

# **SOCIALIST ALBANIA**



New Albania Study Group

## **45 Years of the Liberation of Socialist Albania**

- **Albania's Economic Development**
- **The Emancipation of the Albanian Woman**
- **The Party of Labor of Albania, Architect of Socialism in Albania**
- **Enver Hoxha on Albania's Foreign Policy**
- **Book Review: Ismail Kadare's "Chronicle in Stone."**

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The **New Albania Study Group** is devoted to informing people about the Peoples' Socialist Republic of Albania — about the life of the Albanian people and the realities of their economic and social system. Our aim is to increase the understanding and friendship between the American and the Albanian peoples.

The Albanian people are one of the oldest peoples of Europe with a long history and culture. For many centuries, the Albanians, oppressed and subjugated by empires and colonizers, fought heroically for national independence and emancipation. This age-old aspiration of the Albanians was achieved in November 1944 with the victory of the people in their anti-fascist national liberation war. At that time, the Albanian people took the road of independence and socialism and today, 45 years later, Albania, the only genuine socialist country in the world, maintains its freedom and independence — living completely free of the entangling economic and military alliances of both U.S. imperialism and Soviet imperialism. The 45 years of independence have been a great epoch of economic, social cultural and all-round progress for the Albanian people.

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## Albania's Economic Development

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Ian Price

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At the time of the liberation on November 29, 1944, Albania was by far the most backward country in Europe. It was a country where more than 80% of the population was illiterate and where more than 85% of the population lived in the countryside. Industry provided only 4% of the total social product and consisted mainly of small workshops in the field of light industry. There were six mines and from which were extracted oil, bitumen and chrome, but these were all Italian-owned and their minerals were exported to Italy. In addition, in 1938, the last year before the Italian fascist invasion, there were only 26 miles of asphalted road and not a single mile of railway.

On November 29, 1944, Albania was completely liberated. With the victory of the people's revolution, the regime of people's democracy was established and under the Constitution of the New Albania, the Communist Party of Albania (now the Party of Labor of Albania) was described as "the guiding force in society" and its program was essentially the transformation of Albania into an industrialized socialist state.

The peoples' government took measures intended to destroy the economic power of reaction and the bourgeoisie. They included the establishment of state control over production and distribution, the freezing and requisition of goods in the possession of speculating merchants and usurers, the overprinting of bank notes, the imposition of special taxes on the war profits which the big merchants had made, etc. These measures created the conditions to subsequently go on to the application of reforms of an anti-capitalist and anti-feudal character.

First let us consider agriculture. In 1938, agriculture provided 93% of the national income and 8% of the agricultural-industrial production. Before Liberation, landholding was extremely uneven where 3% of those in agriculture (landlords and rich peasants employing labor) held some 40% of the cultivated land, whereas 83% (the so-called middle peasants, who worked their land without employing labor) held only 60% of the cultivated land. The remaining 14% of those involved in agriculture held no land of their own and could only work as employed farm laborers.

A series of measures were taken in the field of agriculture, the most important of which was the promulgation of the Agrarian Reform Law in August 1945. By this measure, all land held in excess of that which could be worked by the landholder and his family (fixed at 5 hectares—about 12.5 acres—in most parts of the country) was confiscated without compensation and distributed free of charge to the middle and



Table 1: Cooperative Farms

Year	1950	1960	1980	1987
No. of Cooperatives	90	1484	423	417
Area of Cultivated Land (in thousands of hectares)	20.9	362.0	551.2	714.0
No. of Cooperative Families	4,517	114,495	242,725	311,404

poor peasants. In this way some 173,000 hectares of land was given over to 70,000 families and on the 18,000 hectares remaining, the first state agricultural enterprises of the socialist type were established.

This distribution was primarily a political rather than an economic measure, designed to win the middle and poor peasants over to the side of the dominant working class. It was not primarily an economic measure because it had become clear that agriculture could make little or no material advance on the basis of small plots. Therefore, in the following year (1946), the Party initiated a campaign to persuade the small peasants to pool their land, voluntarily, into large cooperative farms. As mentioned before, at the time of the Land Reform, some larger estates were retained by the state and transformed into state farms. These were equipped with agricultural machinery which could not be used on small plots, and were provided with cultural centers, health centers and stores, etc. Bus trips were then arranged for the peasants to visit these state farms on Sundays so that they could see the benefits of large-scale farming, the shorter hours, shift work and holidays, the increased production (some 25-30% higher than that of the peasants working individually) and the urban-type amenities. As a result, the movement to form cooperative farms became a mass movement in 1955—first of all in the coastal plains, and then later in the highlands (which form 75% of the territory of Albania)—, and was completed in 1967. In Table 1, the decline in the number of cooperative farms after 1960 does not indicate any reversal of the cooperative movement but shows the amalgamation of existing cooperative farms into larger units. This can be seen by looking at the increases in both the area of cultivated land and the number of cooperative families.

Each cooperative farm is administered by a committee which is elected by its members. All income of the farm from the sale of its produce is distributed among the members according to the amount of work performed by each member. Each cooperative family has a small personal plot from which they retain the produce for their own use; however, the size of those plots has been reduced over the years by the decision of the member as their socialist consciousness has grown, so that the cooperative farm has become the primary concern of its members.

A cooperative farm does not own its own large machines. These are owned by state Machine and Tractor Stations, who rent them and their operators to the cooperative farms. With the completion of the collec-

Table 2: Irrigation Capacity

Year	1950	1960	1970	1980	1987
Irrigation capacity in thousands of hectares	39.3	135.3	283.8	370.8	409.0
Percent of arable land under irrigation	10.5	29.0	47.4	52.8	57.3

tivization of agriculture in 1971, a new social movement was commenced in this field—that of the transformation of the most efficient cooperative farms into higher-type cooperative farms. A higher-type cooperative farm receives investments directly from the state, and each has the exclusive use of a Machine and Tractor Station. The most efficient higher-type cooperative farms with the most socially conscious membership are being transformed into state farms in which the workers are state employees in receipt of wages, that is, they are rural workers of the working class.

Since Liberation there has been a large increase in agricultural production: for example, in 1987, agricultural output was 4.6 times that of 1960 and 5.8 times that of 1938. This has, in part, been due to the improved social organization of large-scale farming and also, has been brought about by the draining of malarial mosquito infested marshland, which in 1938 formed 13% of cultivable land, and by the opening up of new land, especially in the highlands, where terraced farming has been widely applied.

Today, hilly and mountainous areas account for some 56% of cultivated land and 63% of agricultural production.

Albania has a Mediterranean-type climate, with very warm dry summers. Therefore, for efficient agricultural crop development, artificial irrigation is required. In 1938 there were only 29,000 hectares of irrigated land or 10% of the cultivated area. During the years of socialist construction, the irrigation capacity has been increased in two ways: through the utilization of water-courses and through the construction of reservoirs of inter-regional or local importance. By these means, some 400,000 hectares of about 57% of the total cultivated surface is now under irrigation.

Another important factor which has played an important role in the development of agriculture in Albania has been the strengthening of its energy base and especially of its motor power.

In 1938, the energy base of agriculture not only was very limited, but it was made up only of the draught power of animals which represented some 99.3% of the energy base. The 30 tractors (calculated at 15 HP) and 75 threshing machines which were all that agriculture had in the way of motor power, made up of only 0.7% of the energy base, and especially that of motor power. This development can be seen in Table 3, showing the number of tractors, agricultural machines and the volume of work done.

Apart from the quantitative increase in agricultural output, the

**Table 3: Agricultural Machinery and Volume of Work**

<i>Year</i>	<i>1950</i>	<i>1960</i>	<i>1970</i>	<i>1980</i>	<i>1987</i>
Tractors in 15 hp units	359	4,510	10,900	18,308	19,265
Hectares of cultivated land per 15 hp units	1090	103.3	54.9	33.3	37.1
Combine Harvestors	—	349	890	1,386	1,433
Threshing Machines	280	322	1,286	2,270	1,857
Volume of work accomplished by the machine and tractor stations and the machinery of state farms (thousands of hectares calculated in ploughing units).	63	1,454	4,757	10,120	12,650

pattern of agriculture has changed. In 1938, only 48% of agricultural output was derived from Crop farming; today the proportion is 80%. The pattern of Crop farming has also changed; the production of other crops, including industrial crops, rose from 3% in 1938 to about 28% in 1987 and, despite the fact that the area of land sown with bread grain has decreased from 312,000 hectares to 284,000 hectares since 1980, Albania has been, for many years, self-supporting in bread grains. Industrial production has increased much faster than agricultural production, being now 169 times the level of 1938. This has been due, in part, to an increase in the number of workers as shown in Table 4, compared with an increase in population of 3.0 times. Every effort is made to encourage population growth by the provision of extended maternity leave with pay, creches, and day nurseries (both neighborhood and attached to enterprises). In other words, the Party of Labor of Albania rejects entirely the Malthusian concept of "population explosion." Work for all, and the choice of occupation, is guaranteed under the Constitution and the Party takes the view that—since the worker can produce more than the value required to support himself/herself and any dependents—every new child is a future asset to the economy and to the defence of the country. In addition, as a result

**Table 4: Number of Workers and Employees**

<i>Year</i>	<i>1938</i>	<i>1950</i>	<i>1960</i>	<i>1980</i>	<i>1987</i>
Workers and employees (in thousands)	22	83	202	622	788
Increase (in times)	1	4	9	28	36
Workers (in thousands)	15	55	154	506	650
Increase (in times)	1	4	10	34	43

of the great improvement in the standard of living and the provision of a free health service, the expectation of life has increased from 38 years in 1938 to 72 years today. As a result, Albania has a very high rate of increase in population (greater than 2% per year) which is more than 3 1/2 times the average for Europe. It also has a very young population, with an average age of 26 years—33% of this population under working age, 58% of working age and 9% above working age.

