

REPORT OF THE ALBANIAN DEMOCRATIC AGRARIAN PARTY

Chairman: Hassan Dogtie

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is a great privilege for me to speak today in Washington, Capital of the world, bright hearth of civilization, cradle of liberty and democracy, in this hall where the sessions of the International Peasant Union meet, before this auditory in which are participating living forces, strong elements which represent international democracy in all its forms, tendencies and expressions.

I speak in behalf of the Democratic Agrarian Party "Balli Kombetar" of a small country, the unfortunate Albania.

The law of nature has willed and seemingly desires that some of these small peoples because of their own merits, because of the geographic position of their countries, in the course of the centuries and periods of time should be destined to play a great role in the fulfillment of an important mission in the history of civilization. The Greeks were a small people but their culture was extremely widespread. Even today their function in the Balkans and in the Mediterranean is of grave importance.

The ethnic groups of Slovenes and Croations have been very small, but their struggles have been great against the issuing and establishment of Germanism as a people in the Adriatic, meaning in the Mediterranean area. It seems that Providence assigned a special mission to the Baltic nations.

Albania is one of the smallest countries of Europe but her geographic position is of extraordinarily great significance from a double standpoint: strategic and naval. Sufficiently important are her material resources, particularly petroleum, copper, chrome and bitumen.

The Albanian people themselves are among the most endowed. They are distinguished for their sober peasant existence of the valley and the mountain and especially for their combative soul.

Soviet Russia has taken into consideration all the factors: geographic, economic, human. She has studied and learned them and is now methodically exploiting them.

Albania is a country with a peasant social and economic structure. Her people are traditionalists and are deeply attached to the ideas of family, land and individual and national liberty. The communist and socialist ideologies have been and are foreign to them. But force is force! When it is exercised violently and systematically, it cannot help but produce certain effects. It is a natural thing!

My purpose is not to give the history of the formation and organization of the Albanian Communist party or of its establishment in power. I limit myself to a few words.

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Up to the present time Moscow has not permitted a truly Albanian Communist party to exist. It is called the Party of Labor. It is not even represented in the Comintern. Why is this? A Kremlin mystery!

Communism, in Albania, is an article imported from abroad and inspired by the motives of international policy.

Bolshevism has always been able to work with tact and system. It has attempted to exploit the internal conditions of countries and the political situations of ethnic groups, created by treaties signed after the two wars of the Balkans in 1912 and 1913 and World War I.

Moscow entrusted this mission of exploiting the discontent of ethnic minorities of Central and Eastern Europe for a time, to the Vienna bureau of the Third International, which employed all its ingenuity. It did not reveal itself as an organization working for the propagation of Bolshevism. It declared that its aim was to see the triumph of the principle of nationalities, the self-determination of peoples which it had solemnly proclaimed from the first days of its establishment in power by the famous decree of November 8, 1917.

The directors of the Vienna bureau of the Third International for a time, went even further in their maneuvers. They exposed the mirage of the founding of a Balkan Confederation by the free will of a so-called democratic people. For a while they published in Vienna a large magazine entitled "The Balkan Confederation". In this many individuals in exile of various countries wrote in every language and alphabet of the Balkan peoples.

Thus, therefore, the first infiltration of leftist ideas in Albania was initiated by Vienna where certain exiled intellectuals could be found. Activity began not to propagandize Communism, but to create conditions of collaboration for the founding of a Balkan Confederation.

It is worthwhile to recall another fact. In Albania there are no universities. Albanian youth completed their education in foreign countries. Albanian students of the universities in Athens, Belgrade and Rome, for reasons that are easily understandable, comprehended more fully the students of Marxist and Communist tendencies rather than the chauvinistic elements of these countries. The one who laid the first stone in the foundation of the Communist Party in Albania in 1929, was Ali Klementi, a youth of Albanian origin, Yugoslav citizen, former student of the University of Belgrade. From 1929 until 1941 the Communist movement was amorphous. The number of adherents did not pass the hundred mark. It was composed of some students and workers.

