



Albania

What do you know about Albania? It is not much what you can learn about it from the school books or newspapers.

From: "DDR-Roter Morgen", illegal newspaper of the KPD/ML, July 1978

"A country where a man is afraid to criticise another one is no socialist country."

Enver Hoxha

In Albania the party and the working class are aware that it is not enough that the socialist relations of production was established but that a constant struggle has to be lead to keep them and to perfect them. In order to prevent that the Socialist People's Republic of Albania will suffer the same fate as the Soviet Union, the GDR and the other former socialist countries where capitalism was restored, the Albanian communists and the Albanian people took measures to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat according to the teachings of Lenin and Stalin.

The PLA (Party of Labour of Albania) considers it very important to create a proper relationship between the leading cadres and the broad masses of the working people in town and country. They lead a consistent struggle against the cadres separating themselves from the working class and placing themselves above it, they lead a consistent struggle against bureaucratic, technocratic, liberal, sectarian and other bourgeois tendencies showing up in the work of the functionaries. In order to prevent that decadent elements and privileged strata develop, the PLA has always followed the line of steadily decreasing the differences in the level of income and the way of living between the cadres and the workers and collective peasants. No significant differences in wages are allowed, while at the same time petty-bourgeois tendencies of egalitarianism are fought.

“The cadres have to have oil-stained hands and clayey shoes in order to learn the concerns, the needs and the work of the people not only from above but also from below, in order to make bureaucracy, pride and arrogance, the disease of commanding and of favouritism disappear; because all of these diseases are more likely to emerge within those who hold positions of power and thus think that they alone could manage everything and without them nothing could go on.”

(Enver Hoxha)

In Albania the worker has the say

To strengthen socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat the Albanian working class has created extensive ways to exercise workers' control and to prevent the rise and growth of bureaucracy, cliques and nepotism. This is of great importance in the education of the people, the education to the “new human” with a socialist consciousness.

Therefore much weight is given to criticism and self-criticism. Criticism and self-criticism are seen as driving force in Albania which contributes to the development of society.

To prevent that the criticised feels offended by the criticism and looks for an opportunity to take revenge or to prevent that somebody misuses criticism just for his own selfish and ambitious interests, all criticism is discussed in the workers' collective. And further important features like the “Flete Rrufe” (flash letters) haven been created. The Flete Rrufe are openly posted criticism or proposals, which everybody can hang out and in which everybody, regardless of his position, can be criticised for his behaviour. This way e.g. the following criticism of a department chief in Fieri, written by one of his subordinates, was posted:

“The party teaches us to be not vengeful, not arrogant towards subordinates but to let us be guided by the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. We know that you, comrade, know very well about all of this in theory. But we are right if we call you a dogmatist because this is illustrated by the fact that you have taken revenge on us. You tried to look down on the work of the others, to exert pressure and command us. You have been criticised for your mistakes but you have not changed. We ask you: Does the proletarian discipline apply to everybody or just to some? We request that the District Committee shall make an analysis about your mistakes after you have given the answer.”

The criticised is obligated to provide a written reply to this criticism, which he also has to post openly. It is of course important that the criticism doesn't stay formal but that measures are taken to correct the mistakes. The primary purpose of criticism is, of course, education but it also happened in similar cases that even directors were sent back to work at the machines so that they could correct their arrogant attitude.



Did you already know...

... that the last case of measles in the People's Republic of Albania was in 1971? This is because general vaccination against measles was introduced in Albania as the only country in Europe. By the way, medical care is completely free in Albania. For children up to one year the socialist state also provides all medicaments for free.

... that workers in certain professions – e.g. miners – receive pension already with 50 years in Albania? Furthermore they get an additional annual vacation of 36 days.

... that women who go back to work after their maternity leave can bring their children to a crib at their business and additionally get at least half an hour break every three hours so that they can take care of their child? This break is seen as working time and is fully paid. By the way, all women who gave birth to six or more children receive their pension already at the age of 50 years, regardless of the jobs they had.

... that price increases are completely unknown in Albania? While prices rise continuously here, the prices for consumer goods have been decreased 14 times in Albania since 1950. By the way, a ticket for the opera or ballet costs 3 Lek in Albania – that is 75 Pfennigs [60 Pfennigs were around 30 ¢ at the time when the Euro was introduced in Germany].

... that nobody in Albania had to pay taxes or any other dues since 1967?

... that on 25th October 1970 the last house in Albania was connected to the national grid? The peasants even at the most remote farms do not have to pay a cent for their connection to the national grid.

... that every third Albanian goes to school, respectively educates himself further? In 1946 four of five Albanians were still illiterates.

... that Albania is the country with the lowest wage differentials in the world? Thus, for example, the director of a metal-working factory can earn at most 50% than a qualified worker. The director of a mine can earn at most 20% more than a qualified worker, a minister 30-50% (payroll taxes do not exist).

... that everybody in Albania who is not working in production has to physically work at least one month a year? This applies for administrative officials to professors to the top-level state functionaries.

Work of the cadres in production

Everywhere in Albania, in cities and villages, one could see leading cadres of all ranks, working people of the administration and intellectuals who worked directly in production, shoulder to shoulder with the workers and peasants. It was a principle of the socialist life in Albania that all cadres of the administration, the party, state- and economic apparatus, of the mass organisations, the army and the cadres of state companies, of agricultural collectives and the members of the intelligentsia, with the exception of old persons and those who cannot regularly take part in production because of their health or physical disablement. Productive work was also an integral part of school, next to lessons and the physical and military education.

The direct participation of leading cadres and intellectuals at work in production was a principal

aspect of social life and of vital importance for the cause of socialism.

It is not sufficient to establish the socialist ownership of the means of production. It is also necessarily needed to establish correct relationships between the leading cadres and the broad masses of the working people in town and country. On the one hand this requires the cadres to guide, lead and control but on the other hand they have to see themselves as *servants of the people*. They have to be connected closely with the masses and merge with them, learn from the, give account to the masses and to be under the actual, effective and constant control of the masses. This way centralism is correctly linked with socialist democracy.

After the victory of socialism, too, the danger exists that the leading cadres become bureaucrats, that they isolate themselves from the masses or even oppose them, that they transform from servants of the people to rulers of the people, that they degenerate, that a new anti-socialist caste or class arises; this would lead to the liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to the restoration of capitalism. The existence of such a danger was fully proven by historical experience. To ignore this danger is momentous and fatal for the fate of socialism. But it is no inevitable doom and can be avoided if effective countermeasures are taken.

Among the very important measures which the Party of Labour of Albania has taken is *the cadre rotation*, that is the relocation of cadres from leading positions to the basis and from administration to production and the other way around, the admission of more working people, especially from the ranks of workers in production, into governing bodies and furthermore the reduction of the higher wages and the creation of a correct relationship between the quality of living of the cadres and the masses as well as the increased Marxist-Leninist ideological and political education of the cadres and the struggle against technocratic aspects, etc.

The participation of the leading cadres and the intelligentsia at work in production was a major principal problem as well as strengthening the moral and political unity of the people in the struggle for the cause of building socialism and preventing the separation of theory and practice – as Lenin emphasised, one of the worst ills inherited from the old capitalist society. It was one of the most concrete and most effective ways to decrease the significant differences between physical and intellectual work.



The relationship between low and high wages

The continuous revolutionary efforts for social equality, which began with the elimination of private property of the means of production and the liquidation of the exploiting classes in Albania, developed further during the process of socialist construction by the decrease of the differences in the quality of life of the working class, the collective peasants and the other working people.

Comrade Enver Hoxha said: "Our party fights for and will always fight for the constant improvement of the life of the people, and this means for all people. Our party is guided by the correct principle that there must not be egalitarianism in the wages but also no favouritism, and this means for nobody. Every single wage has to equal the amount and quality of work done and the gap between the wages of the working people has to be reduced further and further."

