

PACIFIST DEMAGOGY AND THE OBJECTIVES OF THE SUPERPOWERS

The efforts of the U.S. and Soviet imperialists to spread illusions about peace everywhere, to instigate tendencies towards concession and compromise as well as they can, are aimed at concealing the aggressive plans and the general imperialist policy of the Soviet-U.S. alliance

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA'S REPORT, DELIVERED AT THE 4TH PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY, JUST LIKE HIS OTHER RECENT SPEECHES, REPRESENTS VALUABLE MATERIAL, OF GREAT THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL IMPORTANCE TO THE PARTY AND THE ENTIRE PEOPLE.

SUCH SPEECHES GIVE US, AMONG OTHER THINGS, GREAT HELP IN CORRECTLY UNDERSTANDING THE PRESENT-DAY INTERNATIONAL SITUATION SO AS, NOT TO BECOME ENTANGLED IN THE TEMPORARY AND UNSTABLE CONJUNCTURES WHICH ARISE ON THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA, AND, IN PARTICULAR NOT TO ALLOW OURSELVES TO BE DECEIVED BY THE BIG WAVE OR EUPHORIC DEMAGOGY AND BY THE DECEPTIVE PACIFIST SPIRIT IN WHICH IMPERIALIST-REVISIONIST propaganda is seeking to suffocate the world. Striking at and exposing the sophisticated tactics by which the imperialists and the social-imperialists are trying to hoodwink and enslave the peoples, comrade Enver Hoxha's speeches urge us to further enhance our revolutionary vigilance towards the plans and plots they frame against peace and security in general, and against our country in particular and to mobilize all our forces against any danger and eventuality.

Bourgeois-revisionist propaganda seeks to convince the world that, as a result of the agreements concluded between the United States of America and the Soviet Union, between the East European countries and the German Federal Republic, at the Helsinki European Conference and in the projects for a new Atlantic charter or a United Europe, there has allegedly been created a situation in which «the equilibrium of threats is giving way to the equilibrium of security».

But what does reality show? Neither the present-day situation nor the signs of the near future give any cause to believe the false slogans spread by Moscow and Washington.

The diabolical imperialist-revisionist tactic aims to spread false illusions about peace, a spirit of pacifism and reconciliation and to incite the tendencies towards compromise and concession as much as possible. Its purpose is to create in the masses a feeling of fatality, of political and ideological indifferentism towards the course and actions of the two superpowers in order to conceal the aggressive plans and the imperialist policy of the Soviet-U.S. alliance in general.

Behind this great diplomatic and propaganda diversion are hidden the efforts of the two superpowers to establish their control and domination over the political, economic and military aspects of the national life of all countries, to divide imperialist world power between them, and to

create a joint U.S.-Soviet imperialism. The annual summit meetings of the chieftains of the United States of America and the Soviet Union, and the «global» agreements concluded there, are a clear expression of their aim to set up a kind of world super-government examining and deciding on the destinies of nations and of all the peoples.

In his report to the 4th Plenum, comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that the U.S. and Soviet imperialists, with a view to preserving their imperialist interests and extending their spheres of influence, have also created a multitude of theories, which poison the consciousness and befuddle the minds of people. By this means they seek to impose the imperialist concept according to which the destinies of war and peace depend solely upon the big two, who have allegedly and almost divine right to become arbiters of international affairs, and whose stands and actions must be sacred and sacrosanct. Of this nature is also the so-called theory of the «necessity of preserving the equilibrium between the two superpowers». According to this theory the motive forces of our epoch are represented by the two superpowers; these determine present world development, give current international relations their features, create peaceful or threatening situations, and decide, in the final instance, whether there will be war or peace. According to the propagators of this theory, revolutionary and national liberation struggles, anti-imperialism and anti-social imperialism, anti-colonialism, the Afro-American movements in the United States or those of the Latin American Indians can be explained only by imperialist rivalry, competition and drive between the two superpowers. The moral of the fable is that should this rivalry lessen or disappear, all the «troubles» disquieting our world should lessen and wither away too.

We shall not dwell on this to explain the idealistic character, the entirely demagogical content and the falsification of reality in these theories. What must be countered and refuted with determination are the numerous efforts by the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists, politicians and diplomats to create a rigid concept and to raise it to an incontestable international norm, according to which Soviet-U.S. equilibrium and harmony, since they constitute the decisive factor in the preservation of world peace, should be accepted without hesitation, and all must

do their utmost so that, «for the sake of peace and international security», which depend on this equilibrium it may be preserved and strengthened at all costs.

The practical application of these theories means that the peoples must not rise against the imperialist domination of the two superpowers nor oppose their hegemonistic policy and their aggressive plans, for in this way, the equilibrium of the big two is disturbed, which leads to the disturbance of peace and the destruction of the world. Therefore, according to these theories, every country, even if it is affected by this «equilibrium», and all of them are affected by it, must not hesitate to make any sacrifice, to the detriment of its own national sovereignty and its supreme interests, provided the U.S.-Soviet duet has no dissonance. They demand that for the sake of «peaceful coexistence» between the two superpowers, the peoples should accept pressure and dictates «from above», thus sacrificing their right to judge and act independently, according to their own will, in the international arena.

A contribution is also made to the creation of a general psychology of submission and fatality by the campaign which the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists have carried out for many years about the problem of disarmament, and the theories created around it. By this means they want to prepare the peoples, ideologically, to approve and legitimize the monopoly of nuclear and modern weapons by the two superpowers, so that the peoples will pledge themselves, even juridically, not to arm. But such bourgeois-revisionist hypocrisy does not reside solely in the fact that both superpowers are seeking to secure for themselves the right to stockpile nuclear arms and other modern weapons, to improve them uninterruptedly, and to hold on to their technological monopoly. The main thing is that along with these monopolies goes blackmail and threats, fear and uncertainty in other countries about the military machine of the two superpowers, and the political, economic, psychological and other pressure such arms exert even without being used.

The bourgeois and revisionist propagandists are talking a great deal about securing borders, the non-use of force, and the avoidance of nuclear war, which have allegedly become possible as a result of the agreements that have been concluded between the United States and the Soviet Union.

But the agreements signed thus far between Moscow and Washington, as well as those that are expected to be signed, have nothing to do with curbing the armaments race, with the limitation of the nuclear weapons owned by the imperialist powers, or with any kind of control over them. What the United States of America and the Soviet Union have managed to achieve is the decision to proceed together in the field of armaments in line and in step, so that neither of them advances and neither lags behind, the decision to spend the means and forces in their armaments race more rationally. The imperialist political character of these agreements is quite clear. By setting the levels of mutual armaments and the equilibrium of military power between them, the superpowers have also set the level of superiority they must preserve over the armaments of other countries, and the distance in technology and time they must keep from them. The preservation of these ratios has engaged the two superpowers in working out a joint imperialist political and economic line with regard to others, and imperialist code of behaviour, limitations and prohibitions with regard to third parties. Such a distance or superiority in armaments conditions both efforts to preserve a monopoly of modern weapons, and also efforts by the two superpowers to establish, in every field a strict monopoly of the technology and science connected with armaments.

It is only a short step from this to a coordinated war, to interfere with and place under control the life and the internal and external activities of other countries. In a word, the joint and coordinated plans for armament, which they call disarmament, are aimed at uniting the U.S. and Soviet military powers for the establishment of armed control by the two powers over the entire world. The myth of disarmament, and all the bourgeois-revisionist theories created about it, are only bluffs which aim to lull public opinion, to divert attention from the policy of strength the two superpowers are implementing everywhere and to prevent people from discovering and understanding in advance their aggressive plans for war.

A lot of fuss is being made now, in both the East and the West, about a security which must include all seas and continents. We shall not discuss here the different aspects of real security, to which the peoples rightfully aspire, but we shall mention only one of its main factors. Eve-

rybody knows that security is very closely connected with military issues, with what actual chances it offers of avoiding or repelling aggression. Is such a thing guaranteed by previous Soviet-U.S. agreements, which the bourgeois and revisionist propagandists seek to present as if they have clarified the world situation, as if they have dissipated the clouds of war and have brought security and peace to the peoples? Not at all. Facts show that in the military fields, the United States and the Soviet Union seek to impose on other countries, through a series of multipartite and bipartite treaties and agreements to remain unarmed, or to have only limited and ineffective armaments, in the face of the increasing military power of the two superpowers; to remain tied hand and foot in the face of the growing improvement of armaments, in the face of the growth of military bases which have covered not only the earth and the seas but also the floor of the ocean and space.

The U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists seek to present the Helsinki talks, and those to be held in Vienna on the alleged balanced reduction of armed forces in Europe, as an example of real security. But what place, what weight and actual role in adopting decisions will, the states taking part in these conferences have, when it has been made public knowledge that the two superpowers have already agreed on what will be discussed and decided there? Under such conditions, are the talks in the Finnish or Austrian capital not merely the performance of a farce previously scripted at the Brezhnev-Nixon meetings?

Soviet-U.S. rapprochement and collaboration, which continue to extend, are an expression of the fact that the United States and the Soviet Union are constantly seeking to come to terms and decide on all world affairs by themselves, Big Power with Big Power, beyond the eyes and ears of others, and against their interests. Thus, Nixon and Brezhnev do not go to Vienna or Geneva, the United Nations Organisation or elsewhere, to talk about security and disarmament, but to legitimize their plans and selfish desires, to impose on sovereign states those decisions which they have come to terms on and have already decided on. They want to compel the European peoples to submit to the military blocs, to recognize the privileges and zones of influence of the two superpowers, to hand over to the latter the sovereign

rights of every nation to be equal in world relations and to decide by itself on the political and economic development of its own country. It has now become crystal-clear to everybody that the hopes of those who thought the Helsinki conference would strengthen the independence of some countries which are under the domination and the influence of the superpowers, or would urge others to attain self-government, were illusory. Both the Soviets and the Americans again openly stated that they would interfere by force whenever their interests in their respective zones were impaired. They want insecure and weak partners with a view to imposing on them their will and dictate. In Helsinki or Vienna, the United States of America and the Soviet Union want to deprive the European countries of the possibility and means of self-defence, of the capacity to object to the rule the big powers seek to establish in Europe.

The agreements, treaties, mutual concessions and compromises the United States of America and the Soviet Union conclude, being based on an expansionist and hegemonistic policy, can never contribute to the strengthening of peace and international security on either a large or a small scale. They do not eliminate inter-imperialist rivalries, which constitute one of the main causes of aggressive wars breaking out, on the contrary they lead everywhere to a gradual increase of contradictions and tension over the entire continent. They make the situation insecure, and they gradually build up tensions which, in crisis situations, are apt to explode, to the detriment of the interests of the peoples and nations.

The Soviet revisionists, in order to justify their alliance with U.S. imperialism and their unprincipled concessions, have launched the slogan that the ruling circles of the United States have allegedly become realistic now, have given up counter-revolutionary practices, neocolonialism, etc., and that rapprochement and collaboration with them bring about a certain moderation in their whole line.

The spreading of such opinions and illusions is not only evidence of the political decline and ideological degeneration of the Soviet leaders, but also it represents an attempt to whitewash U.S. imperialism and its aggressive policy. They want to persuade oppressed and dependent peoples to keep quiet, to persuade those threatened by imperialism to stay still, and let themselves be disarmed poli-

tically and ideologically. They want to convince the peoples that there is no longer a U.S. imperialism that backs Nguyen Van Thieu and bombs Cambodia, that there are no more Zionists who have occupied the Arab territories and are killing Palestinians, that there exists no fascist Portugal implementing genocide in Mozambique and in other African colonies, that the racist regime of South Africa and that of Ian Smith in Rhodesia do not exist, that there is no longer any danger of German revanchism or Japanese militarism being revived, that the reemergence of the fascists in the squares of Europe are only children's games, etc.

«Peaceful coexistence», as understood and interpreted by the imperialists and revisionists, means coexistence in ideology, strangling the class struggle, conquering the revolution and national liberation struggles. Capitalizing in these fields, they want to give weapons to various pacifists and opportunists, and throw them into struggle in order to split, through their theories and actions, the ranks of the working people, to alternate them from the battle front against capitalism and reaction. On a world scale, such «coexistence» seeks to consecrate the zones of influence and to legitimize the policy of arbitrary rule between the two superpowers; while on a smaller scale it is an expression of agreement between the conservative forces of the capitalist West and of the revisionist East to quell resistance, and to check and eliminate all revolutionary, patriotic and progressive trends in their respective countries.

Nixon seeks to soothe his allies and non-allies who are worried by his alliance with the Soviet revisionists, assuring them that he has included them under his atomic umbrella and that he would defend them against any threat. In compensation, he demands that he keep supreme economic and military command, and that they recognize his absolute right to define the global policy of his allies. The Soviet leaders, who have usurped command in the Warsaw Treaty, demand the same from their partners.

But it is now becoming increasingly obvious that the military protection of the superpowers is a fictitious defence, and that in reality it gradually transforms the «defenced» country into a political and

economic protectorate. If the European countries were to entrust their defence to the Americans and the Soviets, they would be placing a very heavy mortgage on their freedom and independence. How could one conceive, other than as an attempt to perpetuate domination over their respective zones, the call the United States and the Soviet Union are making to their allies to sacrifice their sovereignty for the sake of «defence» from the other superpower, with which they maintain relations, and are continually increasing collaboration in all fields?

The Soviet-U.S. alliance, reinforced with the new treaties signed and with those being projected, seeks to dictate its laws and conditions not only to its allies, but to all countries. The economic potential of the two superpowers, including the military one, will burst forth, exerting pressure in every zone and on every continent. The statements that, in the Soviet-U.S. meetings and in the agreements concluded between the two superpowers, the interests of other countries have not been affected, are empty promises, aimed at preventing others from learning and understanding what plots are being framed against them.

The threats, blackmail and dangers are great, but they should not be considered as unavoidable, in a fatalistic spirit. It is possible to cope with them, by exposing and protesting with all one's strength against the policy and actions of the Soviet-U.S. counterrevolutionary imperialist alliance. But prior to this, and in order to be fully conscious of this struggle, it is indispensable to reject the pacifist illusions, the imperialist-revisionist lies and deceptions, with which they are flooding the world. This, of course, is a great and fierce battle, but it can be won if people firmly uphold the great principle confirmed by history and experience, and forcefully stressed again by comrade Enver Hoxha in his report to the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA, that «even if a certain detente actually exists, it can exist only between the imperialist powers; there is not, and there will not be, any relaxation of tension between them and us, between the peoples on the one hand and the imperialists and social imperialists on the other hand».



In socialist Albania a great care is shown for the education and the elevation of the cultural standard of the working people. Houses and palaces of culture have been set up for this purpose. In the photo: The palace of culture and education in the oil city of Patos.

of the PLA.
In this issue we are publishing a fragment from the chapter devoted to the creation of the Party, on November 8, 1941.

ORGANIZED LEADERSHIP OF

Many readers of our review have applied to the Editorial Office with the demand to ensure to them the History of the Party of Labour of Albania. This work, which has been prepared by the Institute of the Marxist-Leninist Studies under the Central Committee of the PLA, has been translated and published in the Chinese, English, French, Spanish, German, Italian, Russian, etc. languages and is sold in all the bookshops where one can find also «Albania Today» or it can be directly ordered in the following address: «Drejtoria e përhapjes së librit» Tiranë. Despite this, to fulfill the desire of our readers we shall publish from time to time in our review fragments from the History of the PLA.

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PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

THE REVOLUTION - AN HISTORIC NECESSITY

THE FOUNDING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY - HISTORICALLY IMPERATIVE UNDER CONDITIONS OF THE WAR FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

The occupation of Albania was part of the general plan the fascist powers had begun to put into effect for establishing their domination of the world. The policy of repeated concessions pursued by Britain, France and the USA had further incited the aggressive aims of fascism. The talks which Britain and France had begun in 1939 with the Soviet Union under pressure from public opinion, were used by these powers as a smokescreen behind which to conceal their attempts to come to terms with Hitler. With a view to gaining time for strengthening its defenses and to avoiding a war on two fronts - against Germany and Japan - the Soviet Union, in 1939, signed a non-aggression treaty with Germany. In the early days of September, after the Hitlerites had attacked Poland, Britain and France, faced with fascist aggression which was being directed against them, also declared war on Nazi Germany.

Thus, the Second World War started as a war between the two main imperialist blocs. It was a result of the inevitable contradictions of the capitalist system in the epoch of the general crisis of imperialism. But, on the other hand, the people had risen against the fascist aggression and bondage. Their fight in defense of freedom and independence and to rid themselves of foreign bondage was a just anti-fascist war.

The Establishment of the Fascist Regime of Occupation

The occupation of Albania by Italy began a grim period of fascist enslavement for the Albanian people. The Italian invaders kept the landlord-bourgeois order intact. On the other

hand, they took immediate steps to carry out a broad program of political, economic and organizational measures aimed at legalizing and enforcing the occupation regime, at Italianizing the country and plundering its resources with a view to turning it into a base for extending their aggression in the Balkans and toward the east.

The Italian fascists tried to achieve these ends through both demagoguery and force. With a view to concealing the annexation, they called together a «Constituent Assembly» which proclaimed the «personal union» of Albania with Italy, offered the crown of Albania to the Italian King Victor Emmanuel III, and appointed a puppet Albanian Government headed by big landowner Shefqet Verlaci. In reality, Albania was turned into a province of the Italian Empire under the fascist dictatorship. The Italian «Viceroy» (Luogotenente) exercised all state power on behalf of and in the name of the king, carrying out to the letter the orders of the Rome Government. The puppet Albanian Government was simply an intermediary organ transmitting the will of fascist dictator Mussolini and the viceroy. The Albanian Ministry for Foreign Affairs was closed. Its functions were turned over to the Italian Ministry for Foreign Affairs. The other Ministries were, in fact, directed by the Italian «advisers». The Albanian armed forces became part of the Imperial Army and took their orders from the Italian headquarters. The Convention on the Equality of Civil and Political Rights in Albania between Italian and Albanian Citizens was accompanied with the influx of tens of thousands of Italian colonists (workers, farmers, specialists, teachers, entrepreneurs, merchants, employees, etc.). These, together with the occupation troops, made up the force which aimed, «inter alia», at the complete colonization and fascistization of the country.

