

**THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE
HAVE BEEN AND ARE WITH THE
JUST CAUSE OF THE PEOPLES**

*Speech of the head of the delegation of the PSR of
Albania at the 32nd session of the General Assembly
of the UNO*



**SPEECH OF COMRADE NESTI NASE, HEAD OF
THE DELEGATION OF THE PSR OF ALBANIA
AT THE 32nd SESSION OF THE GENERAL
ASSEMBLY OF THE UNO
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Mr Chairman,

As at every session of the General Assembly, the delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania wants to express the views of its government on several important international problems which preoccupy the peoples of the world. We think that in the assessment of the situation existing in the world today there is no room for complacency, and even less, for euphoria. The events are showing that the international situation continues to be turbulent and fraught with dangers to peace and security.

The imperialist powers, the US and the Soviet Union, in the first place, are persistently continuing their policy of war and aggression, threatening the freedom and independence of peoples, trying to put down the national liberation war, to divide the peoples and sovereign states and to set them against each other, to stir up incidents and even armed conflicts among them. At the same time, US imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and the other reactionary forces are exerting strenuous efforts to utilize the political and economic developments and the backwardness of some countries in their interest. In particular, this is being done to the detriment of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The imperialist powers are seeking to preserve at all costs the privileges they have secured through vio-

lence, plunder and exploitation of these continents, are trying to hamper their independent economic development, to inhibit the development of the productive forces. They never give up, of their free will, their aim of keeping the oil and the other raw material resources under their control, in order to dictate their prices in world markets.

However, imperialism, social-imperialism and reaction are not in a position to stamp out the struggle of the peoples. We are witnesses to such an event of major significance for the entire international life and relations as the rising of the national and social consciousness to an ever higher level, both in content and intensity. The struggle of the peoples for liberation, for the affirmation and defence of their independence and national sovereignty, their efforts to become masters of the assets they have been robbed of by the imperialist powers centuries ago, to root out the leftovers of colonialism, to cut the tentacles of multinational monopolies, to defend their national traditions and culture and to develop them further, are playing an important role in the present-day world historic process.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania unreservedly supports the revolutionary and national liberation struggles of the peoples, the efforts of the democratic and progressive states to defend and affirm their national independence, to exercise their complete sovereignty over their national assets. The leader of the Albanian people comrade Enver Hoxha has said:

«Today the overwhelming bulk of the peoples of the world are making great efforts and strongly opposing the colonial laws and neo-colonialist domi-

nation, those rules, practices, customs, the unequal agreements, old and new, established by the bourgeoisie to maintain the exploitation of the peoples, the hateful distinctions and discrimination in international relations... The progressive peoples and the democratic states, that refuse to reconcile themselves to this situation and are fighting to establish their national sovereignty over their own assets, are striving to strengthen their political and economic independence, and for equality and justice in international relations, enjoy the full solidarity and support of the Albanian people and state».

The Albanian people have been and continue to be in solidarity with the just cause of the peoples of all the world, they are friends especially with those peoples who are fighting for their freedom, independence and national sovereignty. They have great respect for the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, who have ancient cultural traditions, who have the great desire and yearning to live free and happy, and are courageously fighting for these lofty objectives.

Many of those peoples today are in war not only with the external enemy, which is made up of the superpowers and the other imperialist states, but they are also fighting against internal reaction. The external enemy, which in particular is represented by the two superpowers, is the common enemy, that should be fought by all, and especially by the peoples of those continents who languish under its domination or are threatened by it. The Albanian people, who have liberated themselves from their external and internal enemies, who hate foreign oppression and exploitation, want to see all the peoples that are

fighting for their freedom and national independence, free, independent and sovereign, and are in complete solidarity with their just struggle.