The PLA took care of establishing a relationship as correct as possible between the wages of the cadres and the workers and collective peasants, a relationship which did not allow any significant differences in wages. At the same time the PLA fought against tendencies of petty-bourgeois egalitarianism in wages which is alien and harmful to socialism, too.

At the beginning of the 80s the relationship between the average wage of a worker and the salary of a plant manager in the corresponding branch was 1:1.7, the relationship between the average wage of a worker and the salary of a department head in the ministry around 1:2, the relationship between the lowest and the highest wages of the workers within the specific branch around 1:1.5-1.65, etc.

The relationship between wages is defined by law.

This is a specific and unique application of the Marxist-Leninist teaching, a great reality of proletarian justice in socialist Albania where the cadres do not exploit their position as a privilege but are connected with the masses.

The reduction of the higher wages and the measures to eliminate the excessive additions to the basic pay of those creating literature and arts, of the workers in the education field and science and to adjust the material stimuli better with the moral is an expression of the class-based treatment of the problem of the wages. This way the relationship between the masses and the cadres and the relationship between the cadres themselves were supposed to be revolutionised from the material point of view, too, because this is an essential requirement to save the people, especially the cadres, from harmful influences. Experience shows that bureaucracy is bred by high wages. The bureaucratic elements are always tending to increase the gap between the wages by different way and by all kind of methods.

Country without taxes and dues

In developing and implementing the tax policy towards the people, the Party of Labour of Albania was always aware that taxes are a temporary historical category. Therefore it prepared, step by step and with the utmost care, all the necessary conditions to abolish it. On November 8, 1969 very important measures were taken to eliminate the system of taxes and other direct charges for the population completely. This is because the area of the socialist relations of production had expanded and the productive forces of the country developed rapidly. The share of taxes and fees of the population in the income of the state budget was 92 percent in the fiscal year 1945-1946 (the first year of liberation), in 1950 it had fallen to 12.6 percent and to 2.7 percent in 1960; 1969 it was only 0.1 percent.

The process in which the taxes and fees have been abolished for the people did not take place at once and not in an administrative process. The taxes were abolished gradually, while simultaneously the socialist sector of the economy developed and the class structure of the country changed.

Article 31 of the Constitution states: "The citizens pay no taxes and fees."

Rely yourself on your own strength

The Albanian economy was based entirely on its own strength, based on its own material and financial resources without assistance and loans from abroad. The decisive factor of the revolutionary changes and achievements in socialist construction, in stability and continuous development of the economy, was the selfless work of the Albanian people itself. The principle to rely on one's own strength arises from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, according to which the

internal factor is crucial and the environmental factor remains a complementary, an auxiliary factor. Already at the time of the anti-fascist National Liberation War the Albanian people, relied entirely on its own forces, won through its armed struggle for freedom and independence of the country. Similarly, the construction of socialist society, the development of economy and culture as well as the defence of the achievements will never be due to help from the outside.

The experience of Albania showed that every nation, large or small, is able to manage the economy and to develop it in an independent manner, if it bases itself on its own strength.

Relying on its own strength, important steps forward were taken in the SPR Albania to expose the natural resources and the water resources and exploit them rationally. The producing and manufacturing heavy industry developed, and the industrial reserves of natural resources increased steadily. The development of the economy was based on the raw material and energy resources of the country, on the producing and processing of oil and natural gas, coal and the production of electric energy. Albania had no debts and did not base its own plans for development on foreign credits.

To rely on one's own strength is not a temporary and cyclical policy. It is not a policy of autarchy and isolation in the national scarf. All nations, big or small, make their own contribution to the question of the revolution and building socialism. The principle of relying on your own strength excludes the internationalist aid of the world proletariat and the socialist countries by no means, but on the contrary requires them.

The retirement age

The Albanian socialist legislation does not define an uniform limit on the retirement age or on the length of service. The retirement age and years of service necessary for obtaining a pension were determined primarily by the difficulty of the work and by the gender. The more difficult the work is, the lower is the retirement age. According to this principle the workers were divided in three categories regarding the retirement age: The first category includes the working people who do work that is considered very hard. In this case, the pension age for women was set at 45 years and for men at 50 years. The required period of service for women was 15 years and for men 20 years. This category includes the workers who were working underground, some occupations in the metallurgy and chemical industry, the working people who work at the blast furnaces, on metal melting and casting, etc., the workers involved in the production of ammonium nitrate and superphosphate. Similarly, the working people who are exposed to radioactive substances and ionising irradiation belong to this category, further some occupations in the civilian air traffic as well as in education and in the field of culture, like dancers, acrobats, circus performers, musicians who play wind instruments, members of dance companies, etc. In the health sector the radiologist, the staff of the cobalt therapy departments and others are included.

The second category includes the workers who carry out less heavy work than that of the first category. For them the retirement age is set to 50 years for women and to 55 years for men, the length of service to 20 or 25 years. The right to a pension under this category belongs to the workers in some occupations in oil and gas industry, a number of other occupations in metallurgy and chemical industries, who do a less hard work than those of the first category. Similarly, some occupations among this category were geology, the textile industry, leather industry, the tobacco industry, some jobs in the commercial fleet; furthermore the fishing workers, teachers, surgeons, psychiatrists and others are covered in this group.

The third category includes all workers who carry out other work that does not belong to the first or second category. The retirement age in this case is 55 years for women and 60 for men, the length of service 20 or 25 years.

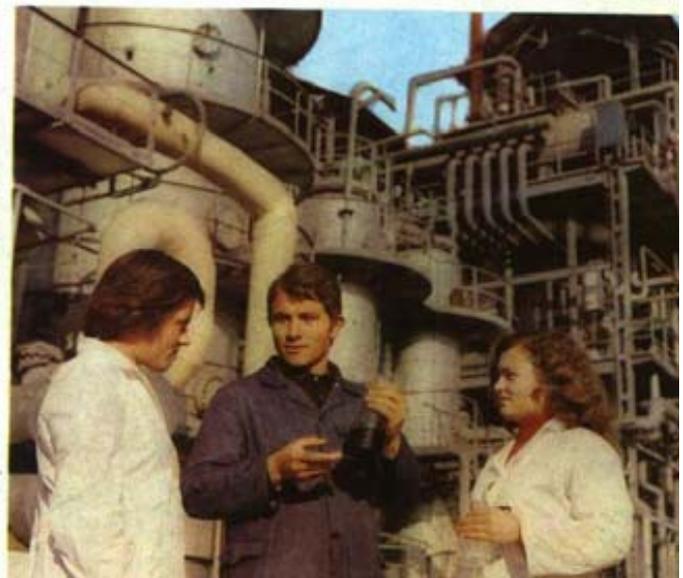
In order to receive a pension at the age of 45, 50 or 55 years, it is sufficient when the worker was active for three quarters of his service in one of these occupations. For the workers in the mines, it is sufficient if they had spent half their working lives underground in order to obtain the pension of the first category. For example, if a miner of a chrome mine who has worked 10 years underground,

changed at his own request to a work in another place, say as a mechanic in a metal processing plant, where he will work another 10 years, then he was entitled to a full retirement pension at the age of 50 years because he had spent half his service underground. For some special categories of workers pensions are provided at even more favourable conditions.

These, for example, include mothers with many children, the blind, deaf and persons with congenital physical damage. The former - the mothers with many children - may retire after 15 years of service and at the age of 50 years, if they gave birth to six or more children and raised them till the age of eight years. Blind, etc., receive pension after 15 (men) or 10 (women) years of service if they are 50 or 40 years of age.

There is also a pension "for special merits." This pension goes to persons who made an enormous contribution in the great anti-fascist National Liberation War, or who decorated themselves in the field of science, technology, culture, in public or social branches of the economy.

In the period of socialist construction not only the workers from the city, but also those of the village received the benefits of the pension. The pension was for the working people of town and country alike, it was 70 percent of their salary. For the calculation of this pension the worker had the right to pick the highest wage he received for three consecutive years in the last 10 years.