The Albanian Communist Party manifested its vitality after 1941 when it was placed in the organization and discipline imposed by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. The latter, through two delegate organizers: Dushan Makosha and Miladin , set the apparatus of the party into motion. But even after this it is not revealed as a Communist movement because the people would not accept it, but as a National Liberation Movement destined to fight the foreign occupants.

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Thus, then, Moscow by employing her finest tactics, first, through the Vienna bureau and later, by the intervention of the Yugoslav Party, created the conditions of the foundation of an Albanian Communist movement. It formed a government called the Albanian Popular Republic headed by Enver Hoxha which placed itself in obedience to the Federated Republic of Yugoslavia. From facts which have come to light in recent times, it results that Enver Hoxha proposed twice to Belgrade that Albania become the Seventh Republic of Yugoslavia, on the condition that Belgrade integrate in Albania, Kosovo Metohi and assure good treatment for the Albanian ethnic minorities of other sections of Yugoslavia. Marshal Tito - perhaps contrary to his own wishes - hindered by internal and external circumstances, did not accept the proposition of the Albanian government. In June of 1948, when the crisis between Belgrade and Moscow occurred, Enver Hoxha's government felt forced to break with Belgrade and place itself directly under the orders of Moscow.

Profiting from the internal and external incidents, the Kremlin became Master of the situation in Albania. Using nearly three thousand persons sent as organizers, technicians and instructors, it has established its brutal rule in the country. It exploits all the economic resources and particularly the petroleum mines - these latter by a pipeline extending 90 k.m. from the wells to the depositories built in the harbor of Valona.

I do not wish to be lengthy in the descriptions of the functioning of the administrative apparatus of present-day Albania, in the activity of the open and secret policies or in the system of the economic organization of the country.

In Albania today, there does not, in reality, exist a government, not even as a puppet government. Enver Hoxha has established himself in power contrary to the will of the people, favored by certain circumstances of the times and by the force of the Yugoslav Communist Party. Today he is supported directly by the Kremlin which makes use of every means: diplomatic, financial and military.

In fact, the President of the government is actually Tchuvakin, formally Plenipotentiary Minister of Moscow accredited in Tirana, who, it is said, in recent days has been dismissed for his errors, so that he might be replaced by some other more energetic person.

Perhaps Enver Hoxha himself and his intimate clique, although they are Tovarichs of old, did not want to see and do not want to see even today, this tragic situation which has developed in Albania through Moscow.

Perhaps they themselves want to enjoy a kind of autonomy of their so-called government.

Therefore, the present government does not pledge in any way the moral, political and even less, the juridical responsibility of the Albanian nation before history, neither for the past happenings nor for the future developments which may occur in the international field.

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The police are organized and commanded by the specialists of Moscow. They function with the old Cheka methods. By its zealous activity it has filled the prisons, concentration camps and, it follows, the cemeteries. In the latter are buried those who underwent the test of martyrdom - by bullet in the polygon or by rope in the prison courtyards, in execution of the sentences emanating from the judges of the soviets of the villages - also, those who die in the prisons and in the camps because of torture, starvation and lack of care.

Recently, the Red regime has found a new means of genocide which it applies broadly: internal deportation. A major portion of the population of the villages of the mountain regions of the north, where the resistance is much stronger, was removed brutally from the homes of its ancestors and set down in straw huts built in the marshes of the fields of Myzeqe. The consequences of this practice are known. A large part of these peasants born and raised in the healthy climate of the mountains, died of malaria, of lack of shelter and of inanition. It is worthwhile to say a few words about the system and organization of industrial and agricultural production: the mines are exploited by the technicians dispatched by Moscow. These and only these assure deposit to the designated places - perhaps for the needs of the future - regulate the exportation of mined materials. In these, the Albanians are employed only as manual laborers.

Certain small factories for the transformation of agricultural products, which have been built are being managed directly by the State. Foreign trade is naturally a monopoly of the State. Domestic commerce in certain products is outwardly free but in reality is strictly controlled by the State.

The government, in order to draw the sympathy of the farmer, by virtue of a law promulgated in 1945, put into effect agrarian reforms by dividing the land among the peasants. After a short time the more fertile fields were placed under the regime of the Kolkhoz. In some mountain sections, for all appearances, the peasant became lord of the land, but in reality it was different. Even the mountain farmer is obliged to yield a part of his produce to the cooperatives which are organized by the State. Thus, full collectivization in all the sectors of economy!