Today there is no private enterprise in the country—even the stores are all state enterprises. In the absence of profit as the motive and regulator of production, full central planning of production has been established. One of the key questions in relation to the planning of industrial production is the proportion to be determined between the development of heavy industry and consumer goods.

Joseph Stalin held that the correct course for socialist industrial planning to take was for the development of heavy industry to advance more rapidly than the production of consumer goods. In this way the maximum possible expansion of the consumer goods industries would be attained in the long run. The Albanian planning authorities have consistently followed this principle and the development of heavy industry has increased by more than 120 times. The rapid development of heavy industry has resulted in the increase of its proportion to the total industrial output; from 48.9% in 1960 to 63.9% in 1987.

In formalizing the basis of industry, Albanian planners gave priority to the development of minerals and power. In the case of fuel minerals such as coal and petroleum, these two categories of course overlap. New mines were opened, modern equipment introduced, and the extraction of crude petroleum oil is now running at about 2.8 million tons per year—more than 24 times that of 1938 (these figures are approximate ones since Albania has stopped publishing figures on their production of petroleum, apparently for security reasons).

In the context of the industrialization of the country, there has also been a rapid development of the metallic minerals industry.

In 1985, the industry of metallic minerals accounted for 12% of the total industrial production. It increased its productivity about 21 times compared with 1960, developing at an annual average rate of 17%. Its high rate of development has been conditioned by the development of metallurgy which underwent major expansion especially during the last three five-year plans (beginning with 1971-1975). So in 1985 the production of the metallic mineral industry was 3.3 times greater than in 1970.

Another foundation on which Albania's industrial development was built was the production of electric power. Many thermal-power stations and hydro-power stations have been constructed throughout the

**Table 5: Growth of Electric Power Production**

Year	1938	1945	1950	1960	1970	1980	1987
Production in million of KW/hour	9.3	4.4	21.4	194.3	952.3	3,700	4,000

country and today hydro-power stations make up more than 83% of the total installed power and account for some 90% of its production. The production of electric power since 1938 has increased substantially due to the construction of many enormous hydro-power stations concentrated mainly in the northern region of the country. The growth of electric power production is shown in Table 5.

Other industries regarded as basic since they produce means of production or raw materials for other industries are the chemical and the engineering industries. The production of chemicals and plastics has been developed since the Liberation and has increased 585 times since 1950.

Of vital importance, since it produces machinery for all industries and for transport and communications is the engineering industry. In 1987, the engineering industry represented 15% of the total industrial output and had grown some 650 times since Liberation. Today, this industry provides 95% of the spare parts needed in the country and is now capable of producing tractors, other agricultural machinery and equipment, light tonnage ships, various equipment for mines and plants, measuring instruments and electronic equipment. The railway system that now connects most Albanian towns and also connects Albania to the European rail network via Yugoslavia has been built entirely by youth volunteer labor under the supervision of engineers. The Albanian authorities stress that increased production should not come from speed-up or longer working hours, but from an increase in the number of workers and from raising the productivity of labor. Apart from the large number of innovations proposed by the shop-floor workers, a whole range of scientific institutions carries on research with the aim of bringing about a technical-scientific revolution in industry which was fully initiated in 1987. As a result, in the new factories, there is a high degree of automation. It is estimated that in 1990 total industrial production will increase 29% to 31%, which will insure 57% of the social product and 64% of the total agricultural and industrial production taken together, while heavy industry will account for 50% of the total production of industry.

The State budget of the Peoples' Socialist Republic of Albania has risen very considerably over the years and its expenditure has grown by 13 times since 1950. This expenditure is distributed as follows (for 1987):

- 52.5% to the peoples' economy;
- 31.1% to social-cultural measures;
- 11.9% to defence;
- 1.7% to administration;
- 2.8% to other matters.

There is no taxation in Albania and the entire income of the state accrues directly from the enterprises.

Under the principle known as "one-person" leadership, each industrial enterprise has a single director, appointed by the state after discussion with the trade unions. Nevertheless, what is called "worker's con-



trol" operates within each enterprise. All important policy decisions require the approval of the plants' trade unions, which in extreme cases, can demand and secure the dismissal of the director.

As has been stated earlier, production in Albania is centrally planned by a state body called the State Planning Commission. As a prelude to the plan, the State Planning Commission issues guidelines couched in general terms on the overall aims of the next plan. This is discussed at all levels down to the individual factories and farms, which then put forward detailed plans as to how their enterprise may fulfil or even exceed these guidelines. The State Planning Commission then coordinates all these individual plan into a national draft plan. The draft plan is the further discussed, and tens of thousands of proposed amendments go back to the center. Finally, the State Planning Commission, having accepted or rejected these proposed amendments, submits the final plan to a Congress of the Party of Labor, from where, after approval, it goes to the elected Peoples' Assembly to become law. The indices of the Plan then become binding on every enterprise, and the achievement or surpassing of the targets laid down become a matter of honor for the staff of each enterprise.

Regarding the question of distribution:

Karl Marx put forward the concept of the two successive stages of Communist society: in the second phase—that of communism proper—the essence was summed up in the slogan: "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." He pointed out that before this stage could be reached, two conditions were necessary:

Firstly, an abundance of all the essentials of life, so that people could help themselves to the consumer goods they needed, instead of buying them;

Secondly, a developed social conscience, so that people would work in accordance with their ability as an accepted and enjoyable social duty, without the necessity of having to work in order to live. No society has yet reached this second phase of communism.

Marx characterized the first phase of communism as "socialism"—the essence of which was summed up in the slogan: "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work." In this phase many working people would still have remnants of outlooks carried over from the previous capitalist society.

In this phase, the limited supply of consumer goods had to be rationed in some way. The principle of this rationing should therefore be based on the aim of developing production as quickly as possible. In order, therefore, to advance towards communist society as rapidly as possible, income must, as far as possible, be geared to the quantity and quality of work performed, providing a material incentive for the speediest advance of production. The Party of Labor of Albania has applied these criteria to the socialist economy of Albania. Production workers wages are based upon piecework and norms are fixed for each category of work by agreement with the trade unions. These norms may vary somewhat in different enterprises, or in different parts of the country, according

to the degree of work difficulty involved. A worker who fails to achieve the appropriate norm for his work or who achieves it quantitatively but turns out deficient goods in the quality standards laid down receives somewhat less than the standard. In the case of non-production workers, rates of pay are determined in the opposite way, that is, on the relative amounts of social work required to produce the worker. Thus, since it requires more social work to produce a teacher with a university degree than a teacher who graduates from a teachers' training college, the pay for the former is somewhat higher than the pay of the latter. This principle gives a material incentive to workers to advance their qualifications in the interests of society.

Albania is now the only country in the world which retains the full central planning of production which the Party of Labor of Albania regards as the essential principle of socialism.

It was with the aim of preventing the creation of a privileged stratum of the working people that, since 1976, income differentials have been restricted by law to a maximum of 2:1 —that is, the highest paid person in the country may not receive more than twice the pay of the lowest-paid person. In the case of industrial enterprises, the pay of a director is even more restricted. He or she may not receive more than 1.7 times that of the lowest paid worker in the enterprise. The Party of Labor of Albania sees this restriction of pay differentials also as part of the process of building socialist consciousness among the working people, of replacing material incentives by moral incentives. Thus, worker who innovate new methods of production, or who consistently exceed the norm, are publicized in the enterprise bulletin-board and in the media, and the best of them receive decorations such as that of "Hero of Socialist Labor." On the other hand, workers who consistently fail to pull their weight also receive publicity —by denunciations and caricature, etc.

Prices of consumer goods are all fixed by the state, and are uniform throughout the country. The price of a consumer item is fixed, in general, on the basis of its value, defined as the average amount of work required to produce it. This principle is varied slightly for social reasons: that is, children's clothing, for example, is priced below its value while alcoholic beverages are priced above their value. The total of the prices of all the consumer goods produced in a year is calculated so as to be equal to the total income of the population, so that all consumer goods can be sold.

There can, therefore, be no such thing as the so-called crises of overproduction that are a feature of the capitalist economies, where the working people do not receive sufficient income to be able to purchase all the goods produced. As the productivity of labor rise, the average amount of work required to produce a particular consumer item falls, and so its value falls. Periodically, therefore, the prices of consumer goods are lowered. Albania, therefore, has the distinction of being the only country in the world where there is no inflation —where, on the contrary, the prices of consumer goods consistently fall.

Table 6: Savings Bank Deposits

Year	1950	1960	1970	1980	1987
Deposits (in millions of leks)	4	119	295	699	1,329
Average sum deposited per savings book (in leks)	104	505	572	644	1,684

Of course, the social value of an economic system can only be really measured in terms of the satisfaction it brings to the masses of the people. It is not uncommon to find out the average wage of an Albanian worker, to check on the prices of consumer goods in the store, and to conclude that the standard of living of Albania is very low. Were this to be true, it could not be attributed to inequitable distribution of what is produced, for as we have seen this is certainly the most equitable in the world. An objective investigation of the standard of living of Albanian workers cannot, in fact, be done this way. One has to take various factors into account — the Albanian worker pays no taxes of any kind nor makes insurance contributions and pays no more than 3% of his income in rent. The worker also receives free social services to the value of some \$120.00 a year. Taking such factors into account, it has been determined that the standard of living of the lowest paid stratum of the Albanian working class is slightly higher than that of the lowest paid stratum of the British working class.