On the one hand, the Italian invaders tried to preserve the semblance of an Albanian State while, on the other, they

officially proclaimed Italy and Albania as a «single territory». There was an unimpeded inflow of Italian capital into Albania. The Italian capitalists became the absolute masters of the economy of the country, turning it wholly into a base for raw materials and a closed market for their goods.

The Italian Government made feverish preparations to transform Albania into a military base for aggression against the neighboring Balkan countries. The building of new strategic roads, barracks, airfields, fortifications, etc. served this purpose.

In its policy of occupying Albania and turning it into a province of Italy, Mussolini's government had the full support of the reactionary ruling classes of the country. As far back as 1939, fascist Italy had set up a powerful agency among these classes and among the ranks of the bourgeois political exiles which served it faithfully in the enslavement of the Albanian people. Tending to place their property interests above those of the nation, the Albanian landed gentry in general maintained the same attitude. They had always maintained close relations with the foreign rulers who could ensure their class privileges. As traditional political turncoats, the landed gentry had no difficulty in abandoning Zog and linking up with the Italian invaders and supporting their policy in Albania since Italian fascism championed their class interests. Similar interests threw the tribal chieftains into the lap of fascism, too. The Italian invaders managed to take advantage of the ignorance of these patriarchal survivals and fondle their ambitions, thus making them blind tools of fascism in Albania.

The interests of the country were betrayed also by the Albanian reactionary bourgeoisie, the greatest part of which was made up of the upper merchant bourgeoisie. They had long given up fighting in defense of the freedom and independence of the country, and had become a counter-revolutionary and anti-national force. The Italian invasion promoted the development of trade. The Albanian upper merchants together with the landed gentry and the high fascist functionaries became intermediaries and collaborators of the Italian monopolies in exploiting the Albanian market. Many of the local industrialists who had their factories closed because of difficulties created by Italian competition became traders and accumulated considerable wealth. Thus, the grand bourgeoisie became an appendage of the occupationists. The reactionary clergy, too, became a tool in the hands of fascism. The invaders appointed representatives of these classes and social strata to high posts in the fascist administration, hoping in that way to ensure for themselves a quiet domination over Albania.

The consequences of the establishment of the fascist regime were very soon felt by the Albanian people who lost all their freedom and national independence. Right from the start hundreds of Albanian patriots were confined in jails and deported to concentration camps in Italy. The fascists set up a powerful police apparatus in order to mop up «suspects and persons potentially dangerous to the regime». The employees were forced to swear allegiance to the king or lose their jobs. Fascist law created an atmosphere of terror and insecurity throughout the land.

On the other hand, the illusory improvement of the economic situation brought about by the temporary elimination of unemployment through large construction schemes, mainly of military character, and through dumping cheap Italian commodities on the market, ended very soon in fiasco. Work-

shops of Albanian handicrafts closed door one after another, because they could not compete with Italian industry. Ruin of the handicraftsmen became general. Albanian workers were forced to work ten hours a day for wages which, with the constant rise of prices, could provide only for a hand to mouth existence. Discrimination between Albanian and Italian workers after the occupation became even more blatant. There was no protection or labor insurance for Albanian workers. The Italian enterprises had the right to extend the workday whenever they judged their work to be of an extraordinary and essential nature.

The systematic plunder by the invaders also affected the interests of the peasantry. Compulsory delivery of agricultural products at very low prices to capitalist firms, the expropriation of small farmers by the Italian banks, and the confiscation of thousands of hectares of land for military needs, deepened the process of impoverishment of the masses of the peasantry.

The Beginnings of the National-liberation Movement. On the Order of the Day: The Union of the Communists

The loss of freedom and national independence shook the Albanian people, deeply affected their traditional sentiments of ardent love of country and national pride. Their hatred toward the invaders grew from day to day. Their resentment was expressed in various ways: in sabotaging all plans of Italianizing and fascistizing the Albanian people, in refusing to enrol in the fascist party and other fascist organizations, in resisting the laws of the occupation regime, etc. The workers and school youth were outstanding in this resistance.

Under Italian occupation, the workers' movement assumed a pronounced anti-fascist political character. Factories and large work-sites became hotbeds of opposition against the capitalist exploiters and the invaders. Frequent strikes took place in various cities. The workers went on strike not only for economic claims but also to express their indignation and to sabotage production for the invaders.

Secondary schools became centres of a fiery movement against fascism. Even before occupation, the school youth had stood out for their patriotic and democratic sentiments. Under the influence and guidance of the communist groups, they had become resolute fighters against Zog's regime, against obscurantism, and against fascism. In addition, they had become the bearers of communist and revolutionary democratic ideas to the masses. After occupation, the school youth were among the first to express firmly their hatred toward the fascist invaders. They opposed and sabotaged the spread of fascist culture, leading demonstrations and protests against fascism, propagating ideas of militant patriotism and communism. In this respect, the school youth served as a sound support of the communist and the anti-fascist movement in general.

The new situation created after occupation raised the fundamental task of arousing all the people in struggle to frustrate the fascist plan of Italianizing and plundering the country, to free Albania and to regain national independence.

The accomplishment of this task called for a revolutionary leadership to work out the political platform of the anti-



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Enver Hoxha – the founder and leader of the Party

fascist war, to mobilize and organize the people for this struggle.

A leadership of this kind was lacking. The communist groups were the only political organizations concerned about the destiny of the homeland and people in those critical days. These groups maintained a resolute stand against the regime of occupation. But discord prevented them from working out a common line for the liberation struggle, for linking up with the popular masses and becoming their leadership.

The necessity for the uniting of these groups and the creation of a single communist party was a matter of urgency. The accomplishment of this task was not easy. It was necessary to overcome major obstacles in order to remove all disagreements and divisions, which were nurtured especially by their leaders, although the need for unity was already felt by the majority of the communists.

To achieve the union of communist forces and organize the anti-fascist struggle, the old course of negotiations among the leaders was pursued. The two opposing views regarding the character of the war again came to grips at these negotiations. The leaders of the Korça Communist Group insisted on organizing a national-liberation war with the participation of all the classes and social strata who were willing to fight against the foreign invaders. The leaders of the Shkodra Communist Group and other organizations, who had not given up their sectarian stand, adapted their old views to the new situation. They were of the opinion that, as a result of the Italian occupation, Albania was embarking on the road to a speedy capitalist development. Consequently, the growth of the working class would create the basis for a socialist revolution!

The negotiations between the leaders of the Korça and Shkodra Communist Groups led to the formation, in the fall of 1939, of a so-called joint «Central Committee» made up of an equal number of members, two from each group. This agreement was nothing but a «social democratic compromise».1 It did not envisage the fusion of the two groups into a single organization. The groups still remained separated, each preserving its own views and not purging its ranks of anti-Marxist elements. The leaders of the Shkodra Communist Group accepted only the expulsion of Trotskyite Niko Xoxi. Built on such weak foundations, this «union» from above remained altogether formal.

While the negotiations among the leaders of the communist groups dragged along for months, the popular antifascist movement was growing all over the country. The communists stood at the head of this movement. After the occupation of the country, a radical change had taken place in their understanding. The rank and file members of the communist groups were becoming more and more aware that unity could not be achieved through sterile talks among chiefs but through a common struggle against the fascist invaders. This gradually pushed the political and ideological differences into the background. The authority and influence of the chiefs upon the rank and file of the groups had declined. On their own initiative, the communists threw themselves into struggle against the foreign occupiers and became agitators for the liberation war. On Flag Day, November 28, 1939, they led antifascist mass demonstrations in the principal cities of the country. The demonstrations were conducted under the slogans:

«Long live free Albania!» «Liberty or death!». The communists were the inspirers and leaders of the anti-fascist movement of the workers and the school youth.

«At war and at grips with the invaders and Quislings, united for a single purpose: the liberation of the country from the invaders, the sound communists at the grass roots of the various groups were forging links with one another in blood, forgetting their squabbles and feuds, crystallizing out a correct communist line, and demanding union into a single party as a 'conditio sine qua non' for organizing and guiding the war of liberation».2

The successes scored by the communists in organizing the anti-fascist movement during the early months after the occupation of the country served as an encouragement for the Korça Communist Group to strengthen and extend its field of activity to the other districts of the country and to put an end to the localism which had been an obstacle. At the beginning of 1940, it organized a branch in Tirana. Enver Hoxha was assigned to the leadership of this branch.

Enver Hoxha

Enver Hoxha was born on October 16, 1908 in Gjirokastra. The early years of his life coincided with a very critical period for the country when foreign invaders, who followed in succession, burnt and laid waste whole districts, committed mass murders of the population and spread misery everywhere. Life taught him to hate the enemies of the country and, although still young, to join the 1924 democratic movement.

At the Korça Lyceum, from which he graduated in 1930, Enver Hoxha experienced for the first time the brutality of the Zogite authorities and their jail for having organized with his comrades a rally of protest against thefts perpetrated at the expense of the student body.

He went to France to pursue his higher studies. His pronounced democratic propensities made Enver Hoxha a sympathizer of the French communist movement. In Paris he established connections with the editorial board of «L'Humanité», organ of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, to which he contributed materials denouncing Zog's regime in Albania.

When his scholarship was discontinued, Enver Hoxha was obliged to go to Belgium where he worked for a period at the Albanian Consulate in Brussels and continued his studies at the same time. But Zog's agents abroad detected his anti-Zog activity. He was dismissed from his job and was obliged to return to Albania in 1936.

By this time, Enver Hoxha had become a communist and, as such, devoted himself to the struggle to liberate the people. The oath he took at the grave of patriot Bajo Topulli in Gjirokastra that he and all the youth would fight for «a better Albania», for «the welfare of the country», for «the real unification of the nation» was a program of action for him.

Enver Hoxha began his revolutionary activity in his home country as a teacher first at the Tirana Gymnasium and then at the Korça Lyceum. He joined the Korça Communist Group and became one of its most active members. He made skilful use of the school platform in order to impart democratic and

communist ideas to the students. He became also one of the principal educators of the «Rinia Korçare» (= «Korça Youth») out-of-school organization and an indefatigable militant for the unity of the Albanian communist movement.

On the eve of the fascist occupation Enver Hoxha, together with the other comrades of the group, worked with might and main to organize popular resistance. He kept up these efforts also after the invasion of the country. His revolutionary activity brought him under the eye of the fascist invaders and they dismissed him from his job as an «anti-regime element». The leadership of the Korça Communist Group decided to send him to Tirana, charging him with the task of extending the activity of the group on a sound basis, by organizing the anti-fascist movement in the capital and other districts of the country.

Under Enver Hoxha's leadership, the Tirana branch became an important centre of the communist and antifascist movement in the capital.

Appreciating the determination of the rank and file of the communist groups to fight against fascism and their ardent desire for the union of the communist movement and the founding of a communist party, Enver Hoxha carried on with them, patiently and wisely, tireless work of clarification and organization. At the same time he established connections with patriotic nationalists who hated the fascist invaders and were willing to fight against them.

Further Difficulties on the Road to Unity.

The «Youth» Group

Precisely at the time when the union of groups and the creation of a single communist party had become imperative, further difficulties arose to hinder this purpose. A faction which had begun to form in the ranks of the Korça Communist Group before the occupation of the country emerged as a separate group in February 1940. Eventually it assumed the name the «Youth» Group. The emergence of this new group had been encouraged by the split and other shortcomings in the communist movement, factors which favored the activity of anti-Marxist elements.

The group was headed by Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte, elements of pronounced Trotskyite and anarchist inclinations. Taking advantage of the lack of sound connections between the Korça Communist Group and its organizations in Tirana, Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte had succeeded in persuading some members whom they had recruited that the leaders of the Korça Communist Group were incapable of directing the communist movement and that their ideological views and political line were erroneous. They were soon able to swell the ranks of their faction with intellectual elements of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois origin among whom anti-Marxist views, borrowed partly from those of the leaders of the Shkodra Communist Group, struck root at once. The «Youth» Group set up branches in the principal cities of the country, even in Korça where it took advantage of the dissolution of the cells which had caused discontent and confusion among some of the communists.

The «Youth» Group began to violate openly the joint decisions of the «Central Committee». The leaders of the Shkodra

Communist Group, thinking that these factionists acted in line with instructions from the Korça Communist Group with which they were formally associated, accused them of insincerity and disloyalty. They used this as a pretext to withdraw from the «Central Committee» thus bringing about its dissolution.

This is how the 1939 autumn agreement was annulled. Instead of achieving closer contact and unity, the gap between these groups became deeper. The «Youth» Group began open struggle against the Korça Communist Group and established connections with the Shkodra Communist Group. The minor communist organizations fused gradually into three principal communist groups.

The leadership of the «Youth» Group issued an anti-Marxist ideological and political platform of its own. It held that in Albania there was no proletariat, no class struggle and, therefore, no basis existed for the formation of a communist party, that the peasants were conservative, reactionary, and could not become the ally of the working class. They had adopted the Trotskyite theory of educating and preserving cadres. They considered connections and work with the masses as dangerous, for that would endanger the cadres!

The political views of the chiefs of this group were thoroughly mistaken and dangerous to the communist and antifascist movement. Like Zef Mala and Niko Xoxi, they thought that the fascist invasion would bring about the development of capitalism, the growth of the proletariat, and the consolidation of the relations between the Albanian and Italian working classes. Thus class struggle would develop, creating favorable conditions for founding a communist party to lead the struggle for socialism. They did not grasp the reasons which obliged the Soviet Union to sign the non-aggression treaty with Germany, or the aim of this treaty, and assessed it as harmful to the antifascist struggle of the people.

The chiefs of the «Youth» Group and some of their followers degenerated into a sect of anarchists.

The simultaneous emergence of the «Zjarri» (= «Fire») Group in Albania added greatly to the confusion created by the formation of the «Youth» Group. Trotskyite Andrea Zisi, having done his utmost to dissuade the Albanian antifascist youth residing in Athens from coming to their native land to fight the fascist aggressors, returned to Albania, bent on sabotaging the communist and antifascist movement. In Korça he formed a «Central Committee» and in both Tirana and Vlora a «Regional Committee». The whole work of the group was concentrated on «educating» its members.

Andrea Zisi had hatched up a new «theory» according to which the fascist stronghold should be taken from within and, therefore, instead of fighting the fascists openly, the communists should merge with them in their political and organizational apparatus. Bedri Spahiu incited a few communist officers to adopt these views, too.

The Stand of the Communists and the Albanian People Toward Fascist Aggression Against the Neighboring Peoples

In June 1940, when the sound communists of the various groups were fighting against fascism and against the Trotskyites for unification of the Albanian communist movement, Italy

entered the war on the side of Hitlerite Germany. The fascists tried to use the Albanians as cannon fodder. Starting from Albania, the Italian troops attacked Greece on October 28, 1940. Following a number of initial successes, they were compelled to retreat under the blows of the Greek army, withdrawing from Korça in November, and from Gjirokastra at the beginning of December 1940.

The Greek-Italian War brought further suffering and devastation to the Albanian people. Far from supporting the fascist aggression against Greece, the Albanian people did what they could to help the fraternal Greek people in their war of liberation. The communists launched a wide propaganda campaign to expose the imperialist and fascist schemes, and to lay bare the rottenness of the fascist regime. They issued a call to the Albanian soldiers and militiamen who had been recruited by force to desert the front, and to the youth not to report to the recruiting centres but to take to the mountains. The work of communists and anti-fascist patriots completely frustrated the fascist plan of military and «civil» mobilization of the Albanians. The Albanian soldiers forced to go to the Greek front by the Italian fascists refused to fight and deserted 'en masse'. Sabotaging the fascist military machine behind the lines took place more frequently. Since Italian fascism was a common enemy, the population of the districts occupied by Greek forces gave the latter all the assistance they could. But the Greek Government maintained an openly chauvinistic attitude toward the Albanian people. It hindered militant unity between the Albanians and Greeks against the fascist invaders and tried to carry out the old plans of the chauvinistic Greek bourgeoisie to annex Korça and Gjirokastra.

The Korça communists, too, came up against this hostile attitude of the Greek occupation authorities. As soon as the Italian troops withdrew, the communists set up the «Committee for Defense of the City» and formed a small armed detachment of communists and sympathizers of the group to maintain law and order. A conflict arose at the first contact between the committee and the Greek military authorities on the status of Greek occupation. The committee rejected the Athens demand that the coming of Greek troops should be considered as «the liberation of the Greek city of Korça». The Greeks, on their part, rejected the committee's proposal to form a number of Albanian battalions to fight under their own national flag against the Italian invaders. They dispersed the committee. On Independence Day, November 28, 1940, the communists organized a major rally in the city of Korça with a view to raising the morale of the population and to demonstrating to the Greek Government that the Korça people, like all the rest of the Albanian people, hated the Italian fascists but would not accept the claims of the Greek chauvinists to Albanian territory.

The Greek occupation of the southern regions of Albania did not last long. The events that took place in the spring of 1941 totally changed the situation in the Balkans. Having occupied Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium and France, Hitlerite Germany marched its troops into Finland, Rumania and Bulgaria, and in April 1941 assaulted Yugoslavia and Greece. In a few days the German army occupied these countries and made it possible for the Italian troops to re-occupy South Albania and enter Greece.