We have never interfered nor will we ever interfere in the internal affairs of others, but we stand against all the reactionaries who, linked with the big imperialist powers and playing their game, have become an obstacle to the peoples fighting to win their freedom and independence, to escape from poverty, to enjoy the new life and utilize the assets of their countries for their own benefit. Nothing can unite the peoples and their struggle with the interests of the imperialists and the local reactionary politicians. The Albanian people express their ardent desire that all the fraternal peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, who have militant traditions and an advanced culture, which in various epochs has flourished and shone in the history of mankind, be free. We are fighting shoulder-to-shoulder with the peoples of the world, we support their just cause, irrespective of the hostile stand adopted towards us by some of their ruling cliques, which we, too, hate as anti-popular. Our alliance with the peoples is based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, on the policy of supporting the liberation movement, hence the reason of existence of this friendship, solidarity and understanding between the peoples of the world's continents and little socialist Albania. Socialist Albania feels strong not only because it relies on its free and monolithic people, and this is of great importance, but also because it enjoys also the support of the freedom-loving countries and peoples of the world. The Albanian people are friends with all the

peoples, in particular they are linked in close friendship with the great Chinese people. In its rights, socialist Albania enjoys the sympathy of hundreds of millions of people in the world. Herein lies one of our forces, and this force is directed against imperialism, social-imperialism and against all reactionaries and various revisionists. Imperialism, social-imperialism, the revisionists and international reaction are striving to set up new empires, to forge new chains for the peoples. We are against these new chains, therefore we love the peoples, and they love us with all their heart, and fight together on one front.

In the present conditions, it is more necessary than ever for the sovereign, freedom-loving and peace-loving peoples and states to enhance their vigilance, to guard themselves against falling victims to the plans of their enemies, to prevent themselves from turning into pawns of that big and dangerous game which is being played by the imperialist powers, on a world-wide scale. The everyday events testify to the fact that one state is set against the other, and as soon as one fire is put out another flares up. This is clearly shown by the events in the Middle East, the conflict between Somalia and Ethiopia, the events in Angola, and the strife in Zaire, etc. Who is fanning these fires? Who is causing these conflicts? Is it the peoples? No. The conflicts which exist today among some African countries and in various areas of the world have their roots, in the first place, in the «divide and rule» policy of US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. The peoples aspire to solidarity, love and fraternity. And when we say so we are not in the least indulging

in idealist dreams, but assessing things realistically. These situations arise because there exist the exploiting classes which fight against the exploited ones, because, on a national and international plane, there are conflicting and irreconcilable interests between these classes confronting one another.

The interests of the peoples call for courageous and determined struggle to strengthen independence and sovereignty against political, ideological, economic and military aggression, against imperialist intervention. In order to successfully cope with the activity of big and powerful enemies, with many means at their disposal, sound unity and true solidarity among the freedom-loving, progressive and democratic peoples and states is absolutely necessary. The peoples achieve this unity and solidarity through determined struggle and concrete actions against all their enemies. The attempts to ignore essential differences among the political forces in the world in the name of the unity and solidarity of the peoples, and to reduce the question of unity to heterogenous groupings of states expressed in algebraic and arithmetic figures, with the most varied political regimes and options, ranging from those maintaining anti-imperialist stands to those imposed by imperialism on some peoples and countries, create confusion, leave the imperialist powers and some reactionary regimes a free field of activity to speculate on the aspirations of progressive peoples and states and to weaken the genuine anti-imperialist unity of the peoples. The successes achieved by the various countries struggling for their independent political and economic development are not the result of the fact that they are united in various

groupings, but of their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Imperialism, social-imperialism cannot be fought with success, nor can complete freedom and independence be secured, if those in their service are not fought against as well.

Likewise, it would be dangerous for the peoples and countries which have recently shaken off the colonial yoke, if, in their efforts to strengthen independence, they would accept uniting with the old colonial powers, or the groupings of the imperialist powers, which not only are maintaining many economic, cultural, military positions there, but are also trying to occupy new ones. The old-days colonialism has suffered defeat. But imperialism, whether old or new, lives on and the methods it employs to establish and extend neo-colonialism are even more refined and dangerous.