However, comparisons with other countries with a long history of developed industry are not really relevant to the Albanian people and for them, the question is: has the standard of living improved and will it continue to improve?

If one wishes to build or buy one's own house, a 100% interest-free loan, repayable over 15 years can be obtained. There is, however, no system of deferred payments for other durable goods so if one wants to buy relatively expensive durable goods, like a washing machine or a refrigerator, a certain amount must be put aside each week in the savings bank on which interest is paid.

The figures for savings bank deposits (shown in Table 6) thus give an idea of the income of the working people over and above what they need for absolute essentials.

The statistics for the distribution of retail goods are very relevant to the question of the improved standard of living of the masses of the people.

The quantity of retail goods has increased since 1950 by more than 13.8 times. Of course, in the same period, the population has more than doubled, but if we look at the circulation of retail goods per inhabitant, we see a rise of more than 6.8 times.

These, then, are some of the principal features of what is certainly a unique economic pattern. Albania, a small and mainly mountainous country, has an active and constantly growing population and the all-round development of the country relies on the potential of the resour-

## The Emancipation of the Albanian Woman

In the early part of this century, before national liberation, the position of the Albanian woman was aptly described by foreigners as "a little better than a dog's, a little worse than a horse's." The great progress which has been made since that time in freeing women from all forms of oppression is unequalled by any other country.

In pre-liberation Albania, women were considered to be intellectually and morally inferior to men. The woman married according to her father's will, and her husband had complete authority over her. The old Canon of the Law of Lek gave a man such rights as to strike his wife if she so much as disagreed with him, and to divorce her if she bore him no sons. Women did not have the right of divorce. They were regarded as property to be bought and sold into marriage, leading to such practices as infant betrothal, and the engagement of young women to much older men. Often a woman never saw her husband until she arrived at his house.

Under the patriarchal system, women were also deprived of the right to keep their children in the case of divorce or of being widowed. The children belonged to her husband's family. While the paternal line of ancestry might be remembered for tens of generations, maternal relations might be forgotten after one. In short, the woman's family history was of no account.

There are other aspects of Albanian culture, however, which hint at an earlier period, prior to the Ottoman invasion, in which women held an honorable position in society. Many old folk songs, dances and legends treat the woman as a highly moral and dignified figure. Perhaps it was the memory of such sentiments, preserved in elements of the popular culture, which allowed women to remain proud, loyal, and deeply patriotic, in spite of the savage repression and utter debasement they suffered.

During the National Renaissance, poets and writers celebrated the figure of the woman as mother and as fighter, and attempted to elevate her to a dignified position. However, backward religious beliefs, feudal-bourgeois customary laws, and the norms of the church and the *shariat* continued to influence the people, and to keep women in a miserable state of oppression. Only the Communist Party of Albania (now the Party of Labor) was able to combat all these forces, and lead women on the path to their emancipation. The Communist Party, following the teachings of Marx and Lenin, took the position that the socialist revolution required the participation of the women in order to be successful, and that the emancipation of woman could not be achieved without the socialist revolution. The women themselves were the first to understand that their liberation could only be won in the course of the struggle for national liberation, and they answered the call of the Party. They supported the partisans behind the lines, opening their doors to the



outlaws, sharing their meager bread, providing information about the enemy. Their homes became centers for important meetings and ammunition stores. They fought valiantly on the front lines of combat as well, shedding their blood for their country and their people. Hundreds of women were arrested, tortured and executed for their activities. Thousands suffered cold and hunger in the mountains and fought bravely against the fascist and Nazis, rifle in hand. With their heroic participation in the National Liberation War, they won their social emancipation, their right to full equality with men.

However, there could be no real equality without women's participation in socio-political life. The CPA therefore encouraged women to take active part in the national liberation councils, which would form the basis of the people's state power. Anti-fascist women's councils were set up in the heat of the war, in towns and villages throughout the liberated zones. Their goals were to unite and mobilize the masses of women, and ensure broad participation in the National Liberation War. In 1944, in the newly liberated town of Berat, two historic events took place. In October, the Declaration on the Rights of Citizens gave women full equality with men. In November, the 1st Congress of the Anti-Fascist Women's Union of Albania (AWUA) was held. It was the first national assembly of the women of Albania, the congress of the victors over the old society. At this congress, the tasks were set for the future with the slogan "everything for the new state, everything for the reconstruction."

The victory of the people in the National Liberation War and the establishment of the Peoples' Republic of Albania marked the end of the first phase in the emancipation struggle: full equality for women in law. The task remained, however, to fully translate this *de jure* equality into real equality in every sphere of life. Not only was there opposition from men who continued to hold backward religious beliefs and other ideas which were insulting to women, but there was also the problem of conquering the doubts and hesitations in the minds of the women themselves which prevented them from attaining their full potential. The Party therefore worked unceasingly to combat sexist ideologies, and to encourage women to fully take part in the life of the country, to take their rightful place as equal partners with their brothers and husbands.

The second phase of the struggle for the emancipation of women was based in three main areas: production, education, and political life. It was essential to ensure that every able-bodied woman took part in the productive life of the country. As F. Engels said in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*: "The emancipation of the woman, her equality with man, is impossible and will remain such as long as the woman is excluded from the productive work of the society." Only when the woman is economically independent of the man, when she can say, "I earn my bread with my own hands," can she be truly liberated. Women took part in the massive reconstruction work, building roads, bridges and railroads, they worked in the fields to develop the agricultural sector, and they participated in the building of the first industrial

paying jobs, but even where they perform the same or comparable work as men, they are paid less. This sort of discrimination has a long history. Women's labor has long been regarded as less valuable than men's labor, even though modern machinery has rendered physical differences between the sexes in most cases irrelevant to production. In Albania, however, there is no wage discrimination. Pay is based on work done, regardless of gender. While women in the U.S. earn on the average 2/3 of what men earn, men and women in Albania receive equal wages.

The Albanian woman benefits from measures which protect all working people, such as protection against arbitrary dismissal, social insurance pensions, regulation of working hours, etc. In addition, she benefits from special provisions which are made to insure the well-being of mothers and their children. The availability of creches and kindergartens not only freed women to go to work, but also insured that the new generation of children would grow up in a healthy environment. Day care facilities were set up in every cooperative and every industrial center. Women are guaranteed up to six months of paid leave for childbirth at 80% of their salary, and their jobs are guaranteed during this leave and any other leave or medical absence. During pregnancy, women have the right to be transferred to a lighter job without any decrease in pay. During pregnancy and breast-feeding, women cannot be sent on business outside of their residential area, and cannot be assigned to night shift or overtime. While nursing, they have the right to stop work every three hours to go to their infant. Allowances are also made for the care of a sick infant or child.

All of these facilities are not "gifts" of the state but the inalienable rights of women, because they are necessary for the equal participation of women in social production. The Albanian government and the Party of Labor of Albania have always supported, and continue to support the struggle for women's equality. It is stated clearly in the Constitution of Albania:

*Article 40:* All citizens are equal before the law. No restriction or privilege is recognized on the rights and duties of citizens on account of sex, race, nationality, education, social position or material situation.

*Article 41:* Women enjoy equal rights with men in work, pay, holidays, social security, education, in all social-political activity, as well as in the family.

In contrast with Albania, the U.S. Constitution did not even recognize women as citizens. Women had to fight for the right to vote, to pursue higher education, etc. and today they have to fight for abortion rights, pre-natal and childcare, equal employment opportunities, and equal wages. The U.S. government, far from supporting the struggle for the equality of women, not only resists this struggle every step of the way, but is itself part of the apparatus which oppresses women. For example, recently the U.S. Federal Court gave the official green light to corporations to ignore the responsibility of ensuring that the workplace is free from reproductive hazards, but they can instead sexually

discriminate against women working in these areas and thus bar women from 15 to 20 million jobs.

The lack of any social support system in the U.S. for women has serious consequences. Day care is often unavailable, unaffordable or unsafe. A woman who takes time off for childbirth and newborn care not only has to go without a paycheck, but risks losing her job. Many find that it is impossible to do both, and are forced to choose between work and no (or no more) children, or children and no job. Under these conditions, the attempt to make abortion illegal is a frontal attack on women's autonomy which would steal from them even this choice.

We all have heard about the "crisis of the family" in the United States. We have heard about disintegrating family values, children left at home without supervision, escalating rates of divorce and abortion. And the finger of blame is often pointed at the working people, especially working women, by the reactionary media. If only women would stay home and be good mothers and wives, we are told, all of these problems would go away. According to this reasoning, women should give up their fight for equality, and remain oppressed and enslaved. Yet these problems do not exist in Albania, where 46% of the workforce is female. Clearly, these problems in the U.S. are not caused by the participation of women in socialized labor but are a reflection of the exploitation and oppression of the working people and the added oppression suffered by women.