The Greek-Italian War, during which Albania was turned into a battlefield, had important consequences here. The heavy losses in lives, the great material damage and the consolidation of the colonialist plundering policy of the invaders greatly aggravated the plight of the masses of the people. The defeats suffered by the Italians in this war clearly revealed the rottenness of Italian fascism and completely discredited it in the eyes of the Albanian people.

Italy extended its zone of occupation, creating «Great Albania» which included the piece of Albanian territory which had been turned over to Serbia by the Conference of Ambassadors of the Big Powers held in London in 1913. In order to make their positions secure in the Balkans, the German and Italian fascist invaders fomented the old national and chauvinistic quarrels of the reactionary classes of the Balkan countries. But the communists and the people as a whole did not fall into the trap of fascist demagoguery. They exposed the provocative policy of «Great Albania» and pursued the course of intensifying the war against the fascist invaders and of strengthening the collaboration with the neighboring peoples in their liberation struggle against their common enemy, relying on the right of self-determination of the peoples.

The Unity of the Communists in Battle Against Fascism

The fascist regime in Albania had been dealt a hard blow. It was beset with a political crisis which continually worsened, one expression of which was its inability to suppress the popular anti-fascist movement. In the spring of 1941, a group of freedom fighters led by patriot Myslim Peza had begun to carry out armed operations against the fascist invaders. The latter retaliated by undertaking their first mopping up operation in Peza. Mass desertions began from the ranks of the Albanian detachments. In May, popular resentment toward the foreign oppressors was expressed by a notable event. In the centre of Tirana, young Vasil Laçi fired a pistol shot at the King of Italy Victor Emmanuel III, who had come on a visit to Albania.

The revolutionary situation was ripening in Albania. The fascist invaders increased their measures of repression. They arrested and jailed thousands of patriots. Part of them, in order to escape police persecution or conscription for military service, took to the mountains and harassed the enemy singly or in small armed groups.

Assessing the importance of the Peza patriotic freedom fighters, Enver Hoxha and his comrades decided to send communists to give this group an organized character and uplift the political consciousness of its fighters. In talks conducted between Enver Hoxha and Myslim Peza, the latter gladly accepted the proposal to have communists in his group.

By taking to the mountains in order to organize and extend the national-liberation movement, the communists marked the beginning of a new stage in their activity. The communists took the initiative and tried to organize the armed anti-fascist movement in the other regions of the country as well.

Their propaganda work among the masses was assuming wide proportions. In addition to individual agitation, a role of significance was played in the communications of the

communists with the masses by the leaflets and proclamations distributed, at first, in the cities and, later, in the rural areas. But some of these writings carried incorrect political slogans like «For a Soviet Albania!», «For Communist Albania!», «For the Organization of an Albanian Red Army!» which had their origin in a wrong assessment of the conditions existing in Albania.

At this time, the development of the movement and the persistent demand of the communists for unity prompted the Korça and Shkodra Communist Groups to make a new attempt to establish collaboration. For the sake of internal peace and with a view to coordinating their anti-fascist activities, the two sides set up a «Committee of Arbitration» as a first step toward complete union. But this attempt did not yield satisfactory results either.

The Tirana branch of the Korça Communist Group, on its part, had carried on a wide range of activities among the ranks of the communists and patriotic nationalists and had established sound connections with them. Inspired by his ardent desire to achieve as soon as possible the unity of the Albanian communists into a single party, Enver Hoxha had not recoiled before the new difficulties that had arisen from the factionalist work of the «Youth» and «Zjarri» groups. He found a common language with the outstanding activists of the Shkodra Communist Group Vasil Shanto and Qemal Stafa. Under Enver Hoxha's lead, the Tirana branch became gradually the real organizing centre for the entire communist and anti-fascist movement in Albania. Dedicated communists of the different groups had united around this branch. They constituted the basis of the coming communist party.

While the anti-fascist resistance of the Albanian people was growing from day to day and a powerful national-liberation movement led by the communists had begun to develop also in the other countries occupied by the fascists, an event of significance took place which brought about a radical change in the international political situation. After having boosted its military potential by exploiting the economic and manpower resources of the enslaved countries and of its satellites and allies, Hitlerite Germany treacherously attacked the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. German imperialism had decided to annihilate the first socialist state. Intoxicated by the easy victories he had scored in Western Europe and in the Balkans, Hitler hoped to score a quick victory in the USSR.

Led by the Communist Party headed by J. V. Stalin, the Soviet people rose in a body to wage their Great Patriotic War in defense of the freedom and independence of their socialist homeland. This just war opened a new stage in the Second World War, strengthened the liberation, anti-fascist character of the struggle of peoples against the fascist bloc, and laid the foundations for the unification of all the anti-fascist forces of the world into a single front.

The war between the Soviet Union and Hitlerite Germany was a life and death struggle between socialism and fascism. The exploited masses the world over were interested in the victory of the Soviet Union over international fascist reaction. The people in countries under bondage were right in considering the Soviet Union as the main guarantee for the anti-fascist war to be carried through to final victory, to their liberation from fascist domination. Faced with a dangerous

enemy like Hitlerite Germany, and under the growing pressure of their people who demanded a powerful anti-fascist coalition, the governments of the two biggest capitalist countries – Britain and the USA – formed an alliance with the Soviet Union. This frustrated Hitler's plan of isolating the Land of the Soviets. The main strength of this big anti-fascist coalition lay in the Soviet Union without which no victory over the enemy was possible.

The treacherous fascist assault on the Soviet people and the outbreak of the Great Patriotic War had deep repercussions in Albania. While the Italian invaders, who had also declared war on the Soviet Union, and the home reactionaries, intoxicated by the preliminary successes of the nazis, launched a frenzied anti-Soviet and anti-communist campaign, the broad masses of Albanian patriots were indignant at the Hitlerite aggression.

The attachment the Albanian patriots felt for the Soviet Union had its own historical background. In their age-long struggle against foreign oppressors, the Albanian people had almost always been alone, without allies. The capitalist states had either maintained an openly hostile attitude toward them or had posed as «friends» for the purpose of stabbing them in the back and placing them under their control. Only the Soviet Union had defended the rights of Albania and raised its voice against the injustices perpetrated against her. With the entry of the Soviet Union into the war against fascism, the Albanian people had, for the first time in their history, a powerful and sincere friend and ally and, like all the other oppressed peoples, a sure guarantee of the inevitable destruction of the fascist bloc.

«Our struggle», Enver Hoxha said, «did not begin after the entry of the Soviet Union into the war, but after the entry of the Soviet Union into the war, our people felt that the blood they shed would not be shed in vain»³

Under the new circumstances created by the formation of the anti-fascist coalition of peoples with the Soviet Union as its vanguard, a major historical responsibility devolved upon the Albanian communists, namely, to provide, as soon as possible, a political leadership for the Albanian people by forming a communist party as a fundamental condition for organizing, directing and intensifying the anti-fascist national-liberation war. There was no other way out, and none but the communists could take upon themselves such a task under the specific historical conditions of Albania. The sound internationalist communists of the groups became well aware of this. Regardless of the ideological differences existing among them, the Albanian communists were united by the boundless affection they all nurtured for their country and for the Soviet Union. This became a very important factor in the closing of the ranks and the development of collaboration among them. Thus, a new stage began also for the communist movement itself. Now.

«... more than ever was felt, especially at the grass roots, the great harm that was caused to the communist movement by the sterile squabbles between the groups, and the pressing need to put an

end to these conflicts in order to achieve the necessary conditions for the unity of the movement in Albania».4

Immediately, the fighting against fascism, which was to unite the communists, assumed wide proportions. A good number of the members of all the groups were linked with one another in fighting operations against the invaders and traitors to the country. The desire to fight of the rank and file communists after the Hitlerite aggression against the USSR could not be opposed even by the leaders of the Shkodra Communist Group who had expressed their view that «the communists should fight when the Soviet Union entered the Second World War». Now the main role in the Shkodra Communist Group was played by Qemal Stafa and Vasil Shanto who had begun to collaborate with Enver Hoxha. The line of anti-fascist national-liberation war had become predominant in this group. The instructions issued to the group members at the time contained, among others, such exhortations as «As people who love your country, integrate with the masses, win their sympathy, come to terms with them and prepare them for an armed national movement».5

Their common political line brought the Shkodra Communist Group close to that of Korça and made possible the conclusion, in August 1941, of the agreement to collaborate in and organize together a number of anti-fascist operations. Later the «Youth» Group, too, joined this agreement, while the «Zjarri» Group did not respond to the call for collaboration. Among the most important of the joint anti-fascist operations of the groups was the mass anti-fascist rally in Tirana on October 28, 1941, the anniversary of the fascist celebration of the «March on Rome». Broad masses of the people of the capital took part in it. Enver Hoxha was the chief organizer of this demonstration. The fascists retaliated fiercely. Hunted by the fascists, Enver Hoxha was obliged to resort to clandestinity. The fascist authorities, passed a death sentence on him 'in absentia'. The Tirana demonstration was the touchstone for the unity of the Albanian communists. It showed the strength of this unity in the heat of battle against fascism as well as its importance in mobilizing the popular masses for the national-liberation movement.

The Tirana demonstration was followed by another big rally in Korça on November 8, 1941, also organized by the communist groups to protest against the mass arrests the fascists had made in the capital. It resulted in a bloody encounter with the carabinieri and fascist police. It was there that Koci Bako, a veteran member of the Korça Communist Group, was killed.

The political success of these demonstrations exerted a great influence on public opinion in the country. They further enhanced the name of the communists among the people. Their success, on the other hand, greatly embarrassed the fascist occupation authorities. They were given to understand that they had to deal with an opponent who was growing stronger, consolidating and becoming ever more of a menace to them.

The struggle of the Albanian communists themselves created, at last, favorable conditions for founding their party. Among the ranks of the communist groups there had sprung up professional revolutionary cadres who had been able to

rise above the disputes among the groups, had definitely embraced the line of an uncompromising war against the fascist invaders and traitors to the country, and had striven to unify the Albanian communist movement on this basis. It was these cadres who, through their tireless efforts, prepared the ideological and organizational framework of the Albanian Communist Party.

The anti-fascist war waged by the communists of the various groups shook the very foundations of the sectarianism and of the group spirit, which had prevailed up to that time. This struggle and their common ideology became the decisive factors which led to the 1941 August agreement to organize a meeting of representatives of all the principal communist groups which would take up the question of amalgamating these groups and founding the Communist Party of Albania.

THE FOUNDING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA

The Meeting of the Communist Groups to found the Party was held in secrecy in Tirana from 8th to 14th November, 1941. It was attended by 15 persons. Among them were Enver Hoxha, Qemal Stafa, Vasil hSanto, Pilo Peristeri and others.

The main problem for which the meeting had been called was solved in principle right at the start. On November 8th, the historic decision was taken to merge the groups and found the Communist Party of Albania (CPA).

The meeting heard the report on the activity of each group, pointed out the successes and shortcomings of the communist movement in Albania and took up for discussion the vital problems which faced the Party.

The majority of the representatives expressed their determination to put an end to the divisions and build a single Marxist-Leninist party based on a sound organizational and ideological unity and a militant political line.

Only Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte, the principal leaders and representatives of the «Youth» Group, tried to obstruct the attainment of this objective. They did not dare express themselves openly against the union of the communist groups, for a union of this kind was persistently demanded from the rank and file. But they advanced and defended the familiar Trotskyite views of their group and of the other traitors to Marxism-Leninism. They tried to prove especially «the lack of a proletariat», the «reactionary and conservative nature of the peasantry», the «lack of trained cadres», the «danger to which the cadres were exposed by open propaganda and agitation against fascism», the «vain hope of relying on the aid and support of the Soviet Union». By these arguments they aimed at creating the belief that the formation of a single communist party would be only a formal thing and that the party would never succeed in becoming the leader of the Albanian people and of directing the struggle for national liberation.

Enver Hoxha, supported by Qemal Stafa and other participants at the meeting who stood on Marxist-Leninist positions waged a principled struggle against these liquidatory theses. When they saw themselves beaten, Anastas Lula and Sadik

Premte agreed in a formal way to submit to the majority and pledged their word that they would abide by the decisions of the meeting.

The Meeting of the Communist Groups defined the ideological and organizational bases of the Party and worked out the fundamental questions of its general line for the period of the National-liberation War.

A Provisional Central Committee composed of seven persons was elected to lead the Party. Enver Hoxha was charged with heading it though no secretary was appointed.

A stipulation approved was that none of the former principal leaders (chairmen and assistant chairmen) of the groups would be elected to the leadership. This was not the result of a simple agreement but an exigency of the development of the communist and revolutionary movement. Affected by a pronounced group spirit, the group leaders had long been a stumbling-block to the union of the Albanian communists into a single party and had shown themselves incapable of directing the communists and revolutionary masses.

The Ideological and Organizational Bases of the Party

The meeting denounced the socialdemocratic views on the party of the working class which L Lazar Fundo tried to disseminate in Albania; it exposed the entirely Trotskyite line and activity of the «Zjarri» Group, which tried to legalize itself as «the Albanian Communist Party», and decided without reservation that the Communist Party of Albania would be organized and consolidated as a party of the new type:

«The party should not be a party of the old type, a party similar to that of the Second Socialdemocrat International infested with decay, inactivity, nepotism, factionalism and betrayal of the interests of the working class. We want a party capable of leading the working class in battle to victory....»⁶

The meeting denounced all the erroneous views alien to Marxist-Leninist ideology which had existed among the ranks of the communist groups. The «theory of cadres» was particularly stigmatized as defeatist and opportunist, for it isolated the communists from the masses, kept them as a sect trailing behind the masses, and would finally lead to the dissolution of the party.

Marxism-Leninism was adopted as the vanguard theory which would guide the party in working out its program and in all its activity. In this connection the task was set:

«We should strive energetically to uplift the cadres ideologically, theoretically and politically by imparting to them the Marxist-Leninist theory....»⁷

The Provisional Central Committee was charged with the task of purging all the literature of the communist groups of anti-Marxist, Trotskyite and anarchist material and of organizing the publication in Albanian, the distribution and study of the «History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), Short Course» as well as of a number of works by Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Vladimir Ilich Lenin and Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin.

Thus, right from the start, the Communist Party of Albania raised to a higher level the importance of the Marxist-Leninist theory and the communist understanding of its members as a force imparting life and vigor, opening up prospects and pointing the way to victory to the workers' and the liberation movements of the oppressed and exploited masses.

The meeting decided to put an end once for all to the rotten organizational structure of the communist groups, to their loose discipline, their spirit of factionalism and groupism, and to set up a party on a sound Marxist-Leninist organizational basis. Sound organization was considered as the principal means of making the party indestructible and of ensuring the application of its political line.

The first task assigned to the leaders of the communist groups was to turn all the links they had with their members over to the Provisional Central Committee. Thenceforth, the communists were obliged to carry out only the organizational norms defined by the meeting and the Central Committee based on the principle of democratic centralism which is the fundamental organizational principle of a Marxist-Leninist party.

Directives were issued to replace, as soon as possible, the old narrow cells of two or three persons with new cells. These would include the former members of the groups after their ranks had been purged of persons who had shown pronounced trends of sectarianism, opportunism and groupism. Besides the cells, Regional Party Committees would be set up. Strong ties should exist between the committees and cells. The meeting demanded that the cells show more initiative, merge with the broad masses of towns and countryside, and that the committees continually assist them and supervise their activities.

At the same time it was deemed necessary to introduce new blood, to increase the ranks of the Party with new members, with resolute fighters, workers and poor peasants, eliminating fear and sectarianism in admitting them to membership.

For admission to membership in the party the meeting approved V. I. Lenin's familiar formula which it put in these terms:

«Anyone can become a member of the party if he accepts the program of the party, takes part in party organization (cell) and pays his dues.»⁸

Special attention was attached to the unity and discipline of the Party:

«Without steel-like party discipline and unity, our Party which has a great number of enemies, will not be able to lead the struggle with success».⁹

To ensure sound unity and strict discipline the communists were called upon to keep their eyes open and not tolerate the infiltration into the Party ranks of careerist, trouble-making elements of a pronounced petty-bourgeois spirit who cannot accept discipline and who create favorable ground for anti-Party activity. At the same time, the Party organizations were charged with the task of expelling from their ranks without hesitation anyone manifesting anti-Marxist, opportunist and liquidatory trends. It was stressed that nepotism, groupism, factionalism and lack of discipline had no place in the Party.

A basic problem which the meeting took up for discussion and placed on the order of the day was that of linking the Party with the masses. It was persistently demanded that the malady of groupism should be wiped out without fail.

The meeting advised the communists never to forget J. V. Stalin's words:

«If they do not detach themselves from the people, from the mother who has given them birth, the communists will be invincible».

In order to link themselves with the broad masses of the urban and rural areas, with the youth and the women, in order to persuade them of the correctness of the Party's political line, the meeting pointed out this road to the communists: to carry out militant and intensive propaganda and agitation work among all strata of the people, to carry out as many active political and combative activities as possible; to accompany Party work of political enlightenment and political and fighting activity with the organization of the masses.

In order to ensure sound links with the masses, the meeting called for a change in the work with the youth and women, for an end to sluggishness, sectarianism and other blunders the groups had committed in this regard. The Provisional Central Committee was charged with the task of setting up without delay an organization of the communist youth through which all the Albanian youth would be mobilized for the anti-fascist struggle. While among women, the task was to do careful work, to see that women workers were enrolled in the Party and that the female population were mobilized for the liberation struggle.