Enver Hoxha: A Life for Communism

The Communist Party of Albania was created, grew, and proved to be a leader of unparalleled ability and authority in the revolutionary struggle against the fascist occupiers and traitors. It did not wait until it had previously learned the Marxist-Leninist theory in order to only take up the fight then. It learned the Marxist-Leninist theory in the fire of battle, in complicated situations and put this theory faithfully and creatively at the same time into practice.

Albania, this small country at the Adriatic Sea, was at the beginning of the 20th Century a very poor country. There were more than 90% illiterates, almost no schools, few doctors, no industry, vast marshes, hardly any roads, no means of transport, no railways, etc. etc. Those who had bread were considered rich. There were reactionary, medieval ideologies and practices such as blood vengeance. The relations between people among each other were feudal. Woman was the slave of man. In November 1917 the working class and the poor peasantry of Russia, led by the Bolshevik Party, overthrew the power of the capitalists and established the dictatorship of the proletariat. The echo of the October Revolution was also felt in Albania. The first brochures about Russia and communism came from abroad. They were read within small circles of workers and intellectuals. The Comintern made valuable contributions to the building of a communist party. In 1928, Albanians in exile in the Soviet Union founded the Albanian Communist Group. According to the statute of this group it was their task to build further illegal communist groups in Albania and to spark a revolutionary activity. Connections were made to the already existing small communist groups in Albania. Already during his youth Enver Hoxha (born at 16th October 1908 in Gjirokastër) experienced the activities of the various occupiers and superpowers which oppressed and exploited Albania. In 1924 he joined the democratic movement. In 1930 he graduated from the high school of Korca. There he was for the first time thrown into jail by the reactionary Zog officials because he protested fellow comrades against theft committed against students. For some years Enver Hoxha stayed in France to study at the university. He began to sympathise with the French Communist Party and published materials about the Zog regime in Albania in their newspaper "Humanite". His scholarship was revoked, so that Enver Hoxha was forced to accept work at the Albanian consulate in Belgium. But here, too, Zog's agents had him dismissed (Ahmet Zog came to power in 1924 through the military overthrow of the bourgeois-democratic government of Fan Noli). He returned to Albania in 1936. The years of struggle had turned Enver Hoxha into a communist. He first worked as teacher at the secondary school in Tirana, then at the high school of Korca. In Korca he became one of the most active members of the Communist Group of Korca. He was also active in the organisation "Rinia Korcare" (Korca Youth). On 7th April 1939 the Italian fascist troops invaded Albania. The Albanian people felt consequences of the occupation very soon. Hundreds of patriots were imprisoned or detained to concentration camps. But the Fascists were met with the bitter resistance of the people. The communists put themselves at the top, although they were not yet organised into a single party. On the decision of the Communist Group of Korca, Enver Hoxha was sent to Tirana in order to develop the anti-fascist work there. He used this task to determinedly struggle for the unity of the various communist groups in Albania and for the foundation of the Communist Party. There was much resistance from the ranks of the communist groups against establishing a uniform CP. Opportunism, group spirit, sectarianism, etc., inhibited this process. The "Korca" group, the "Shkodra" group, the "Youth" group or the "Zjarri" group – all posed as the "Communist Party of Albania". No leader wanted give up his position. "His" group was more important than the movement. The "Theory of Cadres", for example, was spread which said that the communists should not organise and mobilise the masses, but encapsulate themselves in their cells and deal primarily with theoretical education, with the "training of cadres." Only afterwards the revolutionary activity could begin. The "Youth" Group was of the opinion that there is no proletariat in Albania, and therefore no class struggle. Fascism was considered beneficial for Albania, because this way capitalism develops and the proletariat grows. The leaders of the "Shkodra" group saw no problem with testifying in court. In January 1939

they betrayed their comrades in court. The court sentenced 52 defendants to various punishments. The leaders of the "Shkodra" group regarded the denunciation as a mean to test the comrades in the face of torture by the enemy. Trotskyism and Anarchism was widespread in all groups. But enough examples. These leaders of the communist groups were not suited to create a unified communist party. On the contrary, they were an obstacle. The Albanian communists fought actively against the fascists, they organised the resistance of the people. They fought as partisans in the mountains. However, the fragmentation was a hindrance. It had to be overcome. In a backward country such as Albania and under the conditions of the fascist occupation it was extremely difficult to unite the local communist groups. From 8th – 14th November 1941, representatives of various communist groups gathered in Tirana. The pressure of the base, and Enver's efforts led to this meeting. 15 representatives of the communist groups took part: Qemal Stafa, Vasil Shanto, Pilo Peristeri, and others. A provisional Central Committee was elected and Enver Hoxha was put at the head. Furthermore it was decided that the leaders of the communist groups had to assign all links to members of their group to the Central Committee. Thus, the fragmentation in different groups was brought to an end. The merger did not happen through negotiations, but by the pressure of the base. The need for a single CP became more and more obvious to the communists. Each group fought the fascists on its own. The Communist Party was born in the fire of class struggle, in the struggle against its own leaders. The party was initially very small. It counted about 400 members (In comparison: Albania at that time had about 1 million inhabitants, Germany has today over 80 million, thus an equally small party would then have to have 80 x 400, approximately 32,000 members. We are still far away from this). The CPA, which later renamed itself into Party of Labour of Albania, immediately started to organise a National Liberation Army and lead the armed struggle against the fascists. Besides of the CPA there was no other political party or force in Albania which pursued this goal. This way the CPA united not only the small number of workers but also farmers, craftsmen, etc. in the anti-fascist resistance for the liberation of Albania. With the CPA the force had emerged which could do this great work. It was a battle full of sacrifices. First the Italian, then German fascists resided inhumanely in Albania: 28,000 Albanian women and men left their lives for freedom, 7.3% of the population were killed or severely wounded, 21% of houses were destroyed, one third of the livestock was annihilated, the few bridges, factories, workshops, ports, etc. destroyed or damaged.



The liberation of Albania

Although more than 700,000 fascist soldiers set fascist foot on Albanian ground during WW2 (the population of Albania was at that time around one million), although the fascists resided brutish, they were beaten. Comrade Enver Hoxha was the head of the CPA and the National Liberation Army. All the revolutionary, national, democratic and progressive forces were united. People's councils were elected. And finally, on 28th November 1944 the Democratic Government of Albania took residence in Tirana and took power. A day later, on 29th November '44, the last Albanian town, Shkodra, was freed.

Thus, the decades-long struggles and efforts of the Albanian people to achieve independence and freedom from foreign powers were crowned with success. Enver Hoxha and the Albanian Communists and together with them the entire Albanian people took over a troubled legacy – the term "difficult" is actually flattering. For the Zog regime and the fascists had left nothing on which one could have built an independent, progressive Albania. On the contrary! They had destroyed everything. The Albanian communists and Enver Hoxha did not shy away from these difficulties. They rolled up their sleeves and set about to satisfy the most urgent needs of the people. Marshes were drained, the grain production expanded, irrigation systems were built in order to secure bread. Schools were built, literacy courses were run, professionals were trained to provide a minimum of culture and education. Factories were rebuilt and expanded, water power stations and railway lines were built, new industrial facilities were constructed to go the first steps on the way to a modern industry. Health and hygiene were developed, doctors and nurses were trained in order to dam the worst epidemics and diseases. The success of the first years of the construction of the People's Republic of Albania alone surpassed all developments of the previous decades in Albania by far. In Albania development had stopped. The people lived in hunger and misery. Now the country awakened, lived, and stormily went forward.

Constant struggle

Soon Albania and the Albanian party had to make the experience that not everyone who calls himself a communist really is one. Tito in Yugoslavia turned to the Western capital, took loans from the US imperialists, tried to break down the socialist countries, etc. He also targeted Albania. Under "fraternal kisses" he wanted to turn Albania into a province of Yugoslavia. Tito called himself "Marxist", but he bent Marxism in every way to fit his power interests. He revised Marxism – therefore such people are called revisionists. Tito became the agent of capital in the socialist camp, who wanted to sow his revisionism, his betrayal of Marxism, in all communist parties.