Measures which are offered as solution to the problem of women's work are no solutions at all. Women are offered part-time jobs at poverty level wages, supposedly so that they can spend more time at home. In reality, this serves only to reduce the "official" unemployment rate. Work-at-home schemes are also offered to women as a way of earning money without having to leave the confines of the house. In this way, women are deprived of the regulation of work hours, deprived of any benefits such as insurance against job-related injury, and the family members are exposed to health and safety dangers.

Various reforms are made, but none of these will result in equality for women as long as capital is free to exploit and oppress the people. The underlying ideological premise to sexual discrimination, that women are inherently inferior to men because of their role as child-bearers, is promoted by the capitalist class in order to divide the people. In our capitalist society, the role of woman as a mother is an excuse and obstacle to her achievement of equality. In Socialist Albania, on the other hand, the women's role as a mother is protected and even gives her rights beyond those of men. This allows women to be productive members of society, and insures a stable, healthy family life. The low divorce rate (10%) is one indicator of this stability, in sharp contrast with the divorce rate in the U.S., which has approached 50% in recent years. The incidence of abortion and children born outside of marriage are also very low in Albania, while they approach epidemic proportions in the U.S.

A small number of women who are successful in pursuing high-paying

professional or managerial careers are held up as proof of the equal opportunities for women, and the absence of systematic discrimination. In Albania, however, it is not a small minority of women who are equal but all women who are equal with men. A strong indicator of this equality is the participation of women in government. While the U.S. Congress is comprised of 4% women, in Albania women make up more than 30% of the Deputies of the People's Assembly (the People's Assembly is the supreme organ of state power, comprised of 250 deputies). Women participation is even higher in local governments.

From the example of Albania, it is clear that the problems of women in the United States today are not inherent in the "natural order" nor are they an unavoidable product of women's role as mother. Rather, they are rooted in the fundamental class relations in society and justified with the claim that there is a contradiction between being a mother and being engaged in socialized production—that being a mother and being equal with men are incompatible states. This is a faulty claim as demonstrated by the example of the Albanian women. This example and the experiences of the Albanian people in winning genuine emancipation for women are not only an inspiration for all the struggles for an end to discrimination against women, but they contain important lessons. Women have demonstrated to have abilities equal to those of men. Our society has the means to provide the support systems which are necessary in order for women to develop their abilities and engage in socialized production, and to ensure the well-being of their children. It is not a question of having the resources, but of liberating them from their use to garner profits for the rich and putting them into the hands of the people.



## The Party of Labor of Albania, Architect of Socialism in Albania

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Michael C. Ross

The victories of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in safeguarding its independence and building socialism over the past 45 years stand out in marked contrast to the failures of the so-called socialist countries. As the Soviet Union, China, Poland, Yugoslavia, and others careen from one crisis to another and fall increasingly into debt—politically as well as economically—to the Western imperialists, Albania advances vigorously along the path of continuing the revolution. Socialist Albania's victories refute the imperialist big lie that communism has failed and demonstrate instead the strength of Marxism-Leninism. It is revisionism that has failed and that plunges the people into disaster. It is not by chance that Socialist Albania has marched from one victory to another, but it is precisely because it has fought every form of revisionism that it has remained on the Marxist-Leninist path and safeguarded the victories of the revolution.

Whereas Albania, under the leadership of the Party of Labor of Albania, founded and forged by the great Marxist-Leninist Enver Hoxha, proceeded on the basis of the principles laid down by the great teachers of the world proletariat—Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin—the others abandoned that path. Instead, under the guise of creatively applying Marxism to the new conditions after World War II, the revisionists distorted and revised the scientific outlook of the world proletariat. Every step of the way, for the past 45 years, they were opposed by Socialist Albania and the PLA. Albania's victories at home were inseparable from this titanic struggle against modern revisionism in all its forms. Yet the fruit of this struggle was not Albania's alone; the entire proletariat has learned lessons of inestimable value from this protracted and profound struggle.

Titoism was the first hidden enemy of the revolution that was dealt severe blows by Enver Hoxha and the PLA. Even while fighting against the German Nazi occupation, the Albanians were forced to look behind the revolutionary words of the League of Yugoslavia Communists and examine the practical activity of the traitors to the revolution. By the time of liberation, it had become clear that the Yugoslav "friends" had the same intentions as the German enemy—the liquidation of Albanian independence. Step by step, the Titoites were exposed and their plans to make all Albania a seventh republic were frustrated. As the Titoites put Yugoslavia on the path of capitalist development and into the imperialist camp, the Albanians waged a protracted, consistent and principled struggle which made a profound contribution to the unity and integrity of the socialist camp. Analyzing the political and ideological

content of Titoism in the now classic works *Yugoslav Self-Administrative Socialism, A Capitalist Theory and Practice* and *The Titoites*, Enver Hoxha and the PLA helped alert the world proletariat not only to this deviation, but provided a clear orientation and lessons which would be of great value in the fight against the varieties of revisionism which were to follow.

Because the struggle against Titoism was informed from a broad and deep Marxist-Leninist theoretical position, the PLA immediately recognized the similarity of Khrushchevism to Titoism. On every front, the PLA worked against this powerful revisionist current which was to do so much damage to the revolution. Never did the PLA flinch from its responsibilities, and tiny Albania won the respect and admiration the world over as it fought the powerful "Communist" Party of the Soviet Union tooth and nail. It always was on the offensive, and it refused to be either cowed or seduced by the Soviet super-power. In countless speeches, articles, documents and books, the Albanians described and analyzed the counter-revolutionary positions of Khrushchev while always defending the founders of Soviet Communism, Lenin and Stalin, the interests of the Soviet people, and the interests of the world proletariat. Without this struggle, Albania would have been ripe, as the other countries of Eastern Europe were, for picking by the Soviet social-imperialists.

Tito and Khrushchev came forward precisely when the newly emerged socialist camp, the anti-colonial struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the struggle of the working class in countless countries was placing world imperialism in an extremely precarious position. Whereas the PLA argued that the times demanded stepping up the offensive against imperialism, first the Titoites and then the Khrushchevites looked to collaborate with imperialism and erase the entire revolutionary experiences and theory of the world proletariat by attacking Stalin. In countless ways, these revisionists and their followers in many countries played an important role in the counter-revolutionary plots and offensive against the social revolution, socialism, and the national liberation struggles. Because of the struggle of the PLA against these activities and their perfidious justifications as "creative Marxism", it became increasingly clear to the people that modern revisionism has been an integral part of the strategy of imperialism since World War II. The PLA's Marxist-Leninist analysis in *Theory and Practice of Revolution, The Khrushchevites* and many other works allowed the whole world to learn how to place their struggle against these agencies of imperialism on a revolutionary footing.

It should not be forgotten that it was a bold and courageous act for tiny Albania to stand up against the powerful and prestigious Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Many counseled Socialist Albania not to fight, but instead to accept the baton of Khrushchev and company in order to preserve "unity" and prevent the isolation of Albania. This advice was forcefully rejected by Enver Hoxha who said:

Silence about revisionism from the political angle would be a grave crime against Marxism-Leninism ... Silence would be the first stage. The other stage would be opening the borders to revisionism. We will not follow this road. If we, too, were to follow this road, this would be suicide for our country ... So from silence one goes over to what Yugoslavia is today. If we were to allow such a thing this would mean that we would lose the independence of the Homeland and set the mines to socialism.

Although at first it seemed that the People's Republic of China was fighting the Titoite and Khrushchevite betrayals, Enver Hoxha and the PLA exposed Maoism also as a component part of world imperialist strategy, although utilizing different forms and tactics. China's fight with Khrushchev was not fought from the principled positions of Marxism-Leninism, but from its efforts to become a super-power in its own right. This pragmatic policy led China into an open alliance with US imperialism which was justified with the counter-revolutionary "theory of three worlds." As in the cases of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, the struggle waged by the PLA against China's path proceeded from the granite rock foundation of Marxism-Leninism. "Reflections on China" and other works amply demonstrate this. Without this struggle, the struggle against imperialism and for the social revolution would have been a sham.

In addition to the degeneration of the parties in power, many former Marxist-Leninist parties throughout the world also succumbed to the bourgeois-imperialist pressure. The European parties had gone so far down the road of bourgeois respectability that 1979 was declared the Year of Eurocommunism by the bourgeoisie itself. In "Eurocommunism is Anti-Communism", Enver Hoxha provided a detailed account of this degeneration and proved with facts and clear logic that Eurocommunism was also a weapon of the old world trying to prevent the rise of a new world without a bourgeoisie. As with the exposures of the other forms of revisionism, Enver Hoxha and the PLA revealed not only the practical activity of these "fire fighters of the bourgeoisie" but also thoroughly explained how their theoretical and ideological positions were anti-Marxist and reactionary to the core.

In exposing the real content of modern revisionism, Enver Hoxha and the PLA closed the road to the degeneration of the PLA and what would have been Albania's tragedy. Instead, this titanic 45 year struggle played an essential role in keeping Albania on the path of self-reliance and prosperity under the leadership of the working class. Yet this struggle meant more than safeguarding Albania's independence and socialist system: It meant that the experience and conclusions of the Albanian people have become a powerful guide for all peoples fighting imperialism, exploitation and oppression. The theoretical, political and ideological positions developed by the Albanian people with the PLA at the forefront constitute a magnificent treasure for all people seeking to build a new world in the course of an uncompromising struggle against the old.

The continued degeneration of the revisionists in and out of power provide further proof of the soundness of the theoretical, political and ideological positions of Socialist Albania. Perestroika, national oppression, imposition of martial law and so forth and so on in the formerly socialist countries continue to confirm Enver Hoxha's and the PLA's analysis. The following excerpts from *Eurocommunism is Anticommunism* presents some of this analysis.