The meeting attached special attention also to the preservation of the Party from its enemies who would do their utmost to destroy it. The Italian fascist invaders and their Albanian lackeys would launch their main attack on the Com-

munist Party of Albania rather than on the groups. They were backed up in this by the Trotskyites of the «Zjarri» Group and the renegades from communism. Therefore, the meeting called on the Party members to display high vigilance, to keep Party secrets so as to accustom the Party to work in complete clandestinity. In this connection the meeting sharply condemned the views of certain opportunists and traitors among group members who held that, under torture by the police or carabinieri, a communist might confess without necessarily committing treason. These were stigmatized as views alien to the party of the proletariat which had to be eliminated mercilessly.

Demanding that the communists maintain strict secrecy, the meeting, at the same time, drew attention to the need to understand this correctly, and not to make it a reason to limit their activity with the masses:

«Our secrecy is to safeguard the organization from the enemy, not to hide behind a screen and shut ourselves up in our own shell.»¹⁰

The Political Line for the National-liberation War

The political line of the Party was embodied in the political tasks which the Meeting of the Communist Groups worked out. The strategic aim of the Party for the historical period which the country was passing through was expressed in these terms:

«To fight for the national independence of the Albanian people and for a people's democratic government in an Albania free from fascism.»¹¹

This strategic objective was dictated by the basic antagonistic contradiction existing at the time in Albania which demanded an urgent solution in order to clear the way for national, social, economic and cultural development, namely, the contradiction between the people and the fascist invaders. Another contradiction existed also between the masses of the people and the exploiting classes, but at that time this was of second importance. Under the concrete conditions, this contradiction could not be solved apart from the primary antagonistic contradiction because the landlords, chieftains and the reactionary bourgeoisie constituted the social support of the invaders in our country. The interests of the principal exploiting classes of the country were closely bound to those of the fascist invaders. Therefore, the attainment of the strategic objective of the Party could not but affect the interests of these classes, of these tools of the foreign enslavers as well.

The Italian fascists were the plenipotentiary rulers in Albania and, as a consequence, they were also the principal enemies of the Albanian people at the time. Further, all

those who had sided with the invaders and had served them to oppress the Albanian people were stigmatized as traitors, as tools of fascism, and war was declared against them, the same as against the invaders.

The principal force and those most interested in attaining this strategic objective were the **workers and peasants** who bore the main brunt of the fascist oppression. Therefore, the Party set as one of its most important tasks

«to set up military units and spread them among the masses of workers in urban and rural areas».¹²

The non-worker patriotic strata were also interested in ensuring national independence. Therefore, the Party could not afford to neglect these strata, and it set down the rule of carrying on ceaseless work in order to mobilize them in the national-liberation movement.

«...Unite with all the nationalists¹³ who really want a free Albania, with all the honest Albanians who want to fight against fascism».¹⁴

With this was launched the idea of the **National-liberation Front**, an idea which would be worked out in a more definite and concrete form during the development of the war.

Anticipating that the fascist invaders and local reaction would resort to all means and methods to prevent the militant unity of the Albanian people, the Meeting of the Communist Groups called for the exposure and defeat of all the manoeuvres of the Italian fascists and of the Quisling government to disrupt the national-liberation front of the Albanian people.

When the Communist Party of Albania was founded, there was not a single anti-fascist political party which could represent the interests of the bourgeoisie, or of any other class or stratum of the population. Nevertheless, in principle, the meeting was in favor of the Communist Party's collaboration with other anti-fascist political parties in matters pertaining to the organization of the war against the invaders, if such parties were to be formed.

For the liberation of the country and the establishment of people's democracy in Albania, the meeting reached the conclusion that the only real and sure path to follow under the existing circumstances was that of an **armed uprising** against fascism. It decided:

«...to prepare the people politically and militarily to engage in a general armed uprising, embracing all the patriotic and anti-fascist forces in the struggle».¹⁵

While choosing the general armed uprising as the principal form, the Party did not neglect the other forms of struggle like strikes, anti-fascist demonstrations, sabotage,

oral and written exposure of the enemies, and so on. But the objective of all these activities was to prepare the people for a general armed uprising.

The organization of an armed uprising required, of course, the organization of the **armed forces**, of the **National-liberation Army**. The meeting stressed that without setting up a real people's army capable of dealing ceaseless blows at the enemies, of smashing their military and political apparatus, there could be no question of an armed uprising, no question of liberating the country, of winning national independence or of establishing a people's democratic government.

Under conditions of the occupation of Albania and of the Second World War, it was impossible for the armed uprising to break out immediately, for a people's revolutionary army to be created all at once. The development of the armed uprising and the creation of the National-liberation Army was a whole process in itself. This idea was clearly reflected in one of the political tasks defined by the meeting for the organizing of the partizan movement, the setting up of guerilla units and bands as the framework of the future people's army and as a tangible basis for the preparation of the general uprising.

In line with its strategic objective and the conditions created in the international situation as a result of the entry of the Soviet Union into the Second World War, the Communist Party of Albania also designated the external allies of the Albanian people as well as their attitude toward these allies.

On an international scale, the Albanian National-liberation War was an integral part of the anti-fascist struggle the world over. In their struggle the Albanian people should align themselves with the most active participants of the great anti-fascist coalition.

In this connection, the Meeting of the Communist Groups considered the Soviet Union, Great Britain, the United States of America and all the enslaved peoples who fought against the common enemy – the German, Italian and Japanese fascists – as the allies of the Albanian people. It set the task of **linking the Albanian National-liberation War with the Great Anti-fascist World War**.

The Party made a very correct assessment of the alliance of the Soviet Union with Great Britain and the USA as a military alliance dictated by the circumstances in order to save the world from the menace of fascist bondage. At the same time, it made different assessments of these allies and maintained a differentiated stand toward them.

The Provisional Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania issued a call to the Albanian people, who should link their National-liberation War closely with the heroic war of the Soviet Union which stood at the forefront of battle against fascism.¹⁶

The Communist Party of Albania considered the Soviet Union as the loyal and sincere ally of the Albanian people

which would also help them to establish and consolidate people's power in Albania. Whereas Great Britain and the USA were only temporary allies in the war against the fascist states.

The Meeting of the Communist Groups called to found the Party assigned the task of «developing love for the Soviet Union» by popularizing its role as a vanguard fighter against fascism and, at the same time, its major achievements in socialist construction.

It issued instructions also «to promote love and close militant collaboration between the Albanian people and the Balkan peoples, particularly the Serbian, Greek, Montenegrin and Macedonian peoples» who had risen in the anti-fascist liberation struggle.

Finally, the meeting expressed its confidence that the newly set up Communist Party would soon put an end to the sickly state in the communist movement in Albania, that it would take the lead in battle and that it would become capable of accomplishing its great historic task as leader of the Albanian people for their national liberation and social emancipation.

The historic significance of the Meeting of the Communist Groups lies in that it founded the Communist Party of Albania as a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party of the working class, a party of the new type.

It armed the Party with a clear political program that responded to the demands and aspirations of the broad masses of people, of the Fatherland and of socialism. This program was far from complete and the tasks had not been worked out in detail, for such a thing required a much wider experience of the revolutionary work and struggle of the Party and of the masses. But this program was built on Marxist-Leninist scientific foundations.

The results of the meeting mark the triumph of Marxism-Leninism over Trotskyism and opportunism in the workers' and communist movement in Albania.

In its primary capacity as a representative of the interests of the working class, the Communist Party of Albania assumed the responsibility of defending, at the same time, interests of all the laboring masses, of the enslaved people of Albania. Therefore, the founding of the Party was a major victory of the Albanian people as a whole.

For all these reasons, the Meeting of the Communist Groups had the significance of a constituent congress.

1 Resolution of the Meeting of Communist Groups, November 1941. Principal Documents of the Party of Labor of Albania, Tirana, 1960, Vol. I, p. 14.

2 Enver Hoxha, Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania. The 1st Congress of the Communist Party of Albania, Tirana, 1950, p. 59.

3 Enver Hoxha, Speech at the Session of the Leadership of the General National-liberation Council, April 15, 1944, Minutes of the Meeting. Central Archives of the Party.

4 Resolution of the Meeting of the Communist Groups. Principal Documents of the Party of Labor of Albania, Vol. I, pp. 14-15.

5 Instructions issued by the Shkodra Communist Group to its members. Central Archives of the Party.

6 Resolution of the Meeting of the Communist Groups. Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. I, p. 19.

7 Ibid., p. 20.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid., p. 21.

10 Ibid., p. 21.

11 Ibid., pp. 22-23.

12 Ibid., p. 22.

13 Nationalist was the usual name for the patriots who loved their country and wanted its liberation from the foreign yoke but nurtured no ulterior revolutionary aims. But the name of nationalist was also appropriated by the pseudo-patriots from the ranks of landlords, chieftains and the reactionary bourgeoisie. In order to draw a line between the reactionary and traitorous elements and the real patriots, the latter were referred to as «honest nationalists» or «patriotic nationalists».

14 Resolution of the Meeting of the Communist Groups. Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. I, p. 12.

15 Ibid., p. 23.

16 The Proclamation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania, November 1941. Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. I, p. 27.

DOCUMENTS

Speech by comrade Nesti Nase, head of the delegation of the PR of Albania at the 28th session of the U.N. General Assembly

THE WAVE OF ANGER AND OPPOSITION TO U.S. AND SOVIET IMPERIALISM

MR. PRESIDENT,

THE EVENTS THAT HAVE OCCURRED DURING THIS YEAR SHOW THAT AT THE FOUNDATION OF THE POSITIVE CHANGES NOTICED IN THE WORLD TODAY, STANDS THE JUST STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLES, WHICH, DESPITE THE COMPLEXITY OF THE SITUATIONS DEMANDED BY IMPERIALISM, COLONIALISM, NEOCOLONIALISM AND THE OTHER REACTIONARY FORCES, PROCEEDS NONSTOP AHEAD. THE EFFORTS OF THE SOVEREIGN STATES TO OPPOSE THE POLICY OF AGGRESSION AND HEGEMONY, THE THREATS, PRESSURES AND BLACKMAIL EXERCISED ON THEM, HAVE LED TO THE UNINTERRUPTED GROWTH OF THEIR ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN FAVOUR OF THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM AND

independence, of peace and social progress. The peoples of Indochina have achieved important victories over the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys; the Arab people stand resolute in their struggle against the imperialist-zionist aggression and the plots being concocted against them. The liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America are strengthening and including new areas. An increasingly greater number of countries on these continents are taking measures and coordinating their actions in the struggle for the defence of their independence, sovereignty and national interests from the predatory objectives of the imperialist powers and, in the first place, of the two superpowers which are seeking to place them under their tutelage.

NESTI NASE - member of the CC of the PLA, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The wave of anger and opposition to U.S. and Soviet imperialism has risen still higher. This development of the international situation encourages the peace-loving peoples and states and increases their confidence in the triumph of their just cause.

But we think that it would not be realistic to ignore the visible and invisible dangers that continue to threaten the freedom and independence of sovereign peoples and states, true peace and security. Here in the Assembly efforts were made to create the opinion that actually the world is being lightened from the menace of war, that the spirit of understanding is reigning in the relations between states and that the prospects of peace are too enthusiastic. Reality, however, does not justify such appraisals. There still exist in the world many unsolved serious problems. The acts of war have not ended and there is

no genuine peace in Vietnam. The aggression of U.S. imperialism and its servants continues in Cambodia. A tense, explosive situation with dangerous consequences exists in the Middle East. The Portuguese colonialists and the racist regimes of South Africa and South Rhodesia perpetrate uninterruptedly barbarous crimes in many African territories. National and social oppression is carried out on a broad scale by the imperialist powers and their tools in many countries of the world. And above all, nothing has changed as to the essence and content of the aggressive policy and objectives for world domination of the USA and the Soviet Union. The two superpowers are broadening their political, economic, cultural and military expansion in all parts of the globe.

For a longtime concepts are being spread, according to which peace and stability in the world depend in the first place on the relations between the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, that the entire "world equilibrium" is based on the "U.S. Soviet equilibrium". It is claimed that the two superpowers are big and powerful states which allegedly have a "special role and responsibility" in the international arena and, as such, have allegedly also the right to act freely everywhere and against anyone. Similar concepts are unacceptable. Gone are the times when the great imperialist powers decided on the destinies

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of the world and the peoples. Efforts have often been made to intimidate the peoples with the force of the two superpowers and with their atomic teeth, but they have had no effect. Numerous facts show that the two superpowers are powerful in appearance, while inside they hide weakness. They are in continuous decline and dissolution, whereas the freedom-loving peoples and countries are increasingly more growing and strengthening.

The policy of violence and aggression, of oppression and exploitation practised by the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, the armaments race and the continuous increase of war budgets have created great internal and external difficulties for them. The dollar crisis, inflation and unemployment in the U.S.A., as well as the continuous economic failures, dissolution and confusion in their politico-social system and the sharpening of inter-nation contradictions in the Soviet Union have now become chronic illnesses. The Watergate affair and the other political scandals as well as the aggravation of the open methods of oppression and violence, are phenomena testifying to the essentially reactionary nature and the constant weakening of the system of the two superpowers.

Now these two superpowers are trying to overcome their difficulties shift in the burden on the shoulders of others, in the

first place of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, through credits, the so-called aids, unequal exchanges and discrimination in trade, capital investment, the plundering of natural resources and by other neocolonialist methods, are perpetrating a frenzied economic aggression, they seek to ensure privileged positions and get rich at the expense of the developing countries, to sabotage their progress and keep them dependent and thus hinder their struggle to liquidate the aftermath of the colonial domination, to put an end to the division of the world into poor and rich, exploited and exploiting countries.

Recently the two superpowers have been increasing their coercive measures to preserve their hegemonistic positions and have been trying to pass a part of their difficulties also to their partners and allies. The U.S.A. has presented the project of a new Atlantic charter as a counterpoise to the efforts of the West European countries to assert themselves as a force in itself outside the U.S. dependency. The Soviet Union on its part, with a view to curbing the efforts of the East European countries to escape the Soviet control, has intensified its efforts to realize as soon as possible the complete political, economic and military integration in the framework of the Warsaw Treaty and CMEA and to monopolize in its hands the management of

all the foreign relations of these countries, in conformity with the imperialist theory of «limited sovereignty».

At the same time the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, in order to cope with the problems facing them within their zones of influence and to realize their global strategy, are coming to terms and to assistance of each other, they are intensifying their collaboration in all fields and in every region of the world.

But these two imperialist powers, which aspire to world hegemony, have deep contradictions. In their efforts to establish their domination on the world, they will sooner or later break out also into bloody conflicts between them. And these conflicts will bring to the world destructions, sufferings and miseries still greater than those known so far. And because they think of and prepare for such clashes, the two superpowers do not want to disarm. Collaboration is not and can never be absolute in the relations between the imperialist powers. The agreements between them are temporary, while the rivalries are permanent.

The U.S.A. and the Soviet Union are striving to convince us that the world is entering the «epoch of peace», that a new system of international relations is being established and that the «equilibrium of menace» is giving way to the «equilibrium of security». In their opinion, this has

become possible as a result of the extension of the relations, understanding and agreements between the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union which are allegedly guarantors of peace and security in the world. By spreading such a spirit of demobilization and compromise, the two superpowers seek to arouse in the peoples a pacifist psychosis and harmful illusions, to compel them, allegedly in the name of "peaceful coexistence" and of the "solution of the conflicts through talks", to make concessions and give up the struggle for the defence of their national interests.

But nobody can trust this Soviet-U.S. demagogy? The peace advocated by the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union is not actual. Behind it are hidden their dangerous plans aimed against the peoples and sovereign countries, plans to curb and quench each and every revolt and opposition to them, every progressive and national liberation movement.

The question rightfully arises: How can one believe that peace and security are being strengthened while the two superpowers continue the frenzied armaments race, incessantly increase their military budgets and produce and perfect new weapons for mass extermination? When so much noise is made about the war being away, then why do they organize all these threatening military manoeuvres and the U.S. and Soviet fleets criss-cross the seas and oceans? Why all this sabreratling and all these preparations for war?

Viewing things as they are, we cannot fail to point out that the freedom and independence of the peoples and sovereign countries, general peace and security are being increasingly more threatened by the hegemonistic, expansionist policy of the two most dangerous imperialisms of the time, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, and that there is no real détente in the world. As the beloved leader of the Albanian people, Enver Hoxha, has said, "even if actually exists a certain détente, this may be true only between the imperialist superpowers, but there is no and there will be no relaxation of tension between them and us, between the peoples, on the one hand, and the imperialists and social imperialists, on the other hand. It is quite clear to us that the imperialist-revisionist strategy, to quench the revolutionary struggles and movements, every resistance to their hegemony, to destroy and suppress every force, state or party which is opposed to their rule, has remained unchanged. There have changed only the tactics as well as the means they use, which have become more numerous and more perfect. "The relaxation of tension that may be noticed between the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, accompanied with the further deepening of their collaboration, compromises and bargainings not only does not diminish the danger of war and armed conflicts, but leads to the increase of pressure by the two superpowers on the little independent countries, to the increase of the efforts to interfere in the domestic affairs of the peoples and sovereign countries and to the creation of

dangerous situation and new tensions on the whole continent.

A new proof in this direction is this year's meeting between the chieftains of the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union. The agreements concluded during this meeting, just as all the Nixonian or Brezhnevian ultra-chauvinistic concepts and doctrines which the two superpowers spread, are aimed at legalizing their arbitrariness, arrogance and dictate in international relations. They want to give themselves the attributes of a world supra-government and become arbiters and rulers of the entire international life, while the peoples and sovereign countries be denied the right to participation, on bases of equality, in the solution of the problems of the time and of the questions which directly or indirectly affect their vital interests.