The Party of Labour of Albania and Albania were in immediate danger. Tito and his men had already created groups in Albania and in the Albanian party, who worked for his goals. Tito talked about "democracy", but in practice he worked with the means of conspiracy and his secret service (a characteristic of all revisionists by the way).

Comrade Enver Hoxha was the one who defended Marxism as well as the independence of Albania and the PLA against Tito's attacks. Together with Stalin and the Cominform office he led a determined fight against Tito's betrayal. But this was only the beginning of a disastrous development for Marxism and socialism. The adherence to Marxism-Leninism and not least the experience with the Titoists made the Albanian communists ears and sensitive to the developments in the Soviet Union after Stalin's death. Nikita Khrushchev was the one who advised the Albanians to make their country an orchard, he would send the bread: "The wheat you need is less than that consumed by our mice!", said Khrushchev. Additionally there were plans to massively extend the Albanian port of Vlorë as a base for the Soviet fleet. Albania's independence was once again in danger. "We have fought barefoot without bread, but we never bent!" - this answer by Enver describes the Albanian position. When it became clear that Khrushchev and his associates had irrevocably taken the path of treason and could not be moved to return to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the Party of Labour of Albania and Enver Hoxha argued for dealing with the traitor as enemies and draw a clear dividing line. After the severance of diplomatic relations by Khrushchev in 1961, the withdrawal of Albania from the Warsaw Treaty

followed the invasion of the ČSSR by Soviet troops in 1968.

In all these situations, Enver Hoxha consistently adhered to Marxism-Leninism. Pressure, economic blackmail and military threats never led him to betray his beliefs and to bow out of opportunism. When Khrushchev threatened Albania with military intervention, that brought him nothing except Enver fighting even more fiercely against this brand new imperialists with the socialist mask.

Struggle against Maoism

The PLA had closer ties with the Chinese only after 1956. These contacts increased as a result of the battle the PLA led against Khrushchevite modern revisionism. As the Khrushchevites intensified their attack against Marxism-Leninism in the late 50's they targeted the Communist Party of China. The PLA came to the aid of the CP of China in this period. Under the assumption that China was a socialist country and the Communist Party a Marxist-Leninist party, the PLA always showed solidarity with China. At the same time the PLA viewed the anti-Marxist attitudes and actions, that could be found on many instances among the Chinese leaders, with concern; it expressed critical opinions about what happened in China, as far as it was really possible.

In the summer of 1971, the US Secretary of State made a secret visit to Beijing, held talks and arranged a visit of US President Nixon in China. The visit took place in 1972. Mao received Nixon personally. This event marked a fundamental turning point in Chinese politics. China had taken its place in the dance of the imperialist rivalries to redistribute the world in order to secure its share, taking the side of one superpower, the USA, against the other superpower, the Soviet Union. For this reason, it was necessary indicate through a letter to the Central Committee of the CP of China that Albania objects determinedly against this new course.

"We Albanian Communists", Enver said in *Imperialism and Revolution*, "have gradually formed our opinions and conviction about the danger presented by 'Mao Zedong Thought'."

Comrade Enver analysed the Chinese policy based on the Chinese press and foreign press. The Albanian Embassy in Beijing was the most important source of information. The PLA only rarely received information on Chinese policies through the official channels and by the Chinese leaders. Since the information was fragmented and inadequate, the Albanian communists were forced to speculate and draw conclusions.

Comrade Enver Hoxha subjected Chinese revisionism to a comprehensive analysis. Chinese revisionism openly showed itself in the early seventies, but it did not emerge only at that time, let alone only after the death of Mao Zedong. It is rooted ideologically and theoretically in the so-called "Mao Zedong Thought" which began to form in particular after 1935, when Mao Zedong came to the party leadership. "Mao Zedong Thought" is fundamentally different from Marxism-Leninism. They are an amalgam of views, where ideas and theories borrowed from Marxism have been mixed with Confucian, Buddhist, Anarchist, Trotskyist, Titoite, Khrushchevite and Eurocommunist ideas and theories together with strong nationalist and racist impact.

It is exactly this mix of all sorts of idealistic, pragmatic and revisionist philosophies which has made "Mao Zedong Thought" into a weapon of every fractionist current and line in China in the fight of each against everybody or in the frame of temporary co-existence. For these reasons, the CP of China never succeeded at any time to become a truly proletarian party on questions of ideology, politics, composition and organisational structure. For these reasons the bourgeois-democratic revolution in China did not proceed into the socialist revolution, did not lead to the establishment of the true proletarian dictatorship and did not bring the country on the true path of socialist development.

Mao Zedong had a reputation of a great Marxist-Leninist and described himself as a communist. But he was not. He was just a democratic revolutionary who united some elements of Marxist-Leninist philosophy with idealism, with bourgeois-revisionist philosophy and with the ancient Chinese philosophy in an eclectic way.

The 7th Party Congress of the PLA

As the Party Congress had predicted, the imperialists and revisionists increased the pressure on Albania to prevent it proceeding forward on the path of socialism. The Albania-hostile activities of the Chinese leadership in particular were reinforced under the banner of revenge against the PLA, which had exercised a principled critique of the anti-Marxist theory of "Three Worlds" at its 7th Party Congress. It tried to sabotage the Party Congress by directed provocations. The exiled president of the illegal Communist Party of Poland, Kazimierz Mijal, had been incited by the Chinese and was supposed to provoke at the Party. So he rioted in Tirana under the influence of alcohol, called the Central Committee of the PLA and Enver Hoxha traitors and much more. Soon it would show that the CP of China used its influence on the international Marxist-Leninist world movement to divide it. They invited Tito to Beijing, whom they now called a "great Marxist-Leninist" leader. In Germany the "Peking Review" (45/77) spread the "The Worlds Theory" as "new general line" ("The Theory of Chairman Mao on the division of the world into three - an important contribution to Marxism-Leninism"). Under the pretext that there are little differences between the organisations calling themselves Marxist-Leninist and that one could come to terms and unite with all of them, the Chinese Maoists officially got into contact with all organisations (KPD/AO, KBW, etc.). Simultaneously, the only party previously recognised as Communist Party, the KPD/ML, was fought. By means of repression, division attempts, slander and intrigue the CP of China tried to drag the Marxist-Leninist movement on its counter-revolutionary side.

It was clear that the Chinese revisionists would suffer defeat in the ideological field against the PLA. But within the framework of intergovernmental relations, particularly in the economic and military sphere, they thought to punish Albania. Immediately after the 7th Party Congress numerous goods, machinery and equipment, which China was under a contractual obligation to supply, arrived defect or not at all. Meanwhile, the Chinese specialists working in Albania committed various acts of sabotage on instructions from above. In order to be prepared for the emerging new situation, the Central Committee took all necessary measures to ensure that the communists and the whole people were prepared and ready in all respects to strengthen the confidence in their own strength. Just as once the Khrushchevites, the Chinese leadership, to, turned to openly Albanian-hostile activities and announced on 7th July 1978 their decision to terminate Albania's economic and military loans and aid with immediate effect and to withdraw all specialists from Albania. This act was the logical consequence of the course which they pursued for the capitalist development of China and for its transformation into a social-imperialist superpower. When China broke all contracts, left works half-finished in which Albania had already invested millions, this did not lead to resignation and chaos in Albania, but to a rearing of the entire people and the PLA to overcome these difficulties. The clear, unwavering attitude of PLA and Enver had support among the people and was understood there. The working people were not masses to manoeuvre for him, but active participants in this struggle against the betrayal of socialism.