It is known that Karl Marx said that religion is the opium of humanity. This concept of the prophet, Bolshevism has accepted as a doctrinal point of their program. It has attempted to practice it, methodically, in various forms and ways. When it was established in power, on the one hand, in appearance, it re-established - with all the rights defined by the Synod of one hundred chapters (Stoglav) of the 16th Century - the orthodox Patriarchate of Moscow, abolished by Peter the Great and it proclaimed Moscow, Rome III. On the other hand, it persecutes the Church mercilessly.

Moscow's agents employ these manoeuvres in Albania also: they maintain an outward evidence of religious institutions but they fight them severely.

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The persecutions enacted against the Orthodox and Moslem clergy are indescribable.

But Communism has revealed its greatest fury against the Albanian Catholic Church. Recently, it has gone even further. It has touched on certain points which it may be said are in the sphere of the dogma itself of the Apostolic Roman Catholic Church. On the basis of a decision taken by a so-called national synod, composed of a few terrorized priests and laymen, they have proclaimed the schism of the Albanian Catholic Church from the Holy See. This means the founding of an autocephalic Catholic Church in Albania, an unprecedented thing in the history of Christianity. A great revolution in the bosom of the Catholic Church!

Of course, this act with its moral, religious and political significance is not decided upon by Enver Hoxha or the Tshuvakin. Their act is ordered by Moscow. The question is to find out Moscow's intentions. The Holy See since 1945 has not retained a single tie with her believers in Albania. It may be that the Kremlin with this gesture is making first attempts towards the creation of precedents of the preliminary conditions with the preparation of souls to impose upon other countries under her rule reforms which have for their object, the weakening of the bonds which connect the Catholics with the Holy See, enemy number one of the Kremlin.

In the present state of affairs in Albania, that which mostly attracts the attention is the military problem. It is said that the strategs of the Kremlin sent to Albania, devote their activity to the organizing of the Albanian army; they have built a system of fortifications; they have created naval and air bases at many points along the Albanian coastline and particularly in Valona. Nothing is known with certainty. The Iron Curtain which covers the fortifications and bases are doubly thick. But everything is possible. The geographic configuration of Albania is significant.

History knows of the testament of the giant Czar, Peter the Great of Russia. The first article of the testament is the fight for an entrance to the warm seas of the Mediterranean. Russia of the period of the Czar, in its spring towards the Mediterranean found before it, obstacles placed by physical geography, by the Bosphor and Dardanelle Straits, by the military strength of the Ottoman Empire and, according to the times and opportunities, by the policies of the western European countries. In order to realize their purpose, Romanov Russia from 1711 until 1914 has been in eleven wars against the Turks - and once in 1855 even against the English, French and Italians who were closely guarding the doors of the Mediterranean. In other words, two wars in each generation.

The irony of fate! That grandiose plan which the Russia of the Czars and Czarines and the Most Holy Synod Ruler could not execute despite the rivers of blood shed by their soldiers, today is all but realized by Soviet Russia with her dogma which carries men of every race and nation even to wars of fratricide for the victory of her cause. Therefore, we may say that today Soviet Russia, from a fatal succession of internal and external events in Albania, virtually, and in an indirect manner, has entered and means to remain in the Mediterranean on the shores of Albania.

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Albania is the key to the Adriatic. It is the place where Eastern Europe touches with the west at a point of the ideal median line of the sector of the sea, which because of its narrowness is called the Otranto Channel. The distance from Valona to Otranto is exactly 44 miles. The hills of the coast of Italy are seen by the naked eye by the shepherds of our mountains.

Undoubtedly, the officers of the army and naval staff of Moscow sent an organizers, with their modern means of optics, see from the mountains of Valona, the Italian peninsula, in other words, the west, to the furthest horizon. Perhaps they even see the cupola of St. Peter against which they may have decided to throw arrows, by the advance guard situated in Albania.

But no! The Mediterranean is the basin of western civilization. In the development of this civilization all of the peoples of Europe have given their contribution. One of these is the Albanian people. It, regardless of its smallness, feels it has its own mission in history and in geography. It has the consciousness of its responsibility.