**A**t the 9th Congress of the Communist Party of Spain, in April 1978, the Carrillo revisionists declared that their party was no longer a Marxist-Leninist party, but a "Marxist-democratic revolutionary party." "To consider Leninism the Marxism of our time," declared Carrillo, "is unacceptable."

The French revisionist leaders proposed to their 23rd Congress, held in May 1979, that they should give up referring to Marxism-Leninism in the documents of their party and use the term "scientific socialism" instead.

The Italian revisionists too, at the 15th Congress of their party in April 1979, removed from their Constitution the requirement that the members of the party should master Marxism-Leninism and apply its teachings. ...

In this way the Eurocommunist revisionists formally and publicly have sanctioned the break with Marxism-Leninism, which in practice they had done years ago. Very pleased with this rapid and complete social-democratic transformation of these parties, the bourgeois propaganda called 1979 "the year of Eurocommunism." ...

The birth of modern revisionism, like the birth of the old revisionism, is a social phenomenon conditioned by many different historical, economic, political and other causes. Taken as a whole, it is a product of the pressure of the bourgeoisie on the working class and its struggle. Opportunism and revisionism, from the start to this day, have been closely linked with the struggles of the bourgeoisie and imperialism against Marxism-Leninism, have been a constituent part of the capitalist grand strategy to undermine the revolution and perpetuate the bourgeoisie order. The more the cause of the revolution has advanced, and the more Marxism-Leninism has been spread among the broad masses of the working people, so much the greater has been the attention which imperialism has devoted to the use of revisionism as its favorite weapon to oppose and undermine the triumphant ideology of the proletariat. ...

The first current which preceded the modern revisionism in power was *Browderism*. This current was born in the USA and took its name from the former general secretary of the Communist Party of the USA, Earl Browder. ... He was the first herald of that line of ideological and political capitulation which American imperialism was to strive to impose on the communist parties and the revolutionary movement. Under the pretext of the alleged change in the historical conditions of the development of capitalism and the international situation, Browder proclaimed Marxism-Leninism "outdated" and called it a system of rigid



dogmas and schemes. Browder advocated giving up the class struggle and called for class conciliation on a national and international scale. He thought that American capitalism was no longer reactionary, that it could cure the ills of bourgeois society, and could develop in democratic ways for the good of the working people. He no longer saw socialism as an ideal, as an objective to be achieved. American imperialism with its strategy and policy had disappeared completely from his field of vision. ... Browder denied the class character of the capitalist state, and considered American society a unified and harmonious society, with out social antagonism, a society in which understanding and class co-operation prevailed. On the basis of these concepts Browder also denied the need for the existence of the revolutionary party of the working class. He became an initiator of the disbanding of the Communist Party of the USA in 1944. ...

With his revisionist concepts about the revolution and socialism, Browder gave world capitalism direct aid. According to Browder, socialism arises only from some great cataclysm, from some catastrophe, and not as an inevitable result of historical development...

Browder tried to present his anti-Marxist and counterrevolutionary views as the general line of the international communist movement. Under the pretext of the creative development of Marxism and the struggle against dogmatism, he, like all the earlier revisionists, tried to argue that the new epoch after the Second World War required a communist movement which would re-examine its former ideological convictions and relinquish its old "formulas and prejudices," which according to him "cannot help us at all to find our way in the new world."

... Not only Browderism, but also Mao Zedong thought, the theories and line which the Chinese leadership followed, responded to the American strategy for "containing communism"...

At the beginning of 1945, at the time when Browder appeared on the scene and when a new American strategy under Truman was assuming its complete form, the 7th congress of the Communist Party of China was held... The Constitution which this congress adopted, states: "The Communist Party of China is guided by the ideas of Mao Zedong in all its activity." Commenting on this decision, in the report which he delivered at the Congress, Liu Shaoqi declared that Mao Zedong had allegedly refuted many outdated concepts of the Marxist theory and replaced them with new theses and conclusions...

These "new theses and conclusions," this "Chinese form" of Marxism had nothing at all to do with any creative application of Marxism-Leninism in the concrete conditions of China, but were a denial of its universal fundamental laws. Mao Zedong and his comrades had a bourgeois democratic concept of the revolution in China. They were not for raising it to a socialist revolution. For them the model was "American democracy" and they reckoned on the support of American capital for the construction of a new China.

There were great affinities between the ideas of Mao Zedong and

the opportunist ideas of Browder who, it must be said, had studied and thoroughly understood the anti-Marxist concepts of the Chinese leaders. Browder wrote: "What is called the "Communist" camp in China, because it is led by outstanding members of the Chinese Communist Party, is much closer to American concepts of democracy than is the so-called Kuomintang camp; it is closer in every way including the wider scope given to "free enterprise" in the economic life." ... Mao's line was that China, and following its example, Indochina, Burma, Indonesia, India, etc. had to rely on the United States of America and American capital and aid for their development. In fact this was acceptance of that new strategy which had been formulated in the departments of Washington and which Browder had begun to advocate in his own way. ... After the Second World War the Yugoslav revisionists were included in the great campaign of American imperialism and other reactionary forces that gathered around it, in the struggle against socialism and the revolution. This current, which represented revisionism in power, emerged at a crucial moment of the struggle between socialism and imperialism.

The period after the Second World War could not be a period of tranquility either for imperialism or for socialism. In the new conditions which had been created, imperialism had to cope with situations which were mortally dangerous to it, while socialism had to be consolidated, had to radiate and give its aid in the right way for the liberation and the progress of the peoples of the world. It was a time not only that the wounds of the war had to be treated and healed, but the class struggle had to be waged correctly, too, both within the countries where the proletariat had taken power and in the international arena. The victory over fascism had been achieved, but the peace was relative, the war continued with other means.

The socialist countries and their communist parties were faced with the task of working to consolidate their victories on the Marxist-Leninist road and to become examples... for the peoples... The communist parties of the socialist countries, also, had to temper themselves further with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, taking care that this was not turned into a dogma, but preserved as a revolutionary theory for action, a means to achieve profound social transformations, which is what it is in fact. In particular, after the historic victory over the fascist coalition, the socialist countries and the communist parties had to avoid becoming conceited, thinking that they were infallible, and forgetting or weakening the class struggle. This is the important thing Stalin had in mind when he stressed the need for the continuation of the class struggle in socialism.

Precisely in these circumstances the Titoites came out against Marxism-Leninism, Titoism did not throw off its disguise and come out openly against the revolution and socialism at the start...

It is a recognized fact that Titoism leaned spiritually, politically and ideologically towards the West, towards the USA; that right from the start it maintained numerous political contacts and achieved secret combinations with the British and other representatives of world capi-

talism. The Yugoslav leaders opened all the doors to UNNRA, and by this means and under the pretext of aid with the stockpiles of clothing and food left over from the time of the war, the American-British imperialist tried to infiltrate into many countries of the world, and especially the countries of people's democracies. The aim of the imperialists was to prepare a more or less suitable terrain for operations of a more wide-ranging plan in the future...UNNRA was able to exert its influence on the still incompletely built state mechanisms of the newly formed Yugoslav state.

Right from the start, American imperialism and the whole of international reaction gave Titoism all their support because they saw in it the course, the ideology and the policy which led to the degeneration of the countries of the socialist camp, to the splitting and disruption of their unity with the Soviet Union. The activity of Titoism conformed completely to the aim of American imperialism to undermine socialism from within. But Titoism was also to serve the strategy of imperialism of paralyzing the liberation struggles and weaning new states, which had just thrown off the colonialist yoke, away from the revolutionary movement... In order to justify their course of betrayal and to throw dust in people's eyes, the Titoites presented themselves as "creative Marxists" who only opposed "Stalinism" but not Marxism-Leninism. Thus they proved once again that the slogan of "the creative development of Marxism and the struggle against dogmatism" is the favorite slogan common to every variant of revisionism.

The USA, Britain, European social-democracy, etc., gave Titoite Yugoslavia all-round political, economic and military aid and kept it alive. The bourgeoisie was not opposed to Yugoslavia formally retaining its "socialist" appearance, indeed it was interested in this. However, this kind of socialism had to be completely different from the socialism envisaged and built by Lenin and Stalin...Yugoslav "socialism" had to be a hybrid capitalist-revisionist society, but essentially bourgeois-capitalist. It had to be a "Trojan horse" which would get into the other socialist countries, in order to divert them from the road of socialism and link them with imperialism.

And in fact Titoism became the inspirer of revisionist and opportunist elements in the former socialist countries. ...

In his well known speech at Pula, in 1956, Tito himself clearly and openly explained the place which Titoism occupies in the overall strategy of imperialism in undermining the socialist countries from within. At that time he declared that the Yugoslav model of socialism was valid not only for Yugoslavia, but also for other socialist countries, which ought to follow and apply it. The Titoite concepts and theories about world development and international relations also conformed to the strategy of American imperialism. In his speech... in 1954, the main theoretician of Yugoslav revisionism, Kardelj, came out openly against the theory of the revolution, while advertising the "new" solutions which capitalism had allegedly found. Distorting the essence of state monopoly capitalism, which assume wide proportions in many capitalist

countries after the Second World War, he proclaimed it an element of socialism, while he called classical bourgeois democracy a "regulator of social contradictions in the direction of the gradual strengthening of socialist elements" ...