Modern Albania

Under Enver Hoxha's leadership, the Albanian industry and agriculture was developed. It was a great victory for Albania that could independently produce spare parts now and thus reduce the dependence on the deliveries of capital, a dependence in which many developing countries are caught. It was a great victory for Albania to produce its own power and to even export it, because there was surplus. The electrification, the first own steel, an expanding resource extraction, a growing railway network, the first own tractor – all of these were victories. Under Enver Hoxha's leadership, Albania managed to jump from a semi-feudal country to an industrial-agricultural state. All these successes could only have been achieved by socialism and a planned economy. Other developing countries on a comparable level, living in the blessings of the market economy, can only dream of such success. There the masses are impoverished more and more. The planned economy made it possible to put the few economic reserves of the country in the most important sectors and this way to enable a rapid and effective build-up. The plan was never something dead in Albania, but always a combat mission. Of course, the Albanian industry had not the level of major Western

imperialist economies. This was hardly possible given the starting conditions and the conditions of an imperialist world market in which the small nations will be dictated. The successes of the socialist planned economy must be evaluated even higher in light of these factors. The great economic development of Albania made social and cultural progress possible which previously was unthinkable in Albania and which remain unthinkable even in many industrialised countries. There were no taxes and inflation. Medical care was free and so good that Albania had the lowest infant mortality in Europe.

Of course, many a medical device was simple. But in reality colourful pills and sparkling appliances do not say everything about the quality of medical care. Men could receive pension when 60 years old, women at the age of 55 years. Rents were extremely cheap. Where people once lived in mud huts, etc., now everyone had a roof over his/her head, even if not luxurious. Over 70% of the young people received a higher education. Technical colleges and the first university of the country, the Enver Hoxha University, were constructed. The list could be continued indefinitely.

Dictatorship of the proletariat

Under the leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha, socialism was built in Albania and the dictatorship of the proletariat was realised. Dictatorship of the proletariat, in Albania this was not the dictatorship of bureaucrats over the proletariat, but in fact the rule of the working class. It decided together with its party the plan and the course. It could recall deputies and directors if they did not act in the interests of the working people. The party put itself and the state apparatus consciously under the control of the working people. This way it took the consequences from the degeneration of the USSR and Eastern European countries. Cadres regularly had to work in production. The wages of a factory director, a minister, a university professor were based on the average wage of a worker. Wage differences were 1:1.5. This sounds unlikely for us, but it is possible in a country that is actually governed by the working class. The prices for consumer goods, services, etc. did not rise like we are "used to it", on the contrary: there have again and again been price reductions! New party members were checked by their colleagues. Each official and functionary could be publicly criticised and had to publicly comment on this. The Party discussed all major issues discussed with the masses. Only this way, e.g. the life-threatening situations during the attempted annexation by Yugoslavia, the military threats of Khrushchev, the Chinese economic sabotage, could be mastered. Enver Hoxha was a champion for the close connection between the Albanian Party and the working people. He fought tirelessly against all forms of bureaucracy, against any tendency of degeneration.

Enver Hoxha defended Marxism-Leninism against the revisionists of all shades

Getting to know the Tito revisionists shaped Enver's further development. It was a fight to the death. The experience helped the Party of Labour of Albania to recognise the "false" Marxism, i.e. revisionism, as a lethal threat. "... that we have to deal with revisionists, tricksters, hypocrites, swindlers, with shameless individuals that are selling out Marxism-Leninism." (Enver Hoxha, *The Superpowers*, p.35)

The defence of Marxism-Leninism was from now on the driving force. After this poison affected most communist parties, made them degenerate into revisionist parties, Comrade Enver Hoxha supported and helped the new, developing Marxist-Leninist parties. The building of Bolshevik parties was and had to be carried out in the fight against modern revisionism. The lessons Comrade Enver Hoxha drew out of the degeneration, are an immeasurable treasure.

Revisionism in Albania

The experiences of the degeneration of communist parties state:

Communists should not "be unconditionally loyal" to any apparatus nor party, because each apparatus, each party may change its class character under certain conditions or be previously used by hostile or wavering, opportunistic or certain forces pursuing self-interest to a certain degree.

Today, Enver Hoxha is portrayed as a monster by the bourgeois press, as somebody who bloodily suppressed a whole nation. This is the same game as for Stalin. Everywhere we hear talks about "errors" and Enver's Albania is attacked. Of course Enver made errors. How could there be no errors in such a long life, full of battles? But above all: his errors are nothing compared to the merits and successes of Enver Hoxha. Under his leadership Albania was an encouragement for all progressive and revolutionary people around the world. For two and a half decades Albania was the only country in the world where socialism existed (until the mid-80s). It was "a liberated zone" in the literal sense of the word. From Albania all world could hear the voice of the revolution, socialism and communism. Albania supported all progressive movements, all true Marxist-Leninist parties. It was a role model for the working people of the world. The experiences won in class struggle are available and are essential for re-building socialism. It is an encouraging fact that such a small country resisted the imperialist-revisionist encirclement that long. Even an anti-communist wave in Albania cannot darken Enver Hoxha's merits for his country and the world revolution in the long run. On the contrary! The rapid integration of today's Albania into the capitalist market economy emphasised the achievements of Albania under socialism even more. The sordid reality of reintroduced capitalism, unemployment, exploitation, dependence, poverty and hunger will make the work of Comrade Enver Hoxha even shine brighter.

As the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania announced on 11th April 1985, that the heart of Comrade Enver Hoxha had stopped beating at 02.15 am, this message was received with great pain by the Albanian people. Million people around the world mourned one of the greatest Marxist-Leninists of the 20th Century.

THERE WILL BE NO DEATH FOR ENVER HOXHA, ONLY HIS DATE OF BIRTH EXISTS



On Enver: Some read some of his texts. But did they really study him?

For example:

The question of a Youth League:

It should be a communist one. This view was widespread after 1968.

But it did not take into account the complicated conditions in an imperialist state, such as the FRG. Enver variously analysed this situation and was not of the opinion that a communist youth organisation should be first established.

Thus, in a dialogue of Enver Hoxha with João Amazonas on 25th July 1980 (Selected Works VI, Tirana 1987, p.65):

"(...) it is for the Marxist-Leninist parties to exercise their influence and to create the front of the youth. This front cannot be built - as some think - by creating a communist youth organisation. No, this would be a very narrow organisation that many young people would not join. But if a broad populist organization is established, then tens of thousands of young people will flow into it. It is for the party to work out how this youth organisation should be created and how it could gradually substantiate its work. The Marxist-Leninist communists may have clear ideas, but they must ensure in their work that the youth understands and accepts these ideas, while they always watch over the unity of their own ranks."

Or let's take the question of the dissolution of the Comintern:

The Party of Labour of Albania was of the opinion that there should no new Comintern at the present time. The PLA supported all true Marxist-Leninist parties, held bilateral talks and invited all Marxist-Leninist parties to their Party Conferences.

In his book "The Khrushchevites" (162 - 165), Enver writes about the Comintern:

"The decisions of the Comintern and Dimitrov's direction-giving speech in July 1935 have gone down in the history of the international communist movement as major documents which mobilized the peoples, and first of all the communists, to create the anti-fascist front and to organize themselves for armed struggle against Italian fascism, German Nazism and Japanese militarism. In this struggle, the communists and their parties were in the forefront everywhere.

Therefore, it is a crime to attack the great work of the Comintern and the Marxist-Leninist authority of Stalin, which played a major role in the creation and the organizational, political and ideological consolidation of the communist and workers' parties of the world. For its part, the Bolshevik Party was a powerful aid for those parties, and the Soviet Union, with Stalin at the head, was a great potential in support of the revolution in the international arena.

Imperialism, the capitalist bourgeoisie and its fascist dictatorship fought the Soviet Union, the Bolshevik Party and Stalin, with all their might, waged a stern struggle against the Comintern and the communist and workers' parties of every country and ruled the working class with terror, bloodshed and demagogy.