In particular, such a thing finds its concentrated expression in the Soviet-U.S. agreement on the so-called prevention of nuclear war. Under the false pretext of taking measures to avert the danger of a nuclear war and prevent any kind of military confrontation, the two superpowers in reality seek through it to consecrate now also juridically the right to determine the conditions to interfere together when and where they consider it necessary. They are seeking to play together the role of an international gendarme.

The Soviet-U.S. agreements, both those which they have concluded and those they will conclude in the framework of the SALT talks, do not avert at all the danger of a nuclear conflict, nor do they give guarantee that big stocks of nuclear and strategic arms they have amassed, will not be used against other countries. With these agreements the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union do not have as their objective to affect their nuclear striking force, nor to contribute to the question of the complete and total disarmament, but they want solely to establish an acceptable balance between them, to preserve their nuclear monopoly and, above all, to impose on other states a complex of restrictions in order to hinder the strengthening of their national defence capacity, to compel them to get under the American or Soviet atomic umbrella.

In case the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union would be sincerely interested in avoiding nuclear conflicts, in eliminating the nuclear danger and menace, they should accept the clear and constructive proposals put forth long time ago by the People's Republic of China. Solely the pledge not to be the first to use the nuclear weapons against other states, solely the permanent prohibition of the production and use of these weapons and the destruction of their existing stockages, would constitute concrete steps in the field of disarmament, would create actual guarantee for the elimination of the danger of a nuclear war. We are of the opinion that as long as the two superpowers continue to incessantly increase and perfect their nuclear and other types of weapons, as long as they use them as a means of pressure and blackmail, it is a lawful and inalienable

right of sovereign countries to adopt all the measures they consider as necessary and indispensable for their own defence.

The People's Republic of Albania, as a peace-loving European country, is interested in a correct solution of the problems which preoccupy the peoples of the world and Europe. It has on many occasions made clear its view about these problems, and in particular about the European security.

The guarantee of peace and security in Europe is a great and lawful desire of the European peoples. After two world wars, which have been particularly destructive for Europe, this continent should have found its stability and balance. The great historical victory over fascism aroused great hopes and created many premises for the establishment of a stable peace and a real security in Europe. But although there have elapsed 28 years from that time, the aspirations of the European peoples have not been fulfilled.

The first that sabotaged the realisation of a true European security was the U.S.A. which, taking advantage of the difficult moments experienced by the West European countries, weakened and seriously damaged by the war, was able to secure for itself privileged political, economic and military positions in these countries. In order to secure its imperialist interests and turn Western Europe into a base of attack on the socialist countries, the U.S.A. set up the North Atlantic aggressive alliance, it armed the Federal Republic of Germany and made it a big revanchist power. NATO became an organ for the domination of Western Europe by the U.S.A. There emerged for Europe the danger of the outbreak of new wars, and for the NATO member countries the danger of the loss of their independence. One of the outstanding men of modern France, Charles de Gaulle, recognized the danger posed to the West European countries and to France in particular, by the integration in the NATO, and he took measures in due time for the departure of the American troops from France and for the latter's withdrawal from the military structure of this bloc.

The aims and aggressive activity of the NATO, the revival of West German revanchism and the inclusion of the German Federal Republic in the North Atlantic Treaty compelled the Soviet Union and the socialist countries to take measures for their security and to create the Warsaw Treaty as a defensive alliance. For some time it served to curb the objectives of the U.S.A. and NATO. But when the leaders of the Soviet Union abandoned the correct anti-imperialist policy implemented in the post-war years under Stalin's leadership, the Warsaw Treaty too, was transformed into an aggressive alliance and the peoples of the European countries were faced with a new danger.

Likewise, there was not eliminated one of the main causes of the lack of balance in Europe, there was not concluded a peace treaty with Germany, which should have

been reached with the participation of all the countries that contributed to the destruction of nazism. The conclusion of such a treaty was at the beginning sabotaged by the U.S.A., then by the two superpowers together. The U.S. imperialists did everything in their power to take West Germany out of the isolation in which it found itself as a defeated power, and took measures that it follow a course serving German revanchism within the framework of the U.S. strategy. Now, also with the establishment of the Soviet-West German collaboration new conditions were created for the German Federal Republic to emerge as the greatest political, economic and military force in Western Europe and take the place of the main partner of the superpowers. Thus, there were created new imperialist ties and alliances, there was created a new danger to peace and security in Europe.

Such a situation cannot fail to revolt the European peoples and arouse in them concern and opposition. It is a fact that many of the allies of the two superpowers, particularly those of Western Europe, do not want that attitudes and objectives in opposition to their interests be imposed on them any further. But in Western Europe there is some state which has traditionally pursued a «politique de bascule». Although it is known that this policy has brought no profit either to him that has practised it or to his partners, it is still implemented at the present conjunctures, thus favouring the superpowers, creating ground for them to manoeuvre in order to dictate their own will in European questions.

The realisation of European security constitutes truly a supreme aim for which the European peoples and countries must fight, but the road for its attainment cannot be the one recommended by the two superpowers. This year's events in Europe and in particular the Helsinki preparatory consultations and the first stage of the conference itself, fully proved that there do not exist the conditions for the convening of an inter-European conference and for the achievement of genuine peace and security. They were also a disillusion for the hopes that through such meetings can the two superpowers be compelled to respect the rights of the European sovereign countries. The holding and results of these meetings confirmed the view of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, expressed also in its memorandum of June 29, 1973 which stressed that «the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. will get the question of European security into a road dangerous to the interests of peace and peoples and that the European conference on security and collaboration, as a product of the Soviet-U.S. collaboration, will serve the two superpowers, that it will not be able to come out of their control and manipulation nor from the framework of the talks between the aggressive blocs which they preside».

The U.S.A. and the Soviet Union strove to utilize the Helsinki talks to hide as to where does the danger to Europe come

from and who threatens the European peoples and to present themselves as the defenders and guarantors of peace and security in Europe. They did not fail to use pressure and demagoguery in order to compel this conference to depart from present-day reality in Europe and to embark it on the road predetermined by them. There is no doubt that they will act in the same way also in the future.

The Government of the People's Republic of Albania holds the view that an inter-European conference, which does not deal with the fundamental problems that preoccupy the peoples and states of Europe, cannot create the premises to avert or repel an armed aggression, it cannot serve the achievement of real peace and security on this continent. It does but increase insecurity in Europe, creates new dangers for the European states and gives to the two superpowers the possibility to draw political benefits from it. How can one speak of the establishment of a stable peace and of the creation of an atmosphere of understanding and collaboration on this continent, when the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union intensify their hegemonistic policy, preserve and strengthen the aggressive blocs of NATO and Warsaw Treaty, maintain their military bases and troops on the territory of some European countries? The Soviet Union and the U.S.A. organize the conference on European security not to contribute to the realization of the lofty aspirations of the European peace-loving peoples and countries, but to preserve their zones of influence, to create in Europe a situation of relative tranquillity with a view to concentrate themselves on other zones where their interests demand it.

This conviction is still more reinforced by the fact that, parallel with the conference on «European security», there was provoked the convening of another conference on the so-called mutual reduction of military forces in Europe. The objective of the two superpowers in this question is that, in the framework of bloc to bloc narrow talks, they set a balance in troops and their armaments in Europe and weaken the defence capacity of the European countries. At the same time, this is a farce framed up by the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union to lower the anger aroused in the European peoples the presence of their troops, to perpetuate the stay of these troops and to legalize the permanent violation of the sovereignty of the European states.

Any token reduction of these troops in Europe would not reduce or avert the threats of the two superpowers and the danger for peace and security in Europe. This reduction does not weaken their military power in Europe and does not affect the superiority they have with regard to other countries in the conditions of further perfecting of their means of war. The interests of peace and guarantee of the European countries and peoples, and particularly of those who, so many years after the end of the second world war, have still foreign troops on their

territories, demand not the reduction, but the complete withdrawal of these troops and of all the military installations of the United States and the Soviet Union from Europe, the abolition of all the unequal relations which allow these troops to get in and come out whenever they like.

In no way can the European peoples and countries feel themselves secure as long as in the other regions of the world there is tension, and especially as long as in the Mediterranean basin are staying the aggressive U.S. and Soviet fleets, the activity of which is openly directed against the freedom and independence of the peoples and countries of this region and when the two superpowers aim at transforming the Mediterranean into a base of aggression against the countries of Europe and of the other continents.

The Mediterranean peoples and countries that aspire to a Mediterranean free of foreign fleets and bases, are opposed to this hegemonistic aggressive policy of the two superpowers and demand the departure from here of the American and Soviet war fleets. We have been and are of the opinion that this lawful aspiration can be realized if such concrete and effective measures are taken which would make impossible the further stay of the aggressive fleets of the U.S.A. and of the Soviet Union on this sea, that is if all the existing foreign military bases are liquidated and the setting up of new bases would not be allowed, if no facility and aid whatever would be given to the American and Soviet fleets and they would not be admitted for stay and visits to the ports of Mediterranean countries.

The situation created in Europe and in the Mediterranean cannot fail to draw the attention of the Balkan peoples and countries, particularly at a time when the great imperialist powers are making efforts to penetrate in and extend their influence to the Balkans. The Albanian Government has been and is always interested in that a true peace and stability be established on the Balkan Peninsula, and it is convinced that this can be achieved with the efforts of the peoples themselves of this region, without leaving to others the defence and safeguard of their interests. A sound basis in this direction must become the relations of friendship and understanding between the Balkan peoples and countries, based on the known principles which govern the relations between sovereign states and on the policy of good neighbourhood. We must oppose any attempt of the superpowers or of anyone else to capitalize on the problems of this region and to interfere in its internal affairs, directly and in other ways, as they are trying to do now through the conference on European security and the Vienna conference, or as they would seek to do also in some other similar case if they would be provided a possibility.

The continuation of the «no war no peace» situation in the Middle East shows how false are the claims that a great positive change is occurring in the world today

in direction of the creation of the conditions that the most acute problems of the time be placed in the road of solution as a result of the good will and preoccupation of the two superpowers. The Arab peoples and states, victims of the imperialist-zionist aggression, rightfully demand and struggle that this situation should come to an end, that the aftermath of aggression be liquidated as soon as possible and all their violated rights be restored. But these right demands come across the criminal objection of Israel and the essentially hostile, anti-Arab stand of the two superpowers. While the Israeli zionists arrogantly insist on their annexationist claims and intensify the acts of war and the armed provocations against Egypt, Syria and the other Arab states, the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, in different forms, support and encourage Israel, exert pressure on the Arab countries to have them make concessions and sacrifice their sovereign rights, they concoct intrigues against the Arab unity, create internal and external difficulties to the Arab states and plot against them. This year's Soviet-U.S. summit and the other events still more clearly showed that the two superpowers are opposed to a just solution of the Middle East question and that they strive to preserve at all costs the status quo and their neocolonialist interests in this region. The efforts and plots of Israel and of the two superpowers to destroy the Palestinian movement and to fully liquidate the Palestinian problem, are aimed at the same time against all the Arab people because the Palestinians are fighting also for the common cause of the Arabs.

The Albanian Government and people have supported and will support with determination the fraternal Arab people. They powerfully back the Palestinian people who have made and continue to make countless sacrifices to preserve their national entity and to gain the seized homeland. The Palestinian people are waging a just and heroic struggle which nothing can subdue: neither violence and plots, nor the diabolic slanders and the offensive labels which the Israeli zionists and their supporters are seeking to attach to it. We are confident that they will carry this struggle through to final victory and will never reconcile themselves with the fate which their enemies are striving to prepare for them in order to doom them to live for ever as a refugee people, or to get them together in some desert corner in a so-called Palestinian state or to place them under the power of some sold out Arab ruler.

The People's Republic of Albania demands that an end be put as soon as possible to the grave situation fraught with dangers which exists in the Middle East as a result of the continuation of the imperialist-zionist aggression. The Israeli aggressors must withdraw unconditionally from all the occupied Arab lands and stop all their provocations, acts of war and terrorism against the Arab countries. The road should be barred to any imperialist interference in this region and all the sove-

reign rights of the Palestinian people be restored.

As a result of the successful development of the many-year long legendary struggle of the heroic Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian peoples against the armed aggression of the U.S.A. and its tools for national salvation, there has been created a new situation in Indochina. In January this year there was concluded the agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam. The withdrawal of the U.S. troops, which the U.S.A. was compelled to accept, constitutes a great victory for the Vietnamese people and a heavy political and military defeat for the U.S. imperialists. This victory of the Vietnamese people was hailed by all the peoples of the world who have been and will always be inspired by the heroic struggle and the high spirit of sacrifice of the Vietnamese people. Vietnam will go down in history as a great example which shows what is able to do a people, however small in number, when they are determined to fight through to the end for their just cause.

Now the United States of America, not giving up its aggressive objectives in Vietnam and throughout Indochina, is manoeuvring in every way to be always present in South Vietnam and to prevent the Vietnamese people from realizing their lofty aspiration. It is systematically violating the Paris agreements on Vietnam, it is incessantly supporting and arming the puppet Saigon regime and it is inciting it to undertake new acts of war and provocations against the liberated areas of the Republic of South Vietnam. In fact it is continuing its military engagement and interference in the internal affairs of the Vietnamese people and of the other Indochinese peoples and is seriously hindering the establishment of true peace in Vietnam.

The interests of peace and stability in Vietnam and throughout Indochina demand that the U.S.A. and the Saigon regime, which is under its orders, should put an end once and for all and without delay to all the violations of the agreements on Vietnam and strictly respect the pledges assumed on their basis, just as is being acted by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam which is the only lawful government in South Vietnam. If the U.S.A. and the puppet regime of Saigon will obstinately insist on their aggressive aims, they will for certain suffer new still graver defeats. The Vietnamese people, who stand always vigilant guard over the defence of the achieved victories, are determined to carry their just struggle through to the end, till its complete triumph.

For more than three years the valiant Cambodian people have been engaged in a heroic armed struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and the Lon Nol traitorous clique for national salvation. Under the leadership of the National United Front of Cambodia, they have reaped brilliant victories in the battle field and

have become unconquerable. They have not been conquered either by the unprecedented intensification of the U.S. armed aggression and barbarous air raids, or the efforts of the U.S.A. for the "khmerization" of the war in Cambodia or the plots and political combinations being concocted against them. The new victory achieved by them by compelling the U.S.A. to stop its bombings in Cambodia is another proof of their determination and invincibility. Now the initiative is fully in the hands of the Cambodian people and of their liberation armed forces. The plans of the U.S.A. to transform Cambodia into a colony and to keep on foot their puppet regime in Pnom Penh, are faced with a complete doom.

Despite this the U.S.A. has not given up its efforts to impose on the Cambodian people the plot of "stopping the war" and of a "peaceful solution" according to the American fashion. The U.S.A. seek to compel the Cambodian people to give up the complete liberation of their country, and to rescue the bankrupt Pnom Penh clique, to compel the Royal Government of the National Union of Cambodia to share political power with the traitors and, at last, to ensure a factual division of Cambodia in two parts or in two states, or in two governments or in two administrations. In this direction the U.S.A. has also the support of the Soviet government which from the beginning has adopted a hostile stand towards the just struggle of the Cambodian people. It has not recognized the Royal Government of the National Union of Cambodia and has maintained and continue to maintain diplomatic ties with the Pnom Penh puppet, thus counterpoising itself to the just struggle of the Cambodian people. The Soviet leaders, although their stand towards the Cambodian problem has been fully discredited, with unexampled cynicism pose as supporters of the struggle of the Cambodian liberation forces and are striving to openly interfere in the domestic affairs of the Cambodian people.

But the freedom-loving Cambodian people are determined to continue with courage and without hesitation their armed struggle till the complete liberation of their country, until the realization of their just demands contained in the historical 5-point declaration of the lawful head of state, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, of March 23, 1970, which constitutes the sole basis for a correct solution of the Cambodian problem.

The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania deems it necessary to stress that it is entirely unlawful and in open contrast with the Charter to deny the Cambodian people their lawful rights to be represented in the UNO and that the puppet clique of Pnom Penh, which represents nothing, either people or state, should continue to stay in its fold. The sole lawful representatives of the Cambodian people are the National United Front and the Royal Government of the National Union of Cambodia. Only this Government, which exercises complete and indisputable po-

more than 90 per cent of the territory and 80 per cent of the population of Cambodia, which has its organs everywhere and directs and organizes the entire life almost throughout the country, which enjoys the support and backing of the entire Cambodian people, has the necessary qualities and attributes to represent them in international relations and in the UNO.

The trip which Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, lawful head of state and chairman of the National United Front of Cambodia, made to Cambodia in spring this year, and the National Congress which was held there a little time ago, clearly confirmed the effective power over the entire country of the United Front and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia and further increased their prestige and authority on the international arena. A clear testimony to this is also the fact that 48 countries have established and maintain diplomatic relations with the Royal Government of the National Union and that the Participants in the fourth summit conference of the non-aligned countries in Algiers recognized this government as the sole legal government in Cambodia.

In order to put an end as soon as possible to the great injustice done to the Cambodian people, it is necessary that the General Assembly should adopt without delay the decision on the immediate expulsion of the representatives of the Lon Nol puppet clique and invite the Royal Government of the National Union of Cambodia to take its lawful seat.

Although it is 20 years that the U.S.A. was compelled to put an end to its aggressive war in Korea and sign the armistice agreement, it continues to maintain its occupation troops in South Korea and incites the Seoul regime to undertake continuous armed provocations against the DPR of Korea. For 20 years on end the UNO is involved in this question and no concrete measure whatever has been taken to put an end to this situation. Such a thing constitutes a flagrant violation of the sovereign rights of the Korean people, it hinders their efforts for the unification of the country, it increases tension in Korea, it seriously endangers peace and stability in the region around it and heavily damages the prestige of the United Nations.