On this basis the Yugoslav revisionists elaborated their theories and practices of "non-alignment" which came to the aid of the strategy of American imperialism to restrain the impulse of the anti-imperialist struggle of the people of the so-called third world and to undermine their efforts to defend their freedom, independence and sovereignty. The Titoites advised these peoples that their aspirations could be fulfilled by applying the policy of non-alignment, that is, of not opposing imperialism. According to the Titoites, the road to the development of these countries had to be sought in "active cooperation," in "ever more extensive co-operation" with the imperialists and big world capital, in the aid and credits which they should take from the developed capitalist countries.

As to where the course which the revisionists of Belgrade advocate leads, the present day reality of Yugoslavia makes this very clear...

The strategy of American imperialism and the whole struggle of the international bourgeoisie against the revolution and socialism received further, extremely great and much desired aid with the emergence on the scene of Khrushchevite revisionism. The Khrushchevite betrayal was the heaviest and most dangerous blow which has ever been struck at socialism and the peoples' revolutionary liberation movement. It transformed the first socialist country, the great center of the world revolution, into an imperialist country and a hotbed of counter-revolution....

As an ideological and political current, Khrushchevism has no great difference from the other currents of modern revisionism. It is the result of the same external and internal pressure of the bourgeoisie, of the same deviation from the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and of the same aim of opposing the revolution and socialism and preserving and strengthening the capitalist system... Khrushchevism and the other revisionist currents have in common the liquidation of the communist party and its transformation into a political force which serves the bourgeoisie. In the Soviet Union too, the Communist Party of Lenin and Stalin has been liquidated. It is true that the party there did not change its name, as occurred in Yugoslavia, but it was stripped of its revolutionary essence and spirit. The role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union altered, and its work for the strengthening of the Marxist Leninist ideology was replaced with the distortion of the Marxist Leninist theory, under different disguises, through empty phraseology and demagoguery. The political organization of the party, like the army, the police and the other organs of the dictatorship of the new bourgeoisie, was transformed into an organization to oppress the masses, not to mention the fact that it also became the bearer of the ideology and policy of their oppression and exploitation. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union degenerated, was weakened, and became a "party of the entire people" that is, no longer the vanguard party of the working class which carries



forward the revolution and builds socialism, but a party of the new revisionist bourgeoisie which cause the degeneration of socialism and carries forward the restoration of capitalism...

The line and program which Khrushchev present at the 20th Congress of the CPSU constituted not only the line of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, but also the line of undermining the revolution, and of the subjection of the peoples to imperialism and the working class to the bourgeoisie. The Khrushchevites preached that at the present stage, the main road of transition to socialism was the peaceful road. They advised the communist parties to follow the policy of class conciliation and collaboration with social-democracy and other political forces of the bourgeoisie... Equally in favor of imperialism and the bourgeoisie and harmful to the revolution was the other thesis of the 20th Congress of the CPSU about "peaceful coexistence" ... According to the Khrushchevites, who presented the problem as "either peaceful coexistence or devastating war" there were no other solution for the peoples and the world proletariat but to bend their backs, to give up the class struggle, the revolution and any other action which "might anger" imperialism and provoke the outbreak of war.

In fact the Khrushchevite views about "peaceful coexistence" which were closely linked with those about the "changed nature of imperialism" were practically identical with the preaching of Browder that American capitalism and imperialism had allegedly become a factor of progress in post-war world development. The prettifying of American imperialism and the false image created about it slackened peoples' vigilance towards the hegemonic and expansionist policy of the USA and sabotaged the anti-imperialist liberation struggle. Both as an ideology and a practical political line, Khrushchev's "peaceful coexistence" urged the peoples, especially in the new states of Asia, Africa and Latin America, etc. to extinguish the "hotbeds from which the flames of war might burst out,"... The Khrushchevite revisionist line assisted imperialism and reaction to take advantage of the situation in order to launch an all-round attack on communism. Of particular assistance to this new attack on the revolution and socialism were the attacks and slanders of the Khrushchevite revisionists on Stalin and his work.

The Khrushchevite revisionists started their campaign against Stalin in order to justify the anti-Marxist course which they had begun to follow inside and outside the country...

But for all the slanders and attacks of imperialist, revisionist and other enemies of the revolution, the name and work of Stalin remain immortal. Stalin was a great revolutionary, an outstanding theoretician, who ranks with Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

Life has proved the correctness of the analyses of the Party of Labour of Albania and its stands towards Khrushchevite revisionism and is confirming them every day. In the Soviet Union socialism has been destroyed and capitalism has been restored. Meanwhile, in the international arena, the stands and actions of the Soviet leadership have more and more revealed the social-imperialist character of the Soviet Union

## Enver Hoxha on the Foreign Policy of Albania

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By the end of World War II, the young Albanian Republic was faced with the task of rebuilding a country devastated by the war, a country occupied by Italian and German fascism. From the start, the Albanian people and State were faced with innumerable pressures, threats, invasions and blackmail from the imperialist powers Britain and the U.S., who sought to convert Albania into a colony of the imperialist powers. But the principled foreign policy pursued by the Albanian State and people under the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania (now the Party of Labor), remained vigilant at all times and fought consistently along two basic lines: as they tried to establish relations of equality and mutual respect with the friendly and allied countries, they also fought anybody who tried to subjugate the Albanian people to the interest of any imperialist power.

By 1948, the Yugoslav leadership had ceased all obligations they had towards the Albanian state and stopped all trade exchange, hoping that the threat of starvation would make Albania surrender. Years later, in 1960, the new Khrushchevite leadership in the Soviet Union cancelled not only accorded credits but also cut off ordinary trade exchanges and withdrew all Soviet specialists working in Albania. The Khrushchevite leadership hoped that Albania would not be able to complete the industrial projects which were under construction or even use the existing ones. Years later, the Chinese revisionists also repeated and tried this same scheme. They too cut off the credit and withdrew the specialists, in the hope that Albania would go bankrupt. However, Albania was able to cope with this and other blockades because it has always fought to preserve its independence, has fought for industrial and technical development based on the internal resources, and has developed an economy independent from any changing economic or political circumstance in the world.

This principled course has made socialist Albania today not only a truly independent nation, but also an important element for stability and a trusted partner in the international arena. Albania does not take part in any military bloc such as NATO or the Warsaw Pact, in any hostile alliance with the aims of aggression against other nations and peoples, in any agreement which could damage the interests of any other country. Albania has stressed its resolute opposition to the aggressive military blocs and alliances, consistently upholding the disbanding of the military alliances of NATO and the Warsaw Pact as a necessary condition for the elimination of splits and divisions amongst the peoples and nations. The Constitution and other fundamental laws have barred the way for the construction of foreign military bases in Albanian soil. No facilities are granted for the stationing, resting or transit of foreign military forces.

When socialist Albania fights and exposes the economic and military groupings of the superpowers, or rejects the enslaving system of imperialist credits and loans, it is usually portrayed by the international media as a symbol of "self-isolation" with a "closed" foreign policy. But nothing could be further from the truth. The myth that no country can stand on its own two feet, that it must surrender its sovereignty to one of the two superpowers, falls flat when it is faced with the reality of socialist Albania. Albania is the only country in the world with no foreign debt, and it is not tied to the economic mandates of the International Monetary Fund, Comecon, etc. Albania's Constitution prohibits any foreign investment in the country. By relying on their own forces, the Albanian people have been able to build a country free of economic and political enslavement from the Soviet Union and the U.S., the greatest enemies of the people in the world today.

As to better understand the fundamentals of the foreign policy of socialist Albania, we offer the reader extracts from Enver Hoxha, former First Secretary of the Party of Labor of Albania and architect of the foreign policy of Albania.

**T**he complex and difficult situation which have been and are being created in the world face our Party and our socialist state with the duty of maintaining the revolutionary vigilance always at a high level, and taking measures for the all-round strengthening of the economy and defense, and the unity and political consciousness of the people. These situations, likewise, demand that our foreign policy should be active, should ever better serve the defense of the interests of the Homeland and the victories of socialism, the advance of the cause of the revolution, the liberation of the peoples and peace in the world, and the support of all those processes which assist the emancipation and progress of present-day human society.

Our foreign policy, as a policy of a socialist state, of a truly free society without exploiting classes, is a revolutionary and internationalist policy. It is free from the slightest sign of narrow bourgeois nationalism, chauvinism, national exclusiveness, or of underacting of other peoples. The Albanian people have every respect for every people and wish all people well.

The Peoples' Socialist Republic of Albania firmly upholds the principle that each people has the right to choose its own course of development and decide its own fate in a sovereign way.

As a completely free country, Socialist Albania says what it thinks openly, without any hesitation and with complete sincerity. It applies a sovereign foreign policy which is not restricted by political pacts, military treaties or closed economic organizations. It does not base its economic and political developments, its defense and its future on the credits, loans or aid from other states but on its own forces.

As a result of this, the voice of Albania has always been a free, realistic and objective voice in a world where the dependence on and subjugation of many states to big imperialist powers restrict and distort any independent thought or action.

During the period since the 7th Congress of the Party, our State, basing itself on the well-known principles of equality, respect and sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs, and reciprocal benefit, has extended its diplomatic, commercial and cultural relations with an ever greater number of states and has steadily increased its exchanges with them in various fields. Today the Peoples' Socialist Republic of Albania maintains diplomatic relations with 95 states as against 74 states with which it maintained relations at the time of the 7th Congress of the Party.