When Nazi Germany attacked the Soviet Union, the communist and workers' parties of various countries took up arms, united with the other patriots and democrats in their own countries and fought the fascist invaders. Because of this natural struggle, the enemies of communism said: "The communist and workers' parties have put themselves in the service of Moscow." This was a slander. The communist and workers' parties fought for the liberation of their own peoples, fought for the working class and people to take power. In the great alliance of the anti-fascist war, the sympathies of these parties were with the Soviet Union, because it was the most reliable guarantee for the victory.

It was Stalin himself, who, on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, announced the decision for the disbanding of the Comintern and the reason given was that no further need was felt

for its existence. This stand was completely correct, because by that time, the communist and workers' parties had become mature and militant, had been tempered in class battles and in the great war against fascism and had gained colossal experience. Now, each party could march on its own feet and had Marxism-Leninism as its unerring guide.

After the Second World War the Information Bureau of communist and workers' parties was formed. It was necessary to create this, because the parties of socialist countries and those of capitalist countries, especially of Europe, needed to exchange their very valuable experience. The exchange of experience between our parties was especially necessary in the unsettled period immediately after the war, when American and British imperialism wanted to interfere by any means in the internal affairs of the countries which had won their freedom.

Reaction, and Tito and the Titoites, later, wanted and fought to place the countries of Eastern Europe in a dilemma; with the assistance of the British, they tried to bring reaction to power in Czechoslovakia and to bring about the same thing in Albania, Romania, Poland and elsewhere.

The "Marxist" Tito made a major issue of the Venezia Giulia province, claiming that the Soviet Union was not assisting him to take this province, which he described as entirely Yugoslav, while this same "Marxist" not only did not raise the issue of Kosova, which was truly Albanian, in order to give it to Albania to which it belonged, but did his utmost to prevent any talk about it. The Belgrade clique massacred people from Kosova, alleging that they were Ballists, and later also attempted to gobble up the whole of Albania and turn it into the seventh republic of Yugoslavia.

The Information Bureau uncovered the treachery of the Yugoslav revisionists and this was one of its historic deeds and a tribute to the revolutionary vigilance of Stalin. Tito was exposed and condemned with ample, incontestable facts and subsequent events completely confirmed his betrayal."

Excerpts from: **The Unknown Opposition in the GDR – Communist Workers against the Honecker Regime**



„Brutale Verletzung des Prinzips der Gleichheit und Unabhängigkeit der marxistisch-leninistischen Parteien“

Aus der Rede des Genossen Enver Hodscha zum 20. Jahrestag der Gründung der Partei der Arbeit Albaniens

„Unsere geheiligte Freundschaft mit den zumrückten Brudervölkern der Sowjetunion... werden wir wie unseren Augapfel bewahren, wie die allerwertbarste Sache. Diese Freundschaft ist in der Vergangenheit und wird in der Zukunft nicht zerissen werden — weder durch die Manöver der Imperialisten noch durch die Intrigen der Renegatenbande Tito, noch durch die Verleumdungen, Erpressungen und die Blockade Nikita Chruschtschows. In der Außenpolitik ist unsere Partei und unsere Regierung immer an der Seite der anderen sozialistischen Länder marschiert in der Beförderung, den Frieden in der Welt aufrechtzuerhalten und zu konsolidieren. Sie hat sich immer die Generallinie der Außenpolitik der UdSSR und der anderen sozialistischen Länder zur Regelung der wichtigsten internationalen Probleme gebilligt und unterstützt. Und diese Außenpolitik der Volksrepublik Albanien hat immer die volle Zustimmung der UdSSR und der anderen sozialistischen Länder erhalten, die sie immer als eine richtige Politik im Hinblick auf unser gemein-

schaftlicher Frieden des XI. Parteitag der KPdSU stimmt unsere Partei nicht mit der sowjetischen Meinung überein, welche auch gelegentlich nicht mit einigen sozialistischen Fraktionen der Partei teilt und auch mit dem neuen Parteiprogramm der KPdSU übereinstimmt. Entsprechend den kommunistischen Prinzipien, die zwischen den marxistischen Parteien maßgeblich sind, können die Beschlüsse des Parteitages einer Partei, so wichtig dieser auch sei und so groß auch die Parteipolitik der Partei sein, allein maßgeblich für ihre eigenen Mitglieder sein. Der Verlust, die Entlassungen und die Parteiverluste für alle anderen

Von Genossen zu Genossen

Wir albanischen Kommunisten werden uns nicht in der Absicht an die Genossen der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, aus in die inneren Verhältnisse der DDR und der SED unter der Führung des Genossen Walter Ulbricht einzumischen. Natürlich wäre es uns lieber, wenn sich die kämpferische Partei der deutschen Arbeiterklasse in der notwendigen Auseinandersetzung nicht auf die Seite der opportunistischen Chruschtschow-Klique schlagen, sondern an der konsequenten Zurückweisung und Liquidierung aller Versuche teilnehmen würden, die

Our Albanian comrades

Through a comrade from the army I had received the address of the Albanian Embassy in Berlin. A contact with the Albanian comrades came about quickly. From 1974 on there were extensive discussions with the Albanians. Comrade Idris Bardhi, an outstanding Albanian Bolshevik, became my main confidant. I could discuss all political issues at length with him. He had studied in the GDR in the 50s and was perfectly familiar with the local conditions. His knowledge was always amazing for me. The atmosphere, the interaction among the Albanian comrades – I had never previously experienced anything like it. They were comrades from a genuine socialist country, who knew no airs and graces, who had a completely different way with one another than the “Herr Comrades” of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany]. Even though I never was a member of the FDJ [Free German Youth] or the SED, the situations there were clear enough to get you a picture.

Comrade Idris Bardhi was in his mid-forties when I met him. We were colleagues, both machinists, and we exchanged some experiences at the beginning. And here already the differences between the GDR and Albania showed. Although he was a diplomat, he had to go back to Albania once a year and work in production there. But this time was not to rest and was not formally paid. In these 4 weeks he had to achieve at least 90 percent of the standard. The other comrades of the embassy, too, had to go home, into production. For the leading comrades the work in the production was a measure of the socialist society, in order to prevent phenomena like in the revisionist states. This cadre policy was completely different than in the GDR. Skilled workers often received more pay than their director. In whole Albania the pay gap between the lowest pay and the highest was 1:2.8. The goal was to adjust the living standard of the leading cadres, the artists and scientists of the high category and the standard of living of the working people of the country as far as possible. Taxes were unknown for years. The policy of the comrades in Albania was not arbitrary and certainly not spontaneous. The Party of Labour of Albania (PLA) drew the consequences from the bitter experiences of the revisionist countries, where bureaucracy was one of the main causes of degeneration. The struggle against bureaucracy was one of the priorities in Albania. Therefore a profound mobilization work had to be done, the broad masses had to govern the country and the economic management. Effects such as inefficiency, nepotism, favouritism, misuse of public office, inertia, arrogance, arrogant and inattentive attitude towards the working people, choking the voice of the masses - these bureaucratic phenomena had to be fought.

And they were fought in Albania, unlike here. Bureaucratic phenomena were part of the daily life in the GDR and over the years they became more pronounced. In the GDR it was out of question for high cadres to assist in production. In Albania, the tables for the apparatus and administration were reduced and simplified – in complete opposition to the GDR. Here production relied more and more on material incentives. Bonuses were in the foreground. The “bloated machinery” grew and grew.

In the Albanian socialist society measures were constantly taken to ensure that the ideological and political educational work of the Party was carried out. The main objective was to educate people on the socialist attitude towards work. The essence was to put the common interest of the people, of socialism above the self-interest. This required, of course, concrete steps. Material incentives, which were paid in the form of bonuses, were indeed still necessary. The main task of the Communist Party was the education of the working people. Therefore, the method of persuasion was used. The high level of revolutionary consciousness that is needed for the construction of socialism does not arise spontaneously and can not arise spontaneously; it develops through the Marxist-Leninist science, the party brings it to the masses by all its daily educational work. Then Comrade Idris mentioned very casually that in Albania the military insignia would just be removed. This would be preposterous in the GDR!