The realization of the legal aspiration of the Korean people and the interests of peace and stability in the Far East region demand the immediate mending of this impermissible situation, that the U.S.A. should withdraw its troops and military bases from South Korea and put an end to all and every military engagement in that country, the unlawful U.N. Commission for the restoration and unification of Korea be immediately dissolved and an end be put to any further interference of the UNO in the home affairs of the Korean people.

The peace-loving member countries, acting in conformity with the spirit of the Charter, must make their contribution to making it possible for the General

Assembly to adopt the due decision in this direction, for the realisation of these urgent important steps, as demanded in the draft-resolution presented by Algeria and a number of other member countries. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania fully backs this draft-resolution.

Recently, the U.S.A. and the Seoul Administration, in opposition to these demands and the necessity to correctly solve this question, concocted the «two Koreas» plot and are striving to impose it on the Korean people, as well as on the member states, through the discussion of the question on the so-called «double representation of Korea». By this manoeuvre they aim to legalize and perpetuate the division of Korea into two states, to perpetuate the U.S. colonial rule in South Korea as well as to divert the attention of the General Assembly from the essence of the Korean problem and lead its discussion into an impasse.

There is only one Korea in the world. Its partition in two parts is a result of the aggressive hostile policy pursued by the U.S.A. for a long time against the Korean people and should come to an end as soon as possible. The Korean people have been and remain one sole nation and must again live united. It is a supreme sovereign right of the Korean people to decide by themselves on all their questions without interference from outside, and this can be denied by nobody.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which is the sole lawful representative of the Korean people, has made constant efforts and has undertaken a series of important and reasonable initiatives for the realization of this right and ardent desire of the Korean people. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania supports the constructive proposals contained in the 5-point programme presented by the DPR of Korea on June 23 this year, which once more testify to its good will for the creation of an atmosphere of understanding, collaboration and national unity in Korea, for the correct solution of the Korean problem, and expose those who incite diversion and prepare war in Korea. We forcefully condemn the «two Koreas» plot and any effort which the U.S.A., alone or with the help of its collaborators, will undertake for its legalization through the UNO. The question of the representation of Korea in the UNO is a domestic affair of the Korean people and it is apt only to them to decide it. The latest 5-point proposals of the DPR of Korea define the correct road for the solution of this problem in conformity with the aspirations of the entire Korean people and the existing conditions in Korea.

Not only in Indochina and the Far East, but also in the other zones of the Asian continent - the Arabian Gulf and the Indo-Pakistani Peninsula, the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean - the two imperialist superpowers collaborate and rival in their expansionist aggressive activity, they raise tension and threaten the interests of the

peoples and sovereign countries. This has been and is being shown by numerous events. This is clearly shown at present also by the intensification of the efforts of the Soviet Union to impose on the Asian peoples and countries its plan on the «collective security system in Asia», which is as much dangerous as the one on the so-called European security or international security.

How can one speak of «collective security in Asia» while the authors of this plan, the Soviet social imperialists, incited and supported the Indian aggression against Pakistan, while they have made armed provocations against the People's Republic of China and now they have concentrated numerous armies on the Sino-Soviet and Sino-Mongolian borders, making preparations for war against it, and they incessantly incite the anti-China hysteria, while they increase their war fleet on the Indian Ocean and carry out subversive activity, incite conflicts and quarrels among the Asian countries?!

The so-called collective security in Asia is aimed against the freedom and independence of the sovereign peoples and countries of Asia, against the national liberation and revolutionary movement in this region. It is aimed, in the first place, against the People's Republic of China which is an impregnable fortress of socialism, the most powerful defender of the struggle of the peoples for freedom and national independence, the most sincere supporter of the efforts of sovereign countries for independent development and progress, determined fighter against the hegemonistic policy of the two superpowers.

But the imperialists, social imperialists and other reactionaries of every hue failed and will fail in their anti-China activity. Great people's China, a powerful socialist state with great international prestige and role, which pursues a revolutionary and principled home and foreign policy, is continually developing and strengthening and is marching safely on the road of socialism and the revolution. This gladdens and encourages all the freedom-loving and peace-loving peoples and states.

The People's Republic of Albania will always stand on the side of the peoples and countries fighting for freedom, national independence and sovereignty, against imperialism, old and new, colonialism and neocolonialism. The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania expresses the feelings of friendship and solidarity of the Albanian people for the peoples suffering from colonial oppression, from the policy of genocide and racial discrimination; it condemns the bloody crimes of the Portuguese colonialists, of the racist regimes of South Africa and South Rhodesia, and demands not to allow anymore the trampling under foot but carry out in practice the resolutions and decisions which the UNO has long ago adopted in this direction. It greets the just struggle of these peoples and it is convinced that it will triumph. The Albanian people, just as all the peoples and the pro-

gressive public opinion, condemn the coup d'état carried out in Chile by the rightist forces at the instigation and with the support of U.S. imperialism. We express our support for and solidarity with the Chilean people who are now experiencing difficult moments due to the savage campaign of violence and terror that has broken out in the country.

We powerfully support the efforts being made by a large number of independent and developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America for the strengthening of their political and economic independence, for the defence of their national rights and riches, for the strengthening of state sovereignty and the preservation of their territorial integrity.

The People's Republic of Albania is a peace-loving state. It has fought and will fight with determination to defend its freedom, independence and sovereignty and it is determined to cope with and cause to fail all the plans, aggressive aims and threats of the U.S. imperialists and of the Soviet social imperialists directed against it. Albania will always remain a factor of peace and stability in the Balkans and Europe and, just as always, will consistently pursue its unchangeable and principled foreign policy, in the service of the cause of socialism, freedom and independence of sovereign peoples and countries, of peace and general security in the world.

Mr. President,

The General Assembly, at the beginning of the proceedings of this session, decided to admit the two German states, the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic, as members of the United Nations Organisation. Voting for this decision, the Albanian delegation set forth the stand of the Government of the PR of Albania concerning some aspects of the German problem, which even nowadays has not found a correct and definitive solution because of the non-conclusion of a peace treaty between the defeated Germany and the victorious states of the antifascist coalition, a treaty which must contain the necessary clauses and obligations in order not to allow the revival of German militarism and revanchism and to compensate all the damages suffered by these states as a result of the occupation or aggression on the part of Hitlerite Germany.

The Albanian delegation reconfirms once more before this Assembly the opinions expressed a few days ago and wants to stress that the PR of Albania does not give up its demand that all the rights it has acquired as a member state of the antifascist coalition be fulfilled by Germany.

The Albanian people are of the first victims of the fascist aggression, and the occupation of their country by Germany during the second world war has brought them great sufferings and miseries, extraordinary damages and destructions. They had 28.000 persons killed, which represents three per cent of Albania's popula-

tion of that time, 12.600 injured, 12.150 deported. Tens of thousands of other persons were used by the German occupationists for forced labour. The economy and all the sectors of the life of the country suffered colossal damages. Suffice it to mention among other things that 100.000 buildings were burned and reduced to ashes, 1.850 cities and villages as against 2.500 Albania had, were destroyed. Over 800.000 horses, cattle and small livestock were plundered. Agriculture, forests, mines, ports, roads and bridges, the means of communication were destroyed. Monetary values and large quantities of artistic and archaeological objects were plundered. It follows from the evaluations made by the competent state commissions after the war that the monetary value of the losses our country suffered from the German occupation amounts to about 2 billions U.S. dollars, according to the rate of exchange the dollar had in the year 1938.

By their heroic struggle the Albanian people have made a valuable contribution, alongside the other peoples and states of the antifascist coalition, to the achievement of the historical victory over fascism. In relation to the size of the territory, 28.000 square kilometres, and to the number of the population, at that time 1 million inhabitants, Albania, as to her casualties, losses in material and cultural values, ranks among the first between the countries which fought against fascism.

The Albanian people, with their struggle, with the blood of their best sons and daughters, have acquired the indisputable and imprescriptible right to ask for the reparation of the damages caused by Germany. As stipulated also in the Potsdam agreements «in conformity with the decision of the conference of Crimea Germany must be compelled to compensate to the largest possible extent the damages and sufferings it has caused to the United Nations and for which the German people cannot avoid responsibility», the People's Republic of Albania declares before this Assembly that it demands to be paid as soon as possible all the reparations for the damages which the occupation armies and authorities of Hitlerite Germany have caused to it during the second world war, as well as the losses caused as a result of the failure to give these reparations in due time.

In conclusion, I would like to express the conviction of the Albanian delegation that the member states, which cherish freedom and national independence, peace and general security, will resolutely oppose the pressures and intrigues of the two superpowers, will reject their secret diplomacy in the fold of this Organisation and outside it, and will not allow them to prevent the present session of the General Assembly from examining with objectivity and seriousness the important problems facing it. Inspired by this aim, the delegation of the People's Republic of Albania will not spare its efforts so that during this session, too, it should make its modest contribution in this respect.

CHRONICLES

688 titles of text-books

In the 1972-1973 school year 215 textbooks were printed and made available to the pupils. A greater and more organized job is being done this year by the printing house of the school book for the completion of the schools with new textbooks. On September 1 this year the 8-grade and the general professional education middle schools used 688 titles of new textbooks and manuals. For the first time there came off the press 70 publications, including 46 of classical culture. Of a good quality are in particular the following textbooks: «Notions of Marxism-Leninism», «History of Albania» for the middle schools, «History of Albanian Literature», first and second parts, «Literature for Children», «Moral and Political Education» for the seventh classes, etc. The collective of this printing institution has worked with rapidity and in a revolutionary way, particularly in these recent times, in order to have the new text-books and especially those of literature and literary reading, permeated by the spirit of the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania. Perceptible efforts have been made to further strengthen the ideological content.

What is important is that the new text-books throw more into relief the national physiognomy and the spirit of actuality, and there have been made efforts also to realize in unity the study, the productive work and the physical and military training. Perceptible improvements have been made also from the methodical viewpoint, in the application of fruitful and rational methods, of presentation and treatment of teaching material.

Products of the «New Albania» film studio

The Albanian cinema workers have increased their efforts to produce films that serve best the revolutionary class education of the masses and at a higher ideological and aesthetic level. Of late they gave for show the new feature film «Fire Operation» and now they are working for the production of other 4 feature films one of which, entitled «Wimosa Iastica», is in final process.

During this year the workers of the «New Albania» film studio have turned out 15 news reels and 21 documentary films dealing with various aspects from all the fields of our life, from the work and efforts of our labouring masses for the further revolutionisation of life, for the socialist construction of the country. We may quote among them the films «Motives from Sunday», «Dry gunpowder» devoted to the 30th anniversary of the creation of the people's army, the documentaries «The Puka Girl», «Our Party leads us», «Children sing», «The Plant and the School», «The Çervenaka Mine», «Scientific discipline of cotton», etc.

Now they are working to conclude the documentary films «The Partisan mother», «The Great Festival» and the newsreel «Army of the soldier people».

The port extended

At the Durrës sea port the construction work is going on for the extension and further modernization of this port. Last year the builders concluded the Nr. 1 wharf about 187 metres long, while now they are continuing the annex of this wharf. They are carrying out the final work of metal constructions for the electric cranes. The workers are making efforts to finish the remaining work within the shortest possible period and hand the project towards the end of this month. With a view to have the wharf defended from the sea waves during the winter season, the workers have built behind it a thick and high protecting wall.

On the other parts of the port, where the existing wall is now low and the sea waves penetrate, the work will soon begin for the construction of a new and high protecting wall. In the internal part of the port the wall will have a certain summit which will serve not only to prevent the penetration of the waves but also to place the commodities within the lodging. In this kind of construction they will mainly use prefabricated parts the preparation for which has already begun.

Continuing the work for the implementation of the general plan for the construction of the Durrës sea port, the collective of the enterprise of the construction of ports will begin likewise the work for

CHRONICLES

uniting the wharf Nr. 5 with that of the minerals. This slip-dock which will be 100 metres long will be built on the place of the present shipyard which will be established in the new shipyard being constructed somewhere nearby.

Parallel with the new construction work a group of mechanizers are continuing the work for the further deepening of the aquatorium of the port. During the first 7 months alone of this year the mechanizers carried out over 14.000 cubic metres of underwater earth work more than planned. In August, too, the deepening work continued at fast rates. In addition to this, work has begun for the construction in the vicinity of the port of a new five-storey hotel for single workers, while at the port wardrobes are being built as well as shower baths for the workers.

In the coming year there will end also the work at the projects of the new shipyard such as the construction of the part for the landing of the ship and the 60 meter long reservoir.

Archaeological excavations of historic importance

An archaeological expedition of the Institute of History under the Academy of Sciences of the PRA carried out excavation work in the citadel of the ancient city of Berat (Antipatrea), the first excavations of this kind in this fortress which the sources of ancient authors present with a 2000-year life. Although the excavations had an investigatory character, they yielded interesting results explaining a series of problems which have to do with the socio-economic and cultural-political life of the inhabitants of the citadel.

There were found here, among other things, many fragments of bricks and tiles as well utensils of various sizes, which tell about the marked development of ceramics in the workshops of that time.

Of interest are also the data obtained from the excavations, belonging to the Roman period, which help the scholars to follow the continuity of this ancient dwelling place, and in particular its ethnic continuity.

Of great value are the architectonic excavations carried out in the two main sectors excavated during

this year on the internal facade of the ancient Illyrian wall erected with blocks of large stones in square form. All these data acquaint the scholars with various elements and techniques of construction in the ancient city and particularly with some new elements of the fortification of the citadel.

In the district of Gjirokastra work resumed in the further discovery of the archaeological and historical values of the ancient city of Antigonea.

The new researches are being conducted in the intermediate part connecting the acropolis of the city with its other part. During the previous researches, just as now, the results of the work have been good. There has been discovered the aqueduct which supplied the city with water, the surrounding wall, the cemetery as well as other objects which testify to the life and ancient culture of the men of these places round the 3rd century before our era.

The fascist coup in Chile condemned with great indignation

A great wave of indignation swept over the Albanian people who condemn with deep indignation the fascist coup of the military junta in Chile, instigated and supported by the rightist reactionary forces of the country and by U.S. imperialism. The Albanian people solidarize with struggle of the Chilean people, of the revolutionaries and progressive men and women of the country, who are resisting to the wave of savage terror of the military junta, to the sanguinary reprisals it is making. They also severely condemn the barbarous murder of president Salvador Allende, this unbent fighter against Chilean fascism and U.S. imperialism. In work and production centres, in factories, plants, combines, construction sites, agricultural cooperatives and schools meetings have been and continue to be held, at which the working class, the cooperativist peasantry, the people's intelligentsia, all the working people of the country condemn with indignation the coup d'état of the military junta demanding that an end be put to the barbarities, terror and sanguinary massacres towards the progressive and patriotic forces. The resolution of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania reads:

«The General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania expresses its deepest indignation at the fascist coup of the military junta of Chile against the lawful government of People's Unity, headed by President Salvador Allende.

The Albanian people, who won their freedom and independence arms in hand, who have experienced the terror of the fascist invaders, energetically protest against the fascist coup carried out by the internal Chilean reaction, instigated and financed by U.S. imperialism and the Wall Street monopolies. They express their deep indignation at the barbarous murders, mass house-searches, the cruel persecution of progressive men, of the Chilean revolutionaries.

The coup of the military junta in Chile showed once more the real nature of a blood-sucker of the forces of reaction and of their boss - U.S. imperialism, which rush with unmatched rage and savagery against the peoples and progressive forces that affect their interests, in order to bring the peoples down to their knees, to keep them under oppression and wanton exploitation.

In these difficult days for the Chilean people all the members of the Democratic Front of Albania express their feeling of deep solidarity with the Chilean people and revolutionaries who are experiencing the most savage terror of the fascist military junta, this hated tool of home reaction and U.S. imperialism. Our people express their deep indignation for the murder of the outstanding patriot, the president of Chile, Salvador Allende, and respectfully honour the memory of this beloved son of the Chilean people who did not spare even his life for the good of the people, for the ideals of freedom and independence of the country, of this valiant and staunch fighter against imperialism and home reaction.

Our people express their confidence that the Chilean people, the working class and the progressive revolutionary forces of the country will respond to the violence, murders and reprisals of fascist reaction by raising high the banner of the war of armed resistance in defence of freedom and democracy, not to allow the sanguinary domination of black reaction be imposed on them.

In their just struggle for freedom, independence and social progress, the people of Chile, their revolutionary forces, will always have the backing and support of the Albanian people, as well as of all the

peoples and progressive men and women in the world.»

The resolution of the Central Committee of the Albanian Labour Youth Union reads in part:

«The youth of our country, just as the entire Albanian people, learned with deep hatred about the fascist coup carried out in Chile by the reactionary forces at the instigation and with support of U.S. imperialism. This barbarous act which toppled the lawful Government of Salvador Allende, a revolutionary patriot, outstanding fighter for the freedom, independence and social progress of his fatherland, is condemned with great indignation by the entire youth of our country.

We express our conviction that the Chilean people and youth, with outstanding revolutionary traditions, will not allow themselves to be conquered. The Chilean youth, drawing inspiration from the heroic act of president Salvador Allende, who did not spare even his life for the ideals of freedom and of the independence of his country, will continue, together with the people, the revolutionary struggle for the salvation of the homeland from the rule of reaction and from the exploitation by the monopolies of U.S. imperialism.

The Albanian youth, educated by the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha with the spirit of proletarian internationalism and of international solidarity, at these difficult moments for the Chilean people, firmly stand by the side Chilean youth and fully solidarize with its just struggle.»