Life has borne out quite convincingly that the two imperialist superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, are equally dangerous, to the same extent and in the same degree, to the peoples and their freedom. Even if, under certain conditions, one of them is forced to change tactics, because of the blows of the peoples, this does not mean that it has become less dangerous and that it is abandoning its aggressive and expansionist policy. Experience has shown that when a people or a nation is threatened or oppressed by one superpower, this does not mean that the other superpower poses no longer any danger to them, and even less, that it has become their «friend». The events in many areas of the world, such as in the Middle East, in Africa and other parts, prove quite well that both superpowers have

the same aggressive and hegemonistic intentions and are feverishly seeking to share the zones of influence or to snatch the positions from each other. The leader of the Albanian people, comrade Enver Hoxha, has said:

«...both when the superpowers work together and when they quarrel, it is others who pay the bill. The collusion and rivalry between the superpowers are the two sides of the one contradictory reality, important expressions of the same imperialist strategy, to rob the peoples of their freedom and to dominate the world. They pose the same danger, therefore, the two superpowers are the main and greatest enemies of the peoples. That is why, one must never rely on one imperialism to fight or escape from the other».

The peoples are becoming ever more convinced that their liberation struggle can be crowned with success only when they fight unwaveringly and uncompromisingly against US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, that the independence of the states and national sovereignty, security and peace can be preserved and strengthened only by maintaining an unwavering stand in the face of the two superpowers and the other imperialist powers.

It is several years now since the two imperialist superpowers are indulging in demagogy and are resorting to various machinations in order to force the peoples into accepting the dangerous idea that every country must seek its defence under the protection of US imperialism or Soviet social-imperialism, that they have no other way out but to accept the protection of their «umbrellas». Of course, the peoples cannot accept to place themselves under

the tutelage of one or the other superpower, or to join one of them in order to oppose the other, only because they are riddled with feuds and contradictions in the framework of their rivalry for domination and hegemony in the world.

The discontent of the peoples at colonial exploitation, tutelage, dictate and hegemony, national oppression and racial discrimination, will rise to boiling point. The subjective factors have been or will be created in the future, too, and the moment will come when the peoples will be free of all yoke. Shaking off the yoke of all foreign occupiers, the peoples will achieve their national liberation and social emancipation by themselves. Socialism will achieve successes everywhere, for the peoples want it, they dream of it, for it is linked with their feelings. Of course, this will be attained with their all-round efforts, with resolute struggle, because the imperialists will never lay down their arms willingly.

The unity of the people in their fight for freedom, independence and social progress is indispensable. Unity is one of the main weapons of proletarian internationalism. The countries which are building socialism should help the peoples fighting to achieve and preserve their national independence, as well as the other peoples that aspire to advance on the road to socialism with all their might.

The so-called «aid» which the Soviet revisionists give the other countries is not at all sincere and free of self-interest, on the contrary, it has the character of a policy of subjugation and imposition, of a chauvinist policy of a big state towards small states. The revisionists' views about small nations are not

in the least different from those of the imperialists. We say this with conviction, for we have suffered it on our own backs.

We strive and shall always strive to see that the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are given sincere, disinterested aid, which is free of any political condition and with no intrigues. Only this is the way how true friendship is understood. Our Party and our state of the proletarian dictatorship have fought and will go on fighting courageously in this direction and they are not alone in this course — the peoples of the world are fighting together with them, and among them the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The question of the relationship between the big state and the small state, between the big peoples and the small peoples, interpreted in the sense that the small peoples must submit to the big ones, is a bad disease, a chauvinist concept, a hangover from ages gone by, inherited from the capitalist-imperialist world-outlook. The progressive and freedom-loving peoples wage and must wage a ruthless struggle against this point of view. We appreciate the importance and role of the big states and the big peoples highly, but one should also have a thorough and correct grasp of the importance and role of the other countries and peoples, no matter how small they may be. All peoples, whether big or small, render their contribution to the cause of the freedom and progress of mankind. Life itself, practice and struggle make things clear, distinguish people, sort out who is on the side of the peoples and who is against them.

