live every clod of fertile earth,  
in every gleaming railway line.

Defend this land of ours  
and make it blossom!  
Above all, do not pity us,  
whose brows will never bear  
the wrinkles of did old age!  
You see that I am smiling..."

**Decn. No. S/462**

**I. A. F. A. News**

The inaugural meeting of the U. P. State Preparatory Committee was held in Ghaziabad on 31st December, 1978. In a resolution passed at this meeting it was demanded that the Government of India establish full diplomatic ties with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in order to facilitate and enhance the mutual understanding of the Indian and Albanian peoples. The meeting also resolved to render full material and moral support for the publication of "Socialist Albania", the journal of the India-Albania Friendship Association. In favour of the main motion the Convenor of the U. P. State Preparatory Committee, Shri S. K. Misra, traced the ties of the Indian and Albanian peoples and stressed the world-historical role of the great and glorious struggle of the courageous people of Albania against Fascism, Imperialism and revisionism of all hues.

**In order to get in touch with the State Preparatory Committees of the India-Albania Friendship Association contact the following :**

|                 |   |
|-----------------|---|
| West Bengal :   | Bijoy Sarkar.<br>3-B Gobinda Mandal Lane,<br>Calcutta-700002.       |
| Delhi :         | Vijay Singh<br>F-13/6 Model Town,<br>Bombay-110009                  |
| Maharashtra     | Jehangir Merwanji,<br>43 Cuffe Parade, Colaba,<br>Bombay-400005.    |
| Punjab:         | Lashkar Singh,<br>1668/2. Sector 30-B,<br>Chandigarh.               |
| Uttar Pradesh : | S. K. Misra,<br>97 Gandhi Bazar,<br>Pilkhuwa, Dist. Ghaziabad. U.P. |