The resolution of the Central Council of the ATU reads in part:

«The fascist coup of the military junta in Chile, which toppled through counterrevolutionary violence the lawful government of the People's Unity headed by president Salvador Allende, aroused deep indignation and hatred in all the working people of the P.R. of Albania, just as in all the workers and revolutionary peoples of the world.

This criminal act of the military junta is a result of the uninterrupted hostile and sanguinary activity of the Chilean reaction, directly instigated and supported by U.S. imperialism.

The working class of our country, educated by the PLA and comrade Enver Hoxha with the spirit of proletarian internationalism, at these difficult moments the Chilean working class and people are living, expresses its full support for and active solidarity

CHRONICLES

with the courageous armed resistance they are putting up against the Chilean reaction, and its deep conviction that the working class and all the revolutionary and progressive forces of Chile will rise more determinedly in struggle against the dark forces of Chilean reaction and U.S. imperialism, to realise their national aspirations to freedom, independence and social progress."

Likewise, the resolution of the General Council of the Albanian Women's Union reads: "The women of Albania, just as the entire Albanian people, learned with great anger and deep indignation about the fascist coup of the military junta of Chile which, at the instigation and with the support of the reactionary rightist forces of the country and of U.S. imperialism, toppled the lawful government of the People's Unity headed by president Salvador Allende.

This new criminal act, the white terror, the murders and mass arrests of the Chilean patriots are a flagrant violation of the rights of the people and of the women to live free and independent in their country. In these difficult days for the Chilean people, the Albanian women, educated by the Party of Labour of Albania and comrade Enver Hoxha with the feelings of proletarian internationalism, express their full solidarity with the struggle of the people and progressive women of Chile who are resisting the savage wave of terror of the military junta and the sanguinary reprisals it is making."

The workers in science and culture of our country - the correspondent of the Albanian Telegraphic Agency was told by the president of the academy of sciences of the PRA, professor Aleks Buda, - have been gripped by a deep anger and indignation at the events taking place in Chile. The coup d'état by the military men is a cruel and treacherous act by which the home reaction, in service of U.S. imperialism and directly aided by it, attacked behind the back the working masses of Chile to bar the road of democratic development, to make of Chile again a semi-colony where the Chilean financial oligarchy and landlords as well as U.S. monopolies should rule.

In the Chilean people's tragic events we once more see the confirmation of the great teaching of history that imperialism and reaction, despite their hypocritical words, never change their countenance.

The member of the presidium of the National Committee of the Albanian people's war veterans, comrade Eleni Pashko, said that the fascist coup of the military junta of Chile against the government of the People's Unity, headed by President Salvador Allende, best of all brought to the fore the true nature of the reactionary forces and of their supporters - the sanguinary U.S. imperialists. But the Chilean people, the progressive forces of the country, which are resisting with courage and determination to this unlawful act and terror of the military junta, will not allow themselves to be conquered.

The resolution of the Steering Council of the Albanian Journalists Union reads in part: "The journalists of socialist Albania, just as our entire people, at these difficult moments for the people and for their colleagues in Chile, stand always near the Chilean people, they support the revolutionary Chilean journalists and fully solidarize with their just and determined struggle against the fascist reaction, against the barbarous and criminal junta, for the freedom, independence and social progress of Chile."

The measures taken by the Government of the People's Unity in Chile against the interests of U.S. imperialism and the local monopolists, - a resolution approved at the meeting of the workers of the "Ylli i Kuq" agricultural enterprise of Kamza - resulted in that the latter united not only between them, but also with all sorts of opposition parties and criminals of every hue with the only purpose of raising their sanguinary hand against the Chilean people, their lawful government headed by president Salvador Allende.

We express our conviction that by their struggle the Chilean people, who enjoy today the support of all the revolutionary peoples of the world, will destroy the local reaction and its bosses and their cause will triumph for certain.

The workers of the "Traktori" plant in the Capital held also a mass meeting. The resolution adopted on this occasion says in part: "We, the workers of the "Traktori" plant, informed of the events in Chile, learned with deep indignation about the organization of the military coup carried out by the reactionary rightist forces which, in collaboration with and with the support of U.S. imperialism, toppled through counterrevolutionary violence the lawful

government of the People's Unity of President Allende.

Like the entire Albanian people, we too, at these difficult moments for the Chilean people, solidarize ourselves and shall fully back the just struggle of the people, of the revolutionaries and progressive men of Chile. In the future, too, we shall powerfully support the just struggle of the peoples of the entire world who are fighting for freedom and independence."

Similar meetings were held also in all the districts of the Republic.

6th Session of the 7th legislature of the People's Assembly

On September 25-26 the 6th session of the 7th legislature of the People's Assembly held its proceedings.

Aside the deputies, the session was attended, as invitees, by working people of the production centres, various educational, cultural and scientific institutions, activists of mass organisations, etc.

The deputies and invitees greeted with applause the entry into the hall of the party and state leaders, of the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Party Enver Hoxha, the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Hashti Lleshi, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers Mehmet Shehu.

Attending were also heads and functionaries of the diplomatic representations accredited to the People's Republic of Albania.

The session was presided over by the vice-president of the People's Assembly Zina Franja. She proposed the Assembly the following agenda:

- 1) Election of the president of the People's Assembly;
- 2) Report on the four-year results for the further revolutionisation of our school and the tasks for the future;
- 3) On a change in the composition of the Presidium of the People's Assembly.
- 4) Approval of the decrees issued by the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

Comrade Zina Franja said that the electors of the Nr. 237 precinct of the Tirana area, exercising the right to discharge at any time their representatives, on the basis of Article 5 of the Constitution, have unanimously decided to deprive of his mandate former deputy Fadil Paçrami because his anti-party and anti-national activity does not conform with the lofty qualities of deputy to the People's Assembly, because he has thus violated the confidence of his voters.

Comrade Zina Franja gave the floor to deputy Pilo Peristeri who, on behalf of a group of deputies from the districts of Tirana, Durrës and Pogradec, presented the proposal to elect as president of the People's Assembly the first secretary of the party committee and deputy of the Durrës district Iljaz Beku. The deputies unanimously approved this proposal. The Minister of Education and Culture, deputy Thoma Deliana, reported on the second item of the agenda. On behalf of the Council of Ministers he delivered the report "On the four-year results of the efforts for the further revolutionisation of our school and the tasks for the future".

The People's Assembly relieved Bilbil Klosi of his function as secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and unanimously elected deputy Telo Marini as secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

Upon the approval of the decrees issued by the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the 6th session of the 7th legislature of the People's Assembly ended its proceedings with full success.

Energetic protest

On September 26 the vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Esmerim Nashi called to a meeting the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Italian Republic to Albania, Roberto Venturini, and an instruction of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania expressed to him an energetic protest concerning the danger of the pollution of territorial waters and of the possibility of the spreading of cholera in Albania as a result of the coming, from the Italian sea coast to our coastal waters of considerable quantities of mussels containing cholera vibrio. The Italian authorities, after having

CHRONICLES

destroyed the infected mussels beds in the Italian coastal waters did not take care to annihilate them, but released them in the high sea, an action this which runs counter to the international laws, and especially to the norms concerning the preservation of the environment. For these actions vice Minister Ksenofon Nushi charged the Italian Government with heavy responsibility and demanded the adoption by it of immediate measures for the non-reiteration of such actions in the future.

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The Ministry of Health of the People's Republic of Albania has taken all the necessary measures for the annihilation of the found musels, as well as for the disinfection of the environment concerned, in order to keep it clean from infection.

Activities on the occasion of the 24th anniversary of the proclamation of the P.R. of China

On the occasion of October 1, the 24th anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of China, in all the districts of Albania, in plants, factories and construction sites of various projects of the five-year plan, agricultural cooperatives and enterprises, schools and military units, there were held with the working people meetings of the Albanian-Chinese friendship, talks, openings of exhibitions and other activities, through which is shown the glorious road traversed by great People's China under the leadership of the Communist Party of China with the great Marxist-Leninist comrade Mao Tse-tung at the head; they point out successes achieved by the fraternal Chinese people in the socialist construction of the country.

The Albania-China Friendship Society, the Albanian Committee for cultural and friendly relations with outside world and the Trade Unions Council of the Tirana district organized on September 28 festive meetings on the occasion of the 24th anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of China in the hall of the Opera and Ballet Theatre.

The meeting was attended by working people from work and production centres and various institutions, representatives of mass organisations, military men, young men and young women.

Present were likewise party and state leaders.

Attending was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China, Liu Jen Hua.

At the meeting speeches were delivered by comrade Rahman Hanku, member of the Central Committee of the PLA and Minister of Construction, and Liu Jen Hua.

On this occasion the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA Enver Hoxha, the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Haxhi Lleshi, and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers Mehmet Shehu sent at telegram of greetings to Chairman Mao-Tse-tung, Tung Pi-wu, acting president of the P.R. of China, Chu Teh, chairman of the standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the P.R. of China, and Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the P.R. of China.

Foreign guests in our country

During the month of September, at the invitation of the Central Committee of the PLA, a delegation of the Central Committee of the Workers Communist Party (M.L.) of Norway made a visit to Albania.

During their stay in Albania, the delegation visited various work centres and institutions.

The delegation of the Central Committee of the Workers Communist Party (M.L.) of Norway held talks at the Central Committee of the PLA.

At the invitation of the Central Committee of the PLA, the chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Britain (M.L.) Reg Birch made a visit to Albania.

During his stay in Albania, the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Britain (M.L.) Reg Birch was received by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA Enver Hoxha.

PRESS
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The reception passed in a friendly and cordial atmosphere.

At the invitation of the Central Committee of the PLA the Chairman of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) E.F. Hill made a visit to Albania.

During his stay in Albania E.F. Hill was received by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, Enver Hoxha. The reception passed in a cordial and fraternal atmosphere.

On this occasion comrade Enver Hoxha gave a lunch in honour of E.F. Hill and his wife.

Tirana - city of 370 construction sites

The ATA reports that building workers of the Capital city are working today in 370 different buildings sites, beginning with the projects of the five-year plan such as the extension of the «Traktori» plant, the construction of the polygraphic combine, the construction of the new Valias mine, that of the coal concentration factory at this mine, the commanding centre of the power system, and up to the construction of the open air theatre on the hills of the artificial lake. The workers of the «21 Dhjetori» construction enterprise are now working on 97 objects. The printers of the Capital, in a not distant future, will print more books, the miners will extract more coal from the underground and the workers of the «Dynamo» plant, after the reconstruction of their plant, will turn out more equipments for the construction of the mines of our country.

In various places of our Capital we see every day the launching of work for the construction of new projects, of the new dwelling houses and hotels, hospitals, schools, green houses for the production of early vegetables. The seven-storey hotel in «Stalin» Boulevard has been concluded as framework. Work is going on for the construction of the 15-storey hotel on «Skënderbej» square. Not very far from these construction sites work is continuing for extension of «Volga» hotel. Near each other are the construction sites of the summer time thea-

tre on the hills of the artificial lake and the extension of the «Qemal Stafa» national stadium. Very near to the latter work is going on for the construction of a new building of the higher Institute of Arts which will have more rooms and studios for the students. In the «Dëshmorët e Kombit» Boulevard work has begun for the construction of the new gallery of arts where the builders work also during the night in the lights of search lights. The rate of construction of this building site is often mingled with that of the construction of the «Pionier» cinema.

The construction of the hand games stadium is a new project for youth, for the sport-lovers. With the conclusion of the construction of the Nr. 1 pathological hospital in the coming year the number of beds in this hospital will amount to about 1.000. The State has invested about 55 million leks in the construction of this hospital. Along with the work for the conclusion of this hospital work is going on also for the construction of another new gineaeological hospital.

Many are also the projects being constructed through voluntary contribution. Under construction are about 2.000 apartments, constituting about 120 building sites. For the construction of buildings with voluntary contribution there have worked periodically some 4.000 working people of work and production centres, institutions and government departments, pensioners, military men, school pupils and students. But in the city of Tirana there are also over 170 other construction sites which are within the plants, factories or enterprises: these are the sites of construction of new lines and sections with one's own forces. So far work has been concluded in 130 such building sites and it is continuing in others. These are important projects. Work has begun in them to produce more for the people, to domestically produce materials which were formerly imported from abroad.

Over 10.000 inhabitants have thrown themselves in action for the construction of a new water pipeline, that of Bovilla. Within this year work will begin also in new construction sites as in those of the building of the factory of pharmaceutical products and the extension of the «New Albania» film studio.

PRESS REVI EW

The entire Albanian press devoted editorial articles to the 28th anniversary of the proclamation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. This important event is appraised by the Albanian newspapers as the crowning with success of the many year long efforts of the Vietnamese people against French colonialism, Japanese militarism and local reaction. After mentioning the 1954 Geneva agreements on Indochina, the great successes of the people of the D.R. of Vietnam and the great sufferings of the people in the southern part of the country, the newspapers point out the barbarous interference of the U.S. aggressors in Vietnam, the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against the Yankee aggressors and their lackeys, and the Paris agreements which are a consequence of the shameful defeats they suffered in Indochina.

In its article devoted to this event the organ of the Democratic Front of Albania, the newspaper «BASHKIMI», writes:

«U.S. imperialism suffered in Vietnam a complete military defeat. The Vietnamese people, by their struggle, once more destroyed the myth of the American monster, of its air superiority. They showed to the world once more that a people small in number who fight for freedom are able to smash out in the battle-field even such a great power as the U.S.A». However, the American bandits, although having suffered military defeat, although they signed the Paris agreements, they trample them

under both feet, showing again their unexampled perfidy. Great military aids have been and will be given in the future to Saigon. More than 20.000 American military men putting on the adviser's cloak continue to command in fact the Saigon troops. Instigated and armed up to the teeth by Washington, the puppet Nguyen Van Thieu clique continues to carry out numberless aggressive acts against the liberated areas which are under the control of the Provisional Revolutionary Government, the sole and lawful representative of the will, interests and aspirations of the people of South Vietnam. Ever since the signing of the Paris agreement the Saigon clique has carried out over 100.000 bandit-like operations against the liberated areas. That which is occurring today in Vietnam and throughout Indochina once more shows that the U.S. imperialists have not given up their predatory, colonialist objectives in Vietnam, indeed all over Indochina, having also the unsurpassing aid of their partners - the Soviet social imperialists.»

The organ of the Central Committee of the Party, the newspaper «ZËRI I POPULLIT», in an article entitled «Ardent revolutionary greetings to the fraternal Vietnamese people» writes among other things:

«The Vietnamese people, who well know the real countenance of the U.S. imperialists and of all their supporters, are vigilant and determined not to lay down their arms, to consolidate the won positions and to carry

always onward their just cause.

The Albanian people, as loyal friends of the Vietnamese people, have supported and will always support with determination their just cause and struggle till complete and final victory. They sincerely rejoice at the successes of the Vietnamese people in the socialist construction of the DR of Vietnam. Our people express their conviction that the Vietnamese people, with the determination, vigilance and high militant spirit that has always characterized them, will defend and consolidate the achieved victories and will smash all the plans and aggressive acts of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.»

The fourth summit conference of nonaligned countries which held its proceedings in Algiers was followed with interest by the Albanian press. In an article devoted to this conference the newspaper «ZËRI I POPULLIT» wrote among other things:

«The Algiers conference was convened at a time when the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist armed struggle of the oppressed and exploited peoples has assumed broad proportions, when a number of countries have risen in defence of their sovereignty and national independence, against the hegemonistic objectives of the two superpowers, when the independent democratic development and social progress have become an aspiration of the peoples strug-

gling for freedom and independence.

During the proceedings of the Algiers conference a number of heads of states and governments resolutely condemned imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and expressed themselves against the interference, control and hegemonistic aims of the superpowers. In many discussions the participants in the conference powerfully raised their voice of support for and solidarity with the national liberation movements of the oppressed peoples, in defence of national independence and for social progress.

And the article further says: «Feeling the danger that at the Algiers conference they would find themselves under the exposing blows of the representatives of various countries and peoples, the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists sought to manoeuvre at times by smiling to these countries and at times by making suggestions and threats in the form of messages, as it was the case of the message sent by the head of the Kremlin, Brezhnev, a few days before the opening of the conference, to the president of Algeria Boumediene. The U.S. imperialists followed with concern the statements of many participants in the conference, who once more tore off their mask as rabid aggressors. Despite this, imitating the ostrich, they feigned to «welcome» the conference and made gestures of greetings towards it.

The statements of the representatives of various countries at the Algiers conference showed

that the hopes of the two superpowers that the conference would keep silent or would divert the attention from the policy of expansion and hegemonism pursued by Washington and Moscow, did not come true. The principal motive of the speeches of the majority of the representatives of various countries and peoples was the struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism, apartheid and expansion and hegemonism of the two superpowers.

The Albanian people, who resolutely support the national liberation struggle of the oppressed and exploited peoples against colonialism and neocolonialism as well as the efforts of the various countries in defence of the freedom and national sovereignty against the imperialist powers, wish the freedom-loving peoples new and still greater victories in their just struggle for national liberation, for the preservation and strengthening of national independence and for social progress.

■
The newspaper «BASHKIMI» in an article entitled «Concern for oil and the threats of Washington» commented on the great anger aroused in Washington by the measures of the Libyan Government for the nationalisation of the oil exploiting American companies, as well as by the determined stand of the countries which are members of the Organisation of the oil exporting countries to defend their interests.

After mentioning Nixon's successive threatening speeches with regard to the oil producing countries and particularly with regard to the Arab oil producing countries, the newspaper writes:

«Richard Nixon's concern is not accidental. For years, a number of Arab countries, from Gibraltar to the Arabian Gulf, included in the process of the movement for freedom and national independence, have taken measures for the nationalization or restriction of the activity of foreign companies, traditional exploiters of the Arab oil.