In the further course of our conversation, he then explained this measure and why the comrades enforced it.

I wanted to know why Albania did not travel on that disastrous road to revisionism as the other

countries of Eastern Europe. To explain this, he outlined the situation in Albania long before the liberation. Back then, there were some communist groups, scattered across the country. It was not possible to establish a united communist party.

In 1939, Mussolini signed the plan for the military occupation of Albania. During this time of danger of an Italian fascist aggression, there were renewed attempts to unify the Communists. But even this failed because of the leaders of the various groups. At the same time there was a wave of arrests by the royal gendarmes of Zog. The communist Shkordra group was wiped out. The group leaders made extensive testimony in front of the investigating judge. They regarded the denunciation as a mean to test the comrades by torture by the enemy's hand. How absurd!

A number of group leaders presented their theories in order to show that they were the "real leaders" of a united Communist Party. The leadership of the Youth Group thought, for example, the cadres must not connect with the masses, because this would endanger them. Others again propagated a new "theory" after the occupation: that the fascist stronghold had to be taken from within.

Therefore, the Communists, rather than openly fighting against the occupiers, would have to rise in their political and administrative apparatus. Trotskyists dug in the communist movement: people like Niko Xoxi promoted the tactic of destroying and disintegrating the other communist groups. This was to happen in a planned manner, so that at the end only one's own group would remain and then would be the only Communist Party.

These absurd "theorists" did not only exist in Albania. Even today self-appointed "leaders of the workers' movement" develop similar "theories". Comrade Idris then went on about the multitude of communist organisations in Germany. Especially in Germany and Austria, theorising is typical. Infinitely long debates that usually end in vain, build barriers and hinder building a unified Communist Party. The pursuit of a completely "new human", who is already created under capitalism, is characteristically. The organisations develop codes of conduct and patterns for their members. You are supposed not smoke, drink, curse, tell bad jokes, etc. A lot of time is wasted by creating the "true Communist". The situation in Albania was similar. Especially in times of absence of a revolutionary situation, phenomena of this kind are widespread.

That only changed after the occupation of the country. All across the country the anti-fascist people's movement grew. The communists were at its head. The occupation of the country had caused a radical change in their mind. The ordinary members of the groups recognised more and more that the merger could not be achieved by fruitless negotiations between the leaders, but only by a common struggle against the occupiers. The ideological differences moved back and the authority of the leaders decreased. In the united struggle with the goal of liberation, the communists at the base of the various groups united together and called for a merge to a single party. Comrade Enver Hoxha worked out the foundations for the merger of the communists. The beginning of the armed resistance of the communists was one of the main reasons for a unified Communist Party. The Communist Party was born in battle and not by negotiations at the green table. The ordinary communists, the party base, forced the unity of all communists in fierce class struggle. The Anti-Fascist National Liberation Movement of Albania succeeded in cleaning the country of the fascist robbers all on its own. Units of the People's Liberation Army helped the Yugoslav Liberation Army in the fight against the Nazi fascists. The Albanian communists benefited from the fact that they were the only relevant political force acting in the political arena. The bourgeoisie was only very little organised and because of this the Communists had a decisive advantage in the struggle for power. Albania was the only country in Europe that did not have to be liberated from the outside. Based on its own forces, involved in the anti-Hitler coalition, and under the leadership of the communists, the Albanian people succeeded in liberating the country. The basis for the transformation of the country was different than in those countries which, for example, were liberated by the Red Army of the Soviet Union. The firm base of the communists, the people's confidence was always greater in Albania than in the other countries of Eastern Europe. There were many topics we discussed. The talks and discussions were to exchange our views. The Albanian comrades were never instructive. Sometimes we argued, sometimes we analysed and reached a common position together. There was also a vast number of questions. Since 1975, once a month I

was a guest at the Embassy of the People's Republic of Albania. The newspapers and documents I received from the Albanian comrades were very useful for our political work. The time when I had to copy tape recorded articles by Radio Tirana by hand and then pass them on, was over. The Albanian comrades invited everybody to a celebration each year. The 29th November 1944 was the day of the liberation of Albania from fascism. I received an invitation, too. Friends of Albania, comrades of various fraternal parties and sympathisers streamed into the embassy that day. After the opening speech we watched several documentary films together. Again and again the audience applauded and was impressed. Then we had the opportunity to take a snack and hold talks. During a public discussion I asked the question why the GDR and the Soviet Union remained silent on the subject of Albania. In 1961, Ulbricht attacked Albania in public. After a few years, the SED quit their polemics and declared that time would show who was right. Since then there has been silence. Not a word about the differences anymore, not a word on the accusations against Albania. The Albanian comrades responded to my question and explained that the revisionists suffered heavy defeats on a global scale as well as at home. In order to prevent their treacherous course being faced with any criticism, they abandoned all public polemics, they preferred to remain silent. Nobody in the GDR would now officially mention the policy differences. Even a Herr Schnitzler [Karl-Eduard von Schnitzler, infamous host of the propaganda show "The Black Channel"], who loves to argue so much, would now not say a single word about it.

The "Totschweigegesetz" [law of burying in silence] was one of the methods of the modern revisionists and illustrated all their hypocrisy, showed that they are enemies of Marxism-Leninism. A few months later I made contact with the Chinese news agency Xinhua. Since the Cultural Revolution of 1967/68, the Chinese embassy in Berlin was hermetically sealed for citizens of the GDR. In 1971, I was in Berlin with friends to visit the embassy. We did not succeed. A few hundred meters away from the embassy, we ran into a group of Chinese. We tried to communicate, but did not really succeed. As a farewell I got the Red Book by Mao. Only years later, I received the address of the news agency. Here again the contact was to my full satisfaction. Until the end of the 70's I was often there for a visit. I could read the Peking Review regularly, could study documents by the CPC. The conversations had many topics. During this time I was able to witness first hand the rapidly changing policies. One moment eulogies were given to Chinese leaders and a few weeks later I discovered how "evil" he was. Then he was praised once again and was a "good one". The case with Deng Xiaoping was really bad. But other things were more than surprising, too. Keyword Gang of Four: There were plenty of contradictions that even the respective employees of Xinhua could not convincingly explain. The policy of the CP of China became more and more controversial.

The rock bottom was hit by the openly hostile act of the Chinese against Albania. The Chinese leaders attacked socialist Albania in 1977, slandered it and tried to stir up the Marxist-Leninist parties, all the revolutionary forces of the world against the PLA. By a series of actions the Chinese leaders made clear to the world public that China no longer regards socialist Albania as an ally and that it will no longer be supported. They invited the revisionist Tito in a demonstrative way to China and called him a great Marxist-Leninist. The Chinese leaders openly showed their grotesque face: they were revisionists. One accusation of the Chinese was that Albania does not accept the "Theory of Three Worlds", which Mao propagated. This theory of Mao was reactionary and has harmed the international revolutionary movement. It quite became clear that China pursued pragmatic and opportunistic politics. Long before this hostile act of the Chinese, we had repeatedly criticised China's policies in our cell. The revelation of China's policy being revisionist was therefore not surprising.

(...)

Once again on the Albanians

Comrade Idris was transferred to the local embassy in Vienna in 1980. Other comrades in the embassy changed their location in the coming years. After the wave of arrests in the early 80's, the

embassy restricted its activities. The reason given were the trials against communists in the GDR. After being sentenced my contacts took place in Leipzig at the local fair. From 1985 on I regularly visited the embassy in Berlin again. The atmosphere was friendly. We had very good relations with almost the entire staff. Especially with Comrade Dhimiter Karanxha I could discuss many things. Regularly, we agreed to meet outside the embassy. We went to one of the many pubs. Here we could speak more freely. During these discussions, I learned a number of information which were very valuable and made me think. It was about the lives of Albanian workers, how they worked, what problems they had. Since years I got the satirical newspaper "Hosteni" and through it I had already learned about the problems of socialist construction in Albania. Bureaucracy, technocracy, inefficiency, traditional reactionary phenomena, etc., were denounced. Directly and concrete, unlike in the newspapers, leaflets and radio broadcasts, which were meant for foreign countries. Here was the plain-talking.