Here, at the General Assembly, the big powers

spoke a great deal about the small countries. When you hear the speeches of the representatives of these states, it seems that their highest preoccupation has been to improve the life of the peoples of the small countries, how to help them progress and prosper. But all these sugar-coated statements, all this «care», are a dangerous deception. The big powers want to take the small countries by the hand as if they do not know how to advance by themselves, they want to teach them lessons, treat them as barbarians of the epoch of slavery, while they regard themselves as belonging to the epoch of the atom. They fabricate numerous proposals, they advocate the creation of various organisms to allegedly save the peoples, and particularly the small countries, from the evil. In fact, what they want to do is put them under their «umbrella» or protection in order to suffocate them.

All this «care» shows that the big powers are afraid of the small countries, therefore, each of them strives to paralyse the fighting energies of the peoples of these countries, to divert them from their just struggle, to set them one against the other. But they are doomed to failure, because the time has gone when the small peoples were deceived by myths and empires. The peoples themselves are masters of their own destinies, they no longer accept the chains, but will break them once and for all.

They attack socialist Albania because it speaks the truth. It is true that we are few in numbers, but we are not afraid of the attacks of our enemies, for we know that today the true words of a small people are listened to with sympathy and respect by all honourable men and all the peoples of the

world. The strength of small peoples lies in their militant spiritual unity with all the peoples fighting for justice and not for intrigues, in their determination to carry through to the end their struggle for the fulfilment of their aspirations, against the aims of the imperialists and revisionists.

In the recent years many events have taken place, which have borne out that the so-called detente is a slogan invented and spread with the purpose of misleading the peoples, creating illusions that, in the world today, the chances of establishing peace and calm are allegedly greater than the dangers of a war.

For years on end, from the rostrum of this Assembly, whole speeches have been delivered to praise «detente». But how do matters look in reality? The world has never been at peace. There is no easing of tension in the world, but aggravation of contradictions, increasing of conflicts and rising dangers of war. But not a single session of the UNO has been held without some grave crisis or a hotbed of war, created by the interference of the imperialist powers, rising somewhere in the world. The so-called detente is only an aspect of the relations between the two superpowers at various stages of bargainings between them. But the bargainings between the imperialist powers can in no way be considered as easing of tension. They are the source of dangers for the peoples, international peace and security.

For a long time the Helsinki Conference on the so-called «European security» was presented as a model of detente. But, just as expected, the Helsinki Conference brought no good to Europe. Not a single

positive change has taken place on this Continent. Nothing has changed in the policy, the intentions and practices of the United States and the Soviet Union, on the contrary, they have intensified their efforts to strengthen their position in the respective zones of influence and to challenge each other. Now it can be said with greater assurance than ever that even the decisions adopted at Helsinki have remained a dead letter. The fiasco of the Helsinki Conference is evident also in the fact that the two sides have nothing else to do but to hurl accusations at one another for non-observation of the commitments taken with so much ado in the final act of the Conference. One cannot fail to be surprised at the political gestures of a government which seeks to broaden the Belgrade Meeting through the participation of the countries of the Mediterranean area, at a time when that same government is providing the Soviet and American fleets with innumerable facilities in the ports of its own country.

The Albanian delegation reiterates that in order to take real steps towards true European security it is necessary, first of all, to liquidate the aggressive military blocs of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, to force the US and Soviet troops to withdraw from the territories of European countries, to dismantle their military bases, to prohibit their military manoeuvres in the vicinity of the borders of the European countries.