In fact, the Albanian people, although it has been left to its own destiny, resists, fights with all its means and strength, even with arms in the mountains of its eagles against the Red giant who has abolished the independence of the country, crushed human freedoms and is trying to use Albania as a place of political propaganda and as a base of military and sea operations in the Balkans and in the Mediterranean to execute its satanic plan which it is preparing against the democratic world of the west!

We are gathered at the third Congress of the I.P.U. which is composed of eleven parties of countries behind the Iron Curtain. In the future we will have, assuredly, in our bosom parties of other countries also. The agrarian parties because of the aspirations of the various conditions of the people they represent, are essentially democratic. They cannot be anything else. Among these parties a solidarity of program and of ideals exists, at the basis of which is democracy. The ideal of democracy binds the agrarian parties with all the parties and groups which represent democracy in other forms.

Our Congress is held in exile, here in the homeland of George Washington. This is not only the country of bright traditions of liberty and democracy. It is also the country in which the highest point has been reached in the development of the process of the fusion of different groups of peoples, nations and races. Naturally, the process has followed its own cycle, but its point of departure has been federalism.

The work of the agrarian parties is not restricted to the internal framework of countries. It extends even further.

The law requires that for every political and social realization there must first be action towards the creation of premises and conditions.

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Central and Eastern Europe has been ~~ideas~~^{areas} of volcanoes. A great misfortune! This has cost the world and people many sacrifices.

The I.P.U. is the organization most qualified to be put into the work of the creation of a moral political and social climate which would permit the comprehension, conciliation, collaboration and brotherhood of the nations of Central and Eastern Europe within the framework of independence and self-determination which find their expression, naturally, in a federalism of new type.

Let us open, then, the pages of history. The idea of the formation of a confederation of the people of Central and Danubian Europe is very ancient. At one time this was inspired also by considerations which were imposed upon the people against the Ottoman Empire. To this idea have adhered the poets and politicians of the period of the war of independence of Greece like Rigas Ypsilante.

But the idea of a confederation of Central and Balkan Europe in concrete lines was conceived by two great men, Louis Kossuth of Hungary and Ilija Garachanine of Serbia.

These chosen men saw matters concerning the Balkans and Central Europe clearly. In these countries, in those days, the antagonistic influences of the empires of the Czars of Russia and the Hapsburgs were exercised. These empires rested not only on military force but also on the divine force of the religions which protected their thrones. These two great forces practiced the Machiavellian maxim "divide ed impera". Happily, today, there no longer exists a force of Hapsburgs. Only the Red Colossus remains. But even he, as such, will be wiped out.

The plans of the Russia of the Czars, formulated by the Danielewks and Kamarovskis, who have had as their object, the founding of a Balkan and Danube confederation, do not meet with the approval of peoples today.

The evidence of the plans, also, of a Roumanian whose pseudonym was Latinus, must be treated as a fantasy: the Balkan federation. Naturally, there can no longer be any question of a collaboration of peoples along lines designated by the Danubian pacts signed in Rome in April 1934.

In the future the peoples of Central and Balkan Europe will be the masters of their own fates when they have been liberated. They will be in a position to practice the principle of self-determination in the domestic as well as the international fields.

In these days of the ennui of the exiles who live in the New World let us act as dignified representatives of ideals, in the name of which our people suffer in camps and prisons and for which they are being martyred in the polygons.

Their ideas have imposed duties and responsibilities upon us. Let us try therefore, to meet them and to forget the past between peoples, to blot out national, social and racial prejudices and chauvinism.

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We need to collaborate with all the other elements of democracy to be put in the work of raising of free countries bound by the links of a confederation in forms which the future will define.

History has registered in its annals, the First International held in the Saint Martin's Hall of London. This, by its work, with the motto "proletariats of all the world unite" with the revolutionary march that has the refrain: "the red flag will triumph" set to music by Adolphe Dageyter gave cause for antagonism, wars and catastrophes.

The motto of our international which meets today in the Washington Hotel is: "free people of Central and Eastern Europe come to collaborate, to fraternize in peace and in democracy". The march of our international will be the song of the love of people.

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