The policy of our Party and our socialist state has been and always will be for the continuous strengthening of sincere relations of friendship and collaboration with all the freedom-loving and peace-loving peoples, with all those who fight against the aggressive and hegemonic policy of the imperialists. It is for the development of sincere collaboration with all those countries which wish it well and maintain a correct attitude towards it.

Our Party and country are opposed to all those imperialist and neo-colonialist practices of inequality, discrimination and great-state dictate in international relations. We believe that the relations between states, whether big or small, should be free from any kind of economic, political and economic pressure and dictate, and should serve their economic, cultural and social development, the strengthening of friendship between sovereign peoples and states, and the interests of the maintenance and strengthening of peace in the world.

Our socialist state has been and is for the normal and free development of international trade on the basis of equality and reciprocal benefit. Our country is for balanced trade exchanges without discrimination or restrictive measures, therefore it has expressed its opposition to unequal relations in trade exchanges, to the manipulation of prices and, in general, to machinations and attempts by any state at all, which aims to exploit trade relations as a means of pressure in order to dictate its own political will and views to the other state.

We do not confuse trade exchanges with receiving of aid and credits. These are two separate, unconnected things.

The way we understand and carry on foreign trade, leaves the Albanian state a free hand to act and decide for itself, to have its say just as it thinks and to build the country with its own forces as it desires . . . .

It is the principled and independent internal and foreign policy of our Party and socialist state, their just stands on international issues on the side of the peoples and against imperialism, which have strengthened the international position of Albania and raised its prestige.

The word and deed of Albania are listened to and welcomed with respect by the peoples and workers of different countries, because they are in conformity with their own interests and aspirations. That is why the peoples and progressive opinion throughout the world prize and approve this policy, why the countries and states with different social systems follow with interest and admire it, while reaction and the Soviet, Yugoslav and other modern revisionists, attack it.



Extracts from the Report Submitted to the  
8th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania, November 1, 1981.

Amidst this chaos created by their economic, political and moral crises, the imperialist and revisionist enemies are making a great ado about the "isolated position and situation" of our country. But is Albania isolated from the foreign world, as the revisionists of all hues and the various imperialist enemies claim and want it to be?

The answer to this question depends on the class and ideological standpoint from which one views this question.

From our state, ideological and political standpoint, the Peoples' Socialist Republic of Albania has never been, is not and will not be isolated. We have diplomatic relations with the majority of the states of the world, and there is nothing to prevent us from having such relations with the remaining ones. With the United States and the Soviet Union, however, we do not want such relations, whereas Great Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany have unpaid debts to the Peoples' Socialist Republic of Albania, the former for the stolen gold and the latter for war reparations.

This is how things stand, in regard to our trade relations with many capitalist-revisionist countries. The trade between us and these countries is conducted with clearing or *cash*. In this field, too, there is no isolation.

When it is politically advantageous and when the other party agrees, we also establish and develop cultural relations with many capitalist countries, exchange experience in the fields of education, culture and technology. For our part, the extension of activities in these fields depends only on the material possibilities. Hence, in this field, too, there is no isolation.

In regard to the development of tourism, we do not do this on the scale or in those forms that the capitalist and revisionist countries do, or with their aims of making profits and spreading degeneration. We permit tourism for friends and well-wishers of socialist Albania, for honest people from countries and states which maintain friendly and correct stands towards our country. Tourism in Albania is not an industry and a means of corruption or hooliganism. And because tourism of that kind is not permitted in our country, the enemies say that the Peoples' Socialist Republic of Albania "is a closed, isolated country". But when, if ever, have our imperialist and revisionist enemies spoken well of the Albanian people and of Albania? When have they not slandered our policy, our ancient and modern history and our victories? However, this has done Albania and the Albanian people no harm. On the contrary, their prestige and authority have been raised higher and higher. Hence, from our standpoint and the standpoint of the truth we are not and never will be isolated. We have told the imperialists and revisionists and we will tell them once again that Albania is not an inn with its doors wide open for pigs and sows to enter. In the cities, mountains, the plains and the shores of our socialist Homeland there is and will be no room for

their ugly, degenerate way of life and thinking.

We know that the revisionist states (Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, etc.) and the capitalist states call our country isolated from the world because it has not entered and will not enter their orbit, because it is not economically dependent on them, does not accept credits from or get into debt with them, because it is not politically dependent on them, does not allow its independence and sovereignty to be violated and alters neither its state order nor its Marxist-Leninist ideology. This is how it has been and how it will be in the future, too.

In the opinion of some of these states, the independent policy which the Peoples' Socialist Republic of Albania pursues in all fields and in all circumstances, is something of an anachronism. We can understand why they have this opinion. For them, it is an anachronism that our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not in crisis, that it is not influenced by the great world crisis, that our state has political stability, that our economy is developing year by year, that there are absolutely no price rises for any goods, that there is no unemployment, economic and political emigration, as there are in the capitalist-revisionist countries all over the world.

But can we say that Albania, with the social order it is building, is a case isolated from the various states which are in a political, economic and moral crisis. On this count and because of the very good, sound situation in our country, yes, they are right to say that we are "isolated" from them and the evils of their social order and policy.

Therefore, with its principled and independent policy, with its courage and the tangible results it has achieved, small as it is, Albania plays a dual socio-political role in the international arena — on the one hand it exposes the capitalist-revisionist order and its policy, on the other hand it plays a constructive revolutionary role, encouraging the peoples of the world who are fighting for their liberation from the yoke of capital.

It is from the prism of this great role that the question of whether or not socialist Albania is isolated must be judged.

Socialist Albania and the Party of Labor of Albania which leads it, love, respect and defend all the peoples of the world, while they, on their part, are in unity with us. Little Socialist Albania has become a great example in which the working masses place their hopes. In these conditions and circumstances then, there can be no talk of isolation of Albania. It is the capitalists, the revisionists, the imperialists and social-imperialists that are isolated and hated by the peoples. And it is precisely they who try to present the Peoples' Socialist Republic of Albania as isolated, who strive, without success, to distort its correct opinions and its victories, and in the final analysis, this is part of their efforts to isolate the Marxist-Leninist theory itself, to call it outdated and anachronistic. In this context they try to prove that "socialism can be built" guided by any kind of reformist, opportunist or even fascist ideology.

In the "strict" sense, the capitalist-revisionist states are not worried by the existence of a small country and people like ours, but in a broader

sense the ideology which guides our people, the genuine socialist society which is being built successfully in our country, where there are no political or economic troubles and a sound culture is being developed, worry them a great deal. That is why the enemies of the peoples try to present the sound moral-political situation of our people in a distorted way and to belittle the great and uninterrupted socio-economic progress of our country.

The struggle of all enemies of the peoples against our socialist country proceeds from the same class positions but with variations in intensity. This comes about because, while it is true that there is unity between capitalists and revisionists as enemies of socialism, there are also differences, struggles and feuds between them. There are struggles and feuds also between big and small states, between highly developed, less developed, and totally underdeveloped countries.

In the present epoch of the great crisis of capitalism, the capitalist-revisionist states are politically and economically dependent on one another. Of course, the strongest and the biggest are less dependent on the weakest and the smallest, but all of them are sensitive to and affected by the contradictions between them which are becoming more and more acute. These contradictions have their political and economic effect and are expressed in the stands of every state, internally and in the international relations between various states.

The present epoch can be called the epoch of the total destabilization of capitalism, of instability in politics, of general insecurity and gloomy and unclear prospects for the future. The idea of war predominates, because the world is being impelled in that direction through the unjust imperialist wars, although still localized, which are instigated by the imperialists and the social-imperialists. They think that the profound and acute contradictions which are eroding them will be resolved by means of war.

The peoples cannot and must not put any trust in the policy of the capitalist-revisionist states and in the demagoguery of this policy. What the peoples must clearly discern from the concrete facts, through the dense fog with which the superstructure of the capitalist-revisionist regime obscures their vision, distorts the reality, deceives the people and tries to blacken the road of the revolution, is not the external forms of the structure of the capitalist-revisionist states, but the content, the essence of this structure, whose hands wield this weapon and which class it serves.

This is a great serious problem which is difficult to understand and solve, but it is not insurmountable. The forces which oppose the revisionist attack are larger and more powerful. But they must be fully awakened, their consciousness tempered. These forces must be organized on a national and international scale. The device on which the strength of capitalism is based is its "divide and rule" policy. By this means capitalism crushes the weakest and makes him unable to object, binds him with a thousand threads so that he will always be a slave as an individual, a people or a state, exploits him to the maximum and creates

the illusion that he is living in a "free democratic world" in which he ought to be content with the miserable life he leads, for which he should be grateful to his overlord. The peoples must oppose this device with the glorious slogan of Marx: "Workers of all countries, unite!", a slogan which has terrified the capitalist bourgeoisie at all times.

In this chaotic and unequal development no progress can be made without all kinds of efforts and without struggle between oppressors and oppressed, between exploiters and exploited. The capitalist states vie with one another for supremacy. In most cases, because of their different interests, this contest between them develops into discord. Whoever comes out on top, he who manages to trip his rival and make him fall, he who succeeds in making the law and in imposing his policy of domination, is presented as the cleverest, the most successful politician. However his ruling position is not everlasting, because he creates two kinds of opponents: individuals from his own class who are rivals for ruling positions and capitalist profits, and the great opponent, the working class and the broad working masses who, through various forms of class struggle, erode the capitalist order from within, causing splits and bringing defeat after defeat upon it.