In the Balkan peninsula, the situation is such as to give no rise to contentment, either. The two imperialist superpowers are keeping up their efforts to interfere in the internal affairs of the states of this area. The peoples of the Balkans, who have

suffered much from the game of the big powers, regard with legitimate concern these actions and demand that the interference of US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism in their internal affairs must be stopped, that they must be deprived of the possibility of using one Balkan state as an instrument against the other, or utilizing the territory of any Balkan state as a bridgehead for the realization of their aggressive plans.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has spared no efforts to contribute to the cause of peace and security in the Balkans. More than once it has declared, and this it has borne out with facts, that never and in no way will the slightest evil come to the neighbour countries through its territory. We uphold the opinion that in the present situation, the aspirations of the peoples of this area can be served better through the development of bilateral relations.

The continuing tension in Cyprus and the complications deriving from this situation are instigated and utilized by the two imperialist superpowers for their own intentions and in their own interests. As always, the Albanian government is of the opinion that a just solution to the Cyprus problem must be found by the parties concerned, allowing no interference whatsoever by the imperialist powers, and in compliance with the sovereign rights of the Cypriot people and the interest of the two communities living on the island.

The peoples of the Mediterranean countries have many proofs to convince them that their aspirations to turn the Mediterranean into a basin of peace and tranquillity cannot be realized as long as the aggress-

ive military fleets of the two superpowers will stay in that area. Therefore, it is indispensable to fight with determination to force the United States of America and the Soviet Union to withdraw their fleets from the Mediterranean, to provide no anchorage or support bases for these fleets. For the tranquillity and understanding to be established in the Mediterranean it is necessary that no Mediterranean country accepts to play the game of the two superpowers in this area.

In the Middle East, the two superpowers are becoming ever more embroiled in their interests, and resort to all means, viles and intrigues in order to preserve their present positions and to penetrate deeper into this strategic area so rich in oil. With the powerful support of the United States of America, Israel continues to keep the Arab territories occupied and is becoming ever more intransigent. The Soviet Union, too, is lying when it feigns to give support to the Arabs, for, in fact, it is backing up Israel and its aggressive policy in various manners.

It is clear that the plans of the imperialist powers, such as the «step by step» solutions, the convening of the Geneva Conference, or the creation of a Palestinian ministate, are nothing else but dangerous manoeuvres to the detriment of the Arab peoples. These are meant to trample underfoot the rights of these peoples, to instigate quarrels and divisions among them, to put down the just struggle of the Palestinian people and to liquidate their cause.

The Arab peoples are seeing ever better that the Middle East crisis cannot be solved by the US imperialists or the Soviet social-imperialists, who have

provoked it and keep it ablaze, and that their just cause will triumph by their relying not on the superpowers, but on their own determined struggle, on the strengthening of their unity.

The Albanian people, who have been and will always be on the side of the just struggle of the Palestinian people and the other fraternal Arab peoples, are convinced that these peoples, with so glorious traditions will, in the end, emerge victorious from the protracted struggle against their numerous enemies.

The peoples of Zimbabwe, Azania and Namibia have intensified their just liberation struggle against the racist regimes of Pretoria and Salisbury, which are propped up by the aid of the United States of America and the other imperialist powers.

The Albanian government supports the just struggle of the peoples of Azania, Zimbabwe and Namibia and of the other African countries against the racist regimes, against apartheid and racial discrimination, against neo-colonialism and the brutal interference of the two superpowers. It firmly condemns the policy of the savage oppression and exploitation practised by the racist regimes in Africa. It also condemns the armed provocations of these regimes against the neighbouring states. The struggle of the African peoples enjoys the powerful solidarity and support of all the peoples of the world; it is a just struggle and it will triumph.

The Korean peninsula has been and remains a centre of tension and a danger to peace and security in Asia because of the aggressive policy of US imperialism and the presence of its troops in South Korea. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has always

supported and supports the just struggle of the Korean people against US imperialism and its tools, for the independent unification of the homeland.

It is a long time since the United Nations has been dealing with the issues of disarmament, and there were quite a few resolutions endorsed. Notwithstanding frequent talks, open and secret, despite innumerable resolutions on disarmament, the arms' race is continuing even more feverishly and the two superpowers are manufacturing more lethal weapons. The war budgets have been inflated as never before. Arms trade has assumed unprecedented proportions.