The growth of the Arab national consciousness, the measures that have impaired the interests of foreign monopolies, mainly American, and the prospects of the further development of the situation to the detriment of foreign monopolies, has faced the United States with great troubles. The imperialist chieftains are afraid of losing the colossal riches of the oil of the Arab basin.

With the oil is connected, among other things, the Zionist aggression against the Arab countries, in which the U.S.A. has played and is playing the main role. Had they not had definite interests and objectives oil included, the U.S. imperialists would not have undertaken the burden of unsparingly supporting and aiding the Israeli aggressor. Richard Nixon himself stated at his press conference that the «oil problem is connected with the Israeli-Arab conflict». The United States backs, arms to the teeth, continually gives aids and credits to Israel

PRESS REVIEW EW

in order to have it as a permanent gendarme in the Arab basin, as a means of constant pressure and blackmail against the Arab countries». The newspaper expresses the conviction that the Arab people and all the oil producing countries that ever better understand the aims of the U.S. imperialists will not allow themselves to be intimidated by the threats of the imperialists and they will strengthen their unity in order to defend their riches and to use them for their national interests.



ATA Agency devotes a commentary to the change of membership cards in the Soviet revisionist party. The commentary reads in part: «Facts show that from the ill-famed 20th Congress of the CP of the Soviet Union, which proclaimed and sanctioned officially the revisionist counter-revolutionary course of the Soviet leadership, the latter has undertaken one campaign after the other for the radical change of the superstructure of the Soviet society, beginning with the change of the character and role of the party and the state apparatus, that led to the transformation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union into a social-democratic party: to the liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its replacement with the dictatorship of the new revisionist bourgeoisie. But these radical changes in the superstructure and economic base of the Soviet Union, due to the very internal and external conditions, could not be operated at once and openly. Such a

process camouflaged with the demagogical slogans of «creative» Marxism-Leninism in the Soviet Union still continues, always aiming, first and foremost, the party, its purging of everything that may have remained in it from the period of the revolution and socialist construction, the complete liquidation, and indeed physically, of its revolutionary members, its transformation into a party representing no more the interests of the working class and labouring peasantry, but those of the bourgeoisie and the other bourgeois sections of the town and countryside.

In the framework of this, as reported by the Soviet press, the Soviet revisionists have announced that within the 1973-1974 period there should be carried out the complete replacement of the party membership cards. Although the Soviet revisionist propaganda seeks to present this campaign as something usual, in fact it aims at the further degeneration of the Soviet revisionist party to a party with all the features of a bourgeois party. For this purpose, they have long ago widely opened the doors of their party to the ranks of which, as the Soviet revisionist newspaper «Pravda» reports, during the last five years alone there have been admitted 1.984.000 persons, of whom during the last two years alone 366.000 persons, mainly educated with the revisionist spirit, the spirit of the Khrushchevian «guljash» and Brezhnev's «consumer» society, with the spirit of the withering away of the class struggle at home and abroad, of collaboration and peaceful coexistence also in the

ideological field with the international bourgeoisie and counterrevolution in the world.

The fact that, as «Pravda» itself admits, «almost the one-fourth of the candidates admitted to the party are engineers, agronomists, university lecturers, doctors, workers in science, workers in art and literature» and «more than the one-third of the members of the CPSU have been admitted in these recent years» clearly shows that it is not the workers and peasants those who make up the core of the Soviet revisionist party, but the other sections of the Soviet population, mainly the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois elements who have political power, too, in their hands.

Facts show that in its social structure there is a constant fall in the number of workers who represent only 40.7 per cent, while the white-collar workers - the main backing of the bureaucratic apparatus of the revisionist Soviet Union, account for 44.6 per cent of the membership. It follows likewise from the statistical data that there is a pronounced decline in the number of the working people of the countryside, who account for only 14.7 per cent of the social structure of the party, as reported by the newspaper «Pravda».

Although the ideologists of the Soviet revisionist party are seeking to camouflage this with the alleged «transformation of a part of the collective farms into state farms» and with the «increase of the technical improvement of agriculture», their policy of admitting as few peasant working people to the party ranks as possible and of admitting to it highly trained specialists, is

PRESS REVIEW EW

aimed at continuing the liquidation of the alliance of the working class and the labouring peasantry, its replacing with the alliance of the worker aristocracy and the petty bourgeois sections of the town and its outskirts.

It also follows from the data that have leaked from the strict Soviet revisionist censorship that in the structure of the nationalities of the Soviet revisionist party, the other nationalities, excluding Russia, Ukrain and Bellorussia, account for only 2 per cent, which also constitutes a significant indicator of the chauvinistic policy pursued by the Kremlin ruling circles with regard to the other nationalities of the Soviet Union.

The data carried by the Soviet press itself and many others which this press and the whole Soviet revisionist propaganda is seeking to conceal and camouflage, clearly show the real aim also of the present campaign of changing the membership cards in the Soviet revisionist party. Through a new purge, they want to consolidate the positions in their party which has long ago cast aside all the Leninist norms of its build up, it has cast also the banner of Marxism-Leninism and has turned into a pure bourgeois party.

■
All the Albanian newspapers devoted editorial articles also to the 25th anniversary of the founding of the DPR of Korea:

«Its founding on September 9, 1948 — «Zëri i Popullit» writes, crowned with success the continuous efforts and the many-year long struggle of the Korean peo-

ple to get rid of the chains of the imperialist rule. The liberation of the country and the founding of the DPR of Korea were great historical victories of the Korean people, which opened to them bright prospects for the socialist development of the country, for the realisation of their aspiration to build up a powerful and prosperous sovereign and independent state. The Korean people, under the leadership of the Korean Workers Party, since the early years after the founding of the DPR of Korea, achieved important successes on the road of the socialist construction of the country».

After mentioning the barbarous aggression of U.S. imperialism against the DPR of Korea on the 25th of June 1950, the heroic struggle of the Korean people and the defeat of the aggressors, the newspaper writes: «But despite the heavy defeat they suffered in their aggression against the Korean people, the U.S. imperialists and their Seoul puppets have obstinately continued their hostile and aggressive policy against the DPR of Korea, gravely violating the sovereign rights of the Korean people. South Korea, militarily occupied by the USA, has been transformed into a colony and place d'armes of continuous aggression and military provocations of U.S. imperialism against North Korea and other peoples of the Asian continent. The USA, in an entirely unlawful manner, is continuing even today, 20 years after the signing of the armistice agreement, to maintain its aggressive troops in South Korea, it has imposed on the people the rule of the treacherous and antinational Seoul clique, and

jointly they continue the aggressive acts and military provocations against North Korea.

The hostile anti-Korea aims of U.S. imperialism are encouraged also by the stand of the Soviet social imperialists who, for the sake of the strengthening of the imperialist-revisionist counterrevolutionary alliance and of their joint policy of the division and preservation of the mutual zones of influence, are for the preservation of the status quo in Korea. The Soviet revisionists, betraying the national interests and aspirations of the Korean people, have positively echoed the «two Korea» plot. This is clearly shown by the conclusion of the economic-cultural agreements of the Moscow revisionists with the Seoul authorities and their recent statements on the admission as two separate states of the DPR of Korea and South Korea to the United Nations, as well as the admission of the participation of the South Korean team in the student universiade of Moscow. But the Korean people are vigilant and determined to destroy the aggressive plans and diabolic intrigues of their enemies, to realize the supreme national aspiration — the peaceful and independent reunification of their homeland. The Korean people's struggle for the realization of the unification of Korea is just, and, as such, it enjoys the support of all the freedom-loving peoples in the world. The Korean people are one and indivisible. The independent unification of the fatherland is a lawful aspiration and a domestic question of the Korean people. It can and must be solved only through the free will of the Korean people, with-

PRESS REVIEW EW

out any interference from outside».

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«The defeat of the Lon Nol regime is inevitable» — is the title of an article of the newspaper «ZÈRI I POPULLIT» devoted to the determined stand of the Cambodian people towards the threats and diabolic manoeuvres of the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists.

After citing the successive victories of the Cambodian liberation forces on all the fronts and the efforts of the U.S. imperialists to impose the puppet Lon Nol government on the Cambodian people the article exposes the revisionist clique of the Soviet Union which posing as a friend and supporter of the liberation struggle of the Cambodian people is seeking to deceive the National United Front of Cambodia and its Government.

There is internationalist revolutionary support and solidarity, the article says, but there is also support with imperialist aims. The latter has been manifested many times in the activity of the imperialist and social imperialist powers when the question has been and is to coordinate the plans and plots against the peoples struggling for freedom and independence. Such a thing has occurred in connection with the events in Cambodia on the part of the Soviet social imperialists. Those who but recently had turned a deaf ear and a blind eye to the liberation struggle of the Cambodian people and who continue to maintain a complete diplomatic mission of 40 persons in Pnom Penh, today, suddenly affirm their alleged support for

the Cambodian patriots, order their press and propaganda to «reveal» that there exists also a National United Front of Cambodia and, moreover, undertake, in a paternal tone, to give suggestions for the creation of a national coalition with the other reactionary political parties, agents of U.S. imperialism, to share political power with the Lon Nol clique. In this way, according to the Soviet revisionists, one road and two business. First, they come to assistance to the beyond the ocean partner, and second, Moscow's support for the Cambodian patriots is taken note of. The Cambodian patriots were quick to give an answer to this diabolic social imperialist diplomacy. The president of the National United Front of Cambodia exposed the open interference of the Soviet revisionists in the domestic affairs of Cambodia and declared that «the fact that the USSR obstinately continues to maintain diplomatic relations with the rotten regime of the Pnom Penh traitors, has resulted in that the alleged support the Soviet Union gives to the National United Front of Cambodia has lost the whole value of its confidence».

The efforts to save the Pnom Penh traitors and to impose an antipopular regime and imperialist neocolonialism on Cambodia are manysided and various. But the Cambodian patriots, guided by the supreme ideal of freedom and independence, are determined to follow the road of victory, the one pointed out also by the president of the National United Front of Cambodia, Norodom Sihanouk, the continuation of the people's war up to the overthrow of the Pnom Penh fascist regime,

the liquidation of the treacherous clique of Lon Nol, Sirik Matak, etc., the passage of the running of the country into the hands of the National United Front of Cambodia and of the Royal Government of the National Union of Cambodia, the creation of an independent, sovereign, democratic Cambodia.

■
 The course of events in Chile has been extensively mirrored in the Albanian press which has condemned with anger the coup d'état organized by the reactionary forces and the U.S. imperialists, and has supported the just struggle of the Chilean people against the savage fascist terror. All the press organs have published articles devoted to these events.

■
 The newspaper «PUNA», organ of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Albania, in an article entitled «The people of South Africa are not conquered by the crimes of the Pretoria racists», condemns the inhuman massacres which the South African police, on order of the government, perpetrated against the workers of Carltonville, 64 km. from Johannesburg and points out the increasingly greater intensification of the struggle of the workers against the violence of the racist government.

Revolted by the racist policy of the government, the article says, the African working masses dare and throw themselves in struggle. And irrespective of the repressive measures and terror, there is gradually growing in the country the force of the proletariat, their political and

PRESS REVIEW EW

class consciousness which is best expressed in the revolts it has launched from time to time.

At the beginning of this year this revolt burst forth so forcefully in the African citadel of racism that the Forster regime was compelled to fulfill the demands for the increase of wages, the improvement of work conditions of 30.000 black workers of the Durban city, after one month of objections which were often transformed into manifestations of violence on the part of police. The Durban strike movement demonstrated the great force of the working class which openly struggled against apartheid, racial discrimination and exploitation.

■ **«ZËRI I RINISË»**, organ of the C.C. of the Albanian Labour Youth Union, in an article entitled **«Degeneration of youth in the Soviet Union - a consequence of the restoration of capitalism»**, after citing many facts that prove the dissolution of the Soviet youth, facts which the Soviet press itself is often compelled to admit, writes among other things:

«The Soviet press and propaganda is trying to present these things as occasional phenomena, as transitory manifestations, products and whims of the age. But life shows the opposite; it confirms that these phenomena are becoming increasingly more commonplace, a component part of the revisionist way of living, and, secondly, that they are consciously cultivated by the revisionist chieftains, they are a result of their policy of restoration of capitalism and of com-

plete merger with the western bourgeoisie. No doubt that the restoration of capitalism in the economy contributes to the degeneration of the superstructure, incites the destructive process of the one time socialist ideology, morality and of the entire spiritual life in general. This is why the all-round bourgeois degeneration constitutes one of the most characteristic features of revisionism in the Soviet Union. We see the most pronounced influence of this process particularly in the ranks of youth. Moral degeneration, corruption, running after comfort, luxury and diversion, the ideological and moral disintegration, the spreading of decadent films, music and literature, the copying of everything western have become ordinary phenomena for many youngsters in the Soviet Union. And the newspaper further writes:

«Seeking to divert the youth from the revolutionary road, the Khrushchevite chieftains have darkened to it the road of socialism, the prospect of the future and are submerging it in pessimism and in an empty life, they are keeping it away from the social interests and the urgent social problems. They suppressed the enthusiasm and revolutionary vigour of youth, its ardent pathos, spirit of sacrifice and heroism of the glorious periods of the October Revolution, of the building of socialism, of the patriotic war, replacing them with bourgeois and petty-bourgeois thoughts, customs and habits. They cultivate in youth in all the ways the bourgeois individualism and egoism, setting profit, the ruble, as its supreme ideal. In their programme for the degeneration

of the younger generation the Khrushchevite chieftains are guided by the aim to train a younger generation, bearer of their anti-socialist ideas, who will fill the ranks of the new bourgeoisie, perpetuating thereby their treacherous deed.»

■ In an article entitled **«In the interest of the Sino-French friendship and of the freedom-loving peoples»** the newspaper **«ZËRI I POPULLIT»** comments on the visit of the president of the French Republic, Pompidou, to the PR of China and the joint communique issued at the end of this visit.

The article reads in part:

«This first official visit of a French head of state to China not only marked a new and important stage in the relations between the two countries, but it was also an important international event, a contribution to the efforts of the two countries and of the other peoples for independence and true peace, against the aggression and the hegemony of the two superpowers in the world. Precisely because it was such, it had a positive repercussion in all the peoples and progressive forces. Only the reactionary forces, as well as the representatives of the imperialist and social imperialist circles expressed their concern, they sought to minimize the importance of the talks that were held and did their utmost to sophisticate and sling mud on the positive results of these talks.

The Sino-French communique which was approved at the end

PRESS REVIEW

of the talks testifies to the friendly spirit in which the views about the main current international problems and the Sino-French relations were exchanged. It reflects the consistent, principled stand of the People's Republic of China as a great socialist country, impregnable fortress of the revolution and peace, which is an ardent supporter of the peoples struggling for freedom, independence and social progress, against the aggressive policy of the two superpowers and their hegemonistic plans. At the same time the communique reflects the fact that the two parties in the examination of the main international problems agree on a number of them. They once more stressed their joint respect for the principles of equality of all the countries, big and small, irrespective of their social systems, and mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity. The problems of a country and its people, the communique pointed out, must be solved by the people themselves, without outside interference, and that «in view of the improvement of the international situation both parties express themselves against hegemony».

This attitude rises in face of the feverish efforts of the two imperialist superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union which, having got into a «holy» alliance

between them, have adopted and adopt an aggressive, expansionist and hegemonistic position for the division of the «zones of influence» and world domination. For the realisation of these aims the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists pursue as well the «peace offensive» in order to deceive the peoples and disarm them, as the feverish race of armaments and nuclear blackmail».

■
«Powerful bulwark of the Revolution and Socialism», «Ardent revolutionary greetings to the fraternal Chinese people», «Triumphant march of the fraternal Chinese people», etc. These are some of the titles of the articles devoted by the Albanian newspapers to the 24th anniversary of the founding of the P.R. of China.

The founding of the People's Republic of China was a brilliant deed of the glorious Communist Party of China, with its tried and tested leader, great Marxist-Leninist, comrade Mao Tse-tung at the head, which through a protracted and arduous struggle against the imperialist and reactionary enemies, leftist or rightist deviators, mobilized and led with courage and farsightedness the multi-million Chinese people

on the road of the great popular revolution, the newspaper «ZËRI I POPULLIT» writes

The newspaper «BASHKIMI» writes in one of its articles:

«The triumph of the revolution in China, the creation of the great socialist state, the People's Republic of China, the emergence of the 800 million strong colossus in the international arena are incomparable victories not only for the Chinese people but for all the revolutionary forces in the world. They are a decisive factor for the positive development of the international events and for the prospects of the future of mankind and, at the same time, they constitute the main obstacle in the road of the realization of the counterrevolutionary objectives of the enemies of mankind with U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism at the head. The existence of the P.R. of China, its determined antiimperialist policy, inspire and encourage the peoples in their just struggle against the two superpowers, the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union which, in rivalry and in collaboration with each other, have signed a number of treaties and are intensifying their aggressive activities with a view to taking into their hands all the reins of the international life and to impose their dictate, oppression and subjugation on the peoples.»

In October, this city museum was the site of the national folklore festival, a splendid artistic display of the popular creativeness of every region of Albania.

Below: Partial view of the city museum of Gjirokastra with its ancient fortress.

Above: National Liberation War museum
On page 4: Poster devoted to the national folkloristic festival
(Designed by Pandi Mele)





**FESTIVALI
FOLKLORISTIK
KOMBETAR**



ОБРАЗЛОЖЕНИЕ: ИЛИЯНКА ПЕТКОВА 1971