Impelled by the lure of illegal gains, its tendency to enslave peoples and engage in unscrupulous speculation at the cost of their blood and sweat, the capitalist world will never find stability in any field of life. Although the great advances achieved are the result of the toil and sweat of the working masses, they are excluded from any benefits and from them. The masses have been polarized on one side, and as such, are permanent opponents of the inhuman exploitation by the capitalist bourgeoisie.

In this eroding reality of defeat and political-economic instability, the capitalist-revisionist states are trying to find a temporary solution for the most acute and dangerous problems. However, the solutions they offer cannot be satisfactory, because they are one-sided in their aim and applied in a terrain which is quaking as a result of the popular upheavals. The great antagonisms within the ranks of capital and those between the bourgeoisie and the working class and masses of working people make these anti-popular solutions ineffective.

Seen from this class angle, the present development of the capitalist world leads to a more realistic understanding of the policy which capital follows to prolong its existence, of the methods and tactics of its struggles against the peoples.

Extracts from the article "Reflections – July 15, 1981",  
from *The Superpowers*.



## Ismail Kadare's "Chronicle in Stone"

David Pollack

The dark days of the fascist occupation is the theme of Ismail Kadare's short novel, *Chronicle in Stone*. The subject of World War II and the life and death struggle of the Albanian people against Mussolini's "empire" and the brutal occupation by Nazi troops are the touchstone of modern Albanian literature. The heroism and sacrifices of the partisan fighters has been recounted in many novels and short stories. Most of these reflect political or social aspects of the National Liberation War in conventional narrative (Shevqet Musaraj's *Before the Dawn* is an excellent example of these works.) Ismail Kadare has written a very different chronicle of those times: it is a compressed and fragmented narrative that is chilling in its reflection of the terror of war, as it conveys, as well, the strength of the people and their striving for emancipation.

Gjirokaster is an very old city —set steeply in the mountains of southern Albania, it is paved and built of stone. In 1939 it is a seemingly eternal, unchanging place. An adolescent boy (the mixture of his observations and his imagination) provides our window into this place and time. We observe the women: through the physical description of them drinking coffee, laughing and whispering, we are drawn into their gossip. We hear faintly, the vaguely comical warning of Kako Pino, "It's the end of the world!" This phrase resonates throughout the fragmented story —it gains volume as the fear of war intensifies, finally unleashing the destruction and suffering of modern warfare.

Against this impending fate of destruction and upheaval, the youth and inexperience of the boy sustains a certain irony. As he watches the last of the peasants leave the city after market-day, he wonders "about the strange division of people into peasants and city-dwellers. What were the villages like? Where were they and why didn't we ever see them? To tell the truth I didn't really believe the villages existed." Again the effect is almost comical, since at that time 90% of Albanians were peasants —much later in the chronicle, when the war forces the citizens of Gjirokaster to abandon their homes and flee to the countryside, the boy quite realistically describes the "strange and incomprehensible" rural landscape. Words and phrases that once had no meaning, had become serious and real. Words such as fascism and resistance.

Kadare plays upon the superficial appearance of things: he reveals glimpses of Gjirokaster in sketches that skillfully suggest other meanings. The boy, observing what he does not understand, is the perfect vehicle for this play. Just before the reality of the war strikes the city with full force, Kadare entertains us with a chapter in which the subject of magic takes hold of the city. The reader, of course, identifies some of this as pure superstition, and in these terms Kadare vividly portrays the backward aspect of the feudal culture in Albania. But these are not

caricatures —they are images of genuine depth, individuality and feeling. The description of Aunt Xhexho, “wrapped in black, with that characteristic harsh breathing, fear and unease trailing in her wake as always”, is imbued with realism; it also reflects the spirit of the fascist occupation; and it sets the tone of the narrative.

This tone is the unceasing, unstoppable motion towards war, towards the end of the world. And military airfield is built near the city. It is the subject of speculation. The boy and his friends are fascinated by the military technology. Two young men, Isa and Javer, progressive intellectuals, foretell the next phase of Albania’s anguish: Gjirokaster has become a military target. Night after night the air raid sirens cry out — the British bombs pummel the city, destroying the pavements and the old stone houses. Kadare re-creates this terror:

The siren was always soft at first, as if awakening from a dream, but then its wailing became more and more raucous. Between two blasts was a valley of silence. A deep valley. Then the peaks of wailing again. Loud and undulating. Pit of silence. A fresh wailing. Wailing and more wailing. An envelope like a membrane, with a whistle straining to break through it. A wild, savage whistling. The whole world a whistle. Then the bombs. Very near. Then a sudden thunderbolt, an invisible hand turns the world upside down and blows out the two kerosene lamps. Black darkness.

Daily life goes on amid the destruction: marriages are arranged, births and deaths are counted, and the women gossip. But it is also clear that the old way of life has been torn up as much as the stones of the city. The boy, too, has changed. His attention —and the narrative— becomes more objective, more serious.

Suddenly, the Italian army, defeated in Greece, withdrew from the city. Gjirokaster was then occupied by reactionary Greek nationalists, bent on claiming Albanian territory. Then the Greeks withdrew and the Italians returned. When Mussolini’s fascists occupied the city again, the resistance of the people had become visible. Acts of sabotage were aimed at the Italian soldiers. The city hall was torched. Albanians were arrested and deported. The gossip of the women identified the traitors and parasites who accommodated the fascist occupiers. Young people from the city, including the boy’s aunt, ran off to join the partisan fighters in the mountains.

When the fascist commandant was assassinated by an Albanian patriot, the young progressive, Isa, and two young women were captured, tortured and hung. That evening Javer killed the Albanian traitor (his uncle) who had killed Isa. In response, the fascists murdered six citizens, dumping the bodies in the town square —a brutal display of terror. The partisans, led by the Communist Party, stepped up their attacks against the fascist occupation, returning blow for blow. Mussolini’s “empire” had crumbled. The Italian army was defeated by the partisans and the soldiers fled in complete disarray. The bandit army of Isa Toska entered the city. The Greeks returned. Then, for a brief time, all the foreign armies camped on the edge of the city and left the stones of the city to

the people of Gjirokaster.

Following the defeat of the Italians, the underground resistance collected its due: on the orders of the people's courts of the National Liberation Council certain spies and traitors were executed. The order to execute Mak Karllashi and his sons was carried out by two veteran partisan fighters. The Karllashis were charged with treason: a wealthy family, they had collaborated with the Italian occupiers and actively supported the Balli Kombetar (a reactionary Albanian group that fought against the partisans.) But the one-armed partisan who carried out the execution also killed a girl who had clung to her father's coat. A partisan patrol, discovering this, ordered an immediate trial. The three partisans summoned as judges heard the man's explanation: "The enemies of the people cut off my right arm. I don't shoot well with the left. I hit the girl by accident." The judges conferred only briefly before condemning the partisan to death "for the misuse of revolutionary violence." The partisan died calling out "Long live the Party." Unlike the foreign occupiers, the bandit armies, or the rulers of the past, the partisans held themselves accountable before the people.

In 1943 the Germans occupied the city. The invasion forced the citizens of Gjirokaster to flee (the third such occasion in the history of the city) to the mountain villages. They, too, have been marked by the war. Through the boy's eyes we can mark the changes in him and the people around him. They share a hatred for the occupiers. Through the young men and women each family is linked to the resistance. And as they watch Gjirokaster burn (the end of the world) they know that the struggle will bring a new world, a better way of living. They yearn for freedom.

In the winter of that year the Nazis were to mount a terrible offensive against the people and the partisan fighters. But the chronicle ends before the story of this bitter fight is told—and Kadare does not allow us to celebrate the victory of the Albanian people in the spring of 1944. The chronicle ends as the people of Gjirokaster return to endure and to resist the Nazi occupation.

*Chronicle in Stone* is a novel of powerful emotion and poetic beauty. It is unconventional in form—the life of a city and its people marked by its disasters and catastrophes, etched in stone. Its characters are fashioned from real human emotional and psychological material. In short, *Chronicle in Stone* demonstrates the tremendous vitality of creative art under socialism. The principles of socialist realism (which are attacked by the cultured philistines of decadent Western culture as incapable of producing "genuine art") has inspired works of great achievement. The principles are an aspect "of world outlook, a summing up of the inner laws of art and its links with life, society and nature...their knowledge and implementation is a necessity for every author...."

It is clear that there is unity of purpose between Ismail Kadare, an author active in the life of the country ( he is currently vice-chairman of the Democratic Front, the largest popular organization in socialist Albania), and Ramiz Alia, the leader of the Party of Labor of Albania.

Speaking at a meeting of the Central Committee of the PLA in March 1988, Alia defined the role of art and culture under socialism:

Art, in particular, cannot be treated with unchangeable patterns and prefabricated elements. Being a spiritual product and reflection of reality, its expressions are endless, just as the breadth and depth of the human mind and social relations are endless. In the creative practice of our country, and in the more outstanding works of our literature and arts of socialist realism, it has been proved that unified aesthetic concepts lead not to schematism, but to innovation, not to rigidness and one-sidedness of themes, but to a profusion of themes and variety of styles.

Ismail Kadare represents the best expression of these principles. *Chronicle in Stone* is a work of the first rank in world literature, and it is our fortune to have this excellent translation available to us.



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