The Albanian delegation holds that the demagogic propaganda on disarmament, which the two superpowers are conducting, must be exposed in the eyes of international public opinion. Imperialism and social-imperialism do not even think of disarmament. On the contrary, they are seeking to have the right to uncontrolled and unlimited arming and uninterrupted perfecting of their weapons of mass extermination recognized to them. They want the others to unarm themselves and, on their part, they conserve and increase the stockpiles of weapons in order to bring permanent pressure to bear on the peoples.

Mr Chairman,

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is building socialism successfully and forging ahead firmly abiding by the principle of self-reliance. If Albania has received and may receive some internationalist aid from a socialist country, this is by no means decisive for the fate of the socialist construc-

tion of the country and in no circumstance whatsoever can it become a cause for infringement of the independence and sovereignty of our country. Never before, and even less so today, has the People's Socialist Republic of Albania based its existence, freedom, independence and sovereignty on others. Albania has it sanctioned in its Constitution that it desires to have political, economic and cultural relations with various states on the basis of equality, respect for sovereignty, noninterference in each other's internal affairs and mutual benefit.

We do not stand for autarky and have a correct understanding of what commercial relations among various countries should be. These relations must be correct, equal and mutually beneficial, according to the «give and take» principle. We will trade with all those who want to develop trade relations with us. Of course, we do not base the development of our socialist economy on foreign trade, but on the allround development of industry and agriculture, relying mainly on our own forces, therefore, the fact that we develop trade relations with other countries by no means implies that the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is dependent on anybody.

We will also promote cultural relations with other countries, in compliance with the principles and norms defined by our country, provided they are acceptable to the other party, too. We will maintain such relations with those states which wish us well, in fields such as exchange of literature, artistic groups, films, etc. We would like that cultural and artistic activities of other countries in Albania have a progressive, freedom-loving and popular spirit. There is no doubt that we have welcomed such activities and

will always watch them with pleasure because they are a suitable means of communication and strengthening of friendship with various peoples and countries of the world.

The foreign policy of socialist Albania has been and is a correct, principled, above-board and consistent policy, the independent policy of a free and sovereign country. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has not traded and will never trade on principles. The imperialists, the social-imperialists and the other reactionaries are trying in vain to spread diabolic slanders about Albania, they are trying to create the opinion that, under the pressure of international events, Albania will be compelled either to choose isolation and separation from the world, or abandon the road it has been following to date. We declare openly and in no diplomatic terms: nobody should cherish illusions that «Albania is an isolated country», that it «cannot live without foreign aid», or that «it will be compelled to stretch a begging hand to anybody».

The imperialist powers must entertain no illusions about, or follow their ambition of, imposing their will on socialist Albania. Nobody can impose his will on Albania. It does not threaten anybody, nor does it allow anybody to threaten it. It will successfully oppose any aggressor that might dare to violate its sacred borders. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania lives and will live on free, independent and enjoying full national sovereignty.

Albania is a fully independent country, it has long ago denounced the Warsaw Treaty and it will never have relations of military alliances with any state. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania and its

armed people will always and successfully guarantee the defence of the freedom, national independence and territorial integrity of the country, because the policy of socialist Albania is a correct, unequivocal policy opposed to any form of aggression, predatory war, dictate and hegemony, tutelage and colonial exploitation, national oppression and racial discrimination. Albania has taken every measure to cope with any danger successfully. It will stand rock-firm, in the first place, because its people are led by a strong and truly Marxist-Leninist Party, because there is unbreakable unity between the Party and the people. Under the leadership of the Party of Labour, with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, our people are successfully building socialism and vigilantly defending the victories achieved.

In conclusion, the delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania wants to point out that it will never fail to make its modest contribution to the discussion of the questions on the agenda of this session.