In the talks with the Albanian comrades I learned, for example, that many workers excessively drank alcohol. Be it during or after the working hours - wine, raki or beer. But other phenomena in the everyday life of the Albanians also reminded me of the local state of affairs. I certainly never had illusions about the life of the Albanian workers. But it surprised me very much that the situation was that serious. Claiming that I became a critic now would be far wrong. Albania, it was still the beacon of socialism. The pressure - both from outside and inside - was very strong. This small country with its 3 million inhabitants defied all the imperialist-revisionist attacks for decades. Sign of change in Albania were increasing, however. Sure, the relations with the Albanian comrades were extremely cordial. Nevertheless: the relations with the revisionist countries - with the exception of the Soviet Union - improved noticeably. The polemics against the revisionists still took place, especially against the policies of Gorbachev. However, the other revisionists were spared. In the spring of 1989 the Foreign Minister of the GDR, Oskar Fischer, visited Albania. Das Neue Deutschland ["New Germany", official party newspaper of the SED, today of The Left, Die Linke] reported in detail. In the editorial it was claimed that Albania called the GDR socialist. This was a heavy blow. Upon request, the Embassy denied this. But I already had my doubts. Many reasons suggested that Albania had started taking a disastrous course.

A few months later, Radio Tirana broadcast a report on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. Topic: The combines in the GDR. They were praised to the skies in the truest sense of the word. This turn was unbelievable. Events came to a head in the revisionist countries. How will Albania survive this time? That it will make concessions was clear. But how far would they go?

1990: the GDR was in dissolution. The Albanian Embassy in Berlin was closed. One day before the departure I came to visit a last time. There was bustle and an atmosphere of departure. Several staff members were seated at the table and it was time to say goodbye. The ambassador delivered a speech involving the events in Eastern Europe. He stressed several times that in Albania it would not come to such excesses as in Romania. The situation was better, there was food and the people also were not so brutal. I understood none of this then. What on earth should Romania have in common with Albania?

Finally he emphasised that today, after the collapse of revisionism, democracy and consumption are on the agenda. The struggle against revisionism is won. Then he wanted to drink to the future of a united Germany, which made me interrupt him: "A united Germany: Yes. But not this! It has to be a socialist Germany! This one will only bring harm to the working people." He laughed and said: "All right. It shall be as you wish." After the goodbye we wished each other all the best. I left the embassy for the first time feeling uneasy. The subsequent events confirmed the suspicion that Albania had already degenerated to revisionist. With all the consequences arising from this. Once Comrade Idhris had spoken about this: if Albania was ever to become revisionist, it is the duty of all Marxist-Leninists to fight against the Albanian revisionists. These words went through my head now. But when would the time come? It then took a long time until the Marxist-Leninists started the open struggle against the Albanian revisionists. (...)

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Moscow jams Radio Tirana

Jammer of the counter-revolution

Many listeners of Radio Tirana often experienced that serious disturbances appeared during the broadcasts, sometimes other noises interfered with sentences and sometimes whole passages were difficult to understand due to static noise. Usually this is not because of the fact that one needs a better receiver but because the broadcasts of Radio Tirana are systematically jammed. Jammed by enemies of the revolution, enemies of revolutionary propaganda. These jammers are located nowhere else than in the Soviet Union and the revisionist countries of Eastern Europe.

The journal Funkschau, issue 26/75, reports about these jammers of the Soviet revisionists: "These ugly noise on the HF radio bands have increased. During the day especially the 19-meter and 25 meter bands and in the evening the 41-m and 49-m bands, but also the 31-m band are largely contaminated by strong and powerful jammers." As the magazine reported, the number of Soviet jammers in the last few years increased and today is expected to have passed the 3000th by far.

When asked whether these jammers are directed against the Western channels, Funkschau replies: "Objectively seen, this cannot be said because Western radio stations such as the VoA [Voice of America], the BBC, Deutsche Welle [German Wave] in Cologne, and big broadcasting services in Europe are rarely affected by the jamming of the East." It "is above all... the very large foreign broadcasting service of Albania [Radio Tirana] which is jammed by Moscow and its 'acolytes' in Eastern Europe. Moscow currently aims its strongest jammers in this direction [Radio Tirana]. This is evident already after a brief look at the HF scene."

"And finally", Funkschau concludes, "jamming is far more expensive than regular broadcasting. This fact makes you considering 'where' to aim your jamming at."

So it is not the Western radio propaganda but the revolutionary voice of Radio Tirana, which the Russian social-imperialists and their vassals are afraid of. They are afraid of their constant exposure as enemies of Marxism-Leninism, as enemies of the proletarian world revolution.

But in spite of all counter-revolutionary attempts of the Russian social-imperialists to drown the voice of the revolution in the ether by noise, "silencing HF radio broadcasts completely is simply not possible", as Funkschau concludes. And indeed, despite all the propaganda of the Russian social-imperialists against the People's Republic of Albania, in spite of all jamming attempts against the broadcasts of Radio Tirana, the number of friends around the world grows more and more and the listeners in our country as well as in the whole world increases.

International Food Prize for Albania

Article from "Arbejderen" from 22th April '87, central organ of the Danish Communist Party/Marxist-Leninists

On April 6, the International Food Prize "Enrique Diaz Balestros" was awarded to socialist Albania. Albania received this award for ensuring food supply for its population. The award ceremony, held in Mexico, was attended by representatives of the international Food and Agriculture Organization FAO, the International Food Program and other international organisations.

"For us who are familiar with the Albanian experience, it is not surprising that Albania has been awarded the International Food Prize", the president of the International Nutrition Institute said at the award ceremony. "I believe that Albania's example benefits all countries with fragmented farming and backward means of production in agriculture." The International Food Prize is named after a Mexican who rendered outstanding services to the Mexican people because of his commitment to the national food supplies. "Today one can hardly imagine that Albania used to be the poorest country of Europe", the President of the International Nutrition Institute said. "Today we are witnesses how the country achieved great victories in agriculture and raised the living standards of the peasants, how it satisfied the needs of the population for agricultural products and livestock

breeding better and better and at the same time reduced the differences between country and city – results which the International Food and Agriculture Organization FAO has recognised, too." Professor Sofokli Lozri accepted the award for Albania, which means an international recognition of the Albanian agricultural policy.

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Some dates in the history of Albania:

- 1407-1468 Gjergj Kastrioti – Skanderbeg
- 1555 The first book in Albanian language is published (a bible translation)
- 28th November 1912 Declaration of Independence of Albania by Ismail Qemali in Vlorë; end of the Turkish rule
- 1924 Ahmet Zog seizes power
- 1928 Ahmed Zog declares himself King of Albania
- 1931 The first communist group is built in Korca
- 7th April 1939 Mussolini invades Albania
- 8th November 1941 Foundation of the Communist Party of Albania
- 16th September 1942 Conference of the political organisations of Albania in Pesa. Election of the provisional Central Liberation Council
- March 1943 1st Conference of the Communist Party of Albania (around 700 members at that time)
- 10th September 1943 The German fascists occupy Albania
- 24th May 1944 1 Congress of the People's Liberation Councils in Përmet. Election of the Anti-Fascist People's Liberation Council and the People's Liberation committee of Albania with Enver Hoxha at its head.
- 20th October 1944 Formation of the 1 Provisional Government in Berat. Election of Enver Hoxha as Prime Minister
- 29th November 1944 Albania is finally liberated from the fascists. Liberation Day (National Day)
- 29th August 1945 Act on the land reform and the nationalisation of the industry come into effect
- 11th January 1946 Declaration of the People's Republic of Albania
- 14th March 1946 The People's Convention accepts the Albanian Constitution