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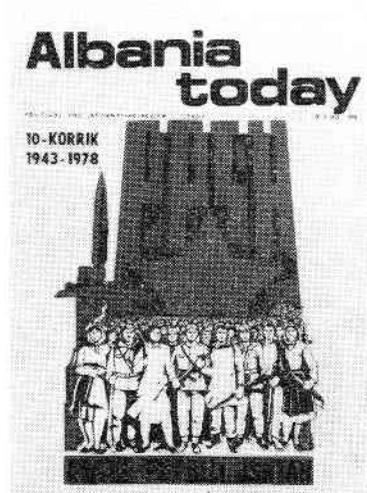


GJITHE POPULLI USHTAR

July 10 1943-1978, the 35th anniversary of the People's Army.
Placard by Franc Ashiku: «SOLDIER-PEOPLE».

Placard by Fandi Meli: «THE CENTENARY OF THE ALBANIAN LEAGUE OF PRIZREN».





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Press Review*

THE 35th ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF TH

The entire Albanian people and their armed forces celebrated in great rejoicing one of the most marked events of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War — the 35th anniversary of the founding of the General Staff, the day of July 10, which has gone down in the history of new Albania as the day of the creation of the People's Army.

This radiant jubilee found the Albanian people, the working class, the cooperativist peasantry, the people's intelligentsia, the women and the youth, in the fire of their revolutionary work and mobilization to apply the historic decisions of the 7th Congress of the PLA, the tasks laid down by the recent plenums of the Central Committee of the Party.

In all the districts of Albania, in centres of production and work, agricultural cooperatives, cultural and educational institutions, as well as military units, various activities took place, such as conferences, competitions, scientific sessions, sports spartakiads and solemn meetings dedicated to the glorious road traversed by the People's Army which came to the festivity of its 35th anniversary in steel-like unity around the Party of Labour of Albania, its Central Committee with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, politically and militarily prepared, vigilant and ready to accomplish under all circumstances its sacred mission — the defence of the Socialist Homeland and the victories of the Albanian people.

On July 9, in the hall of the Opera and Ballet Theatre, the Central Committee of the PLA, the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Party Committee of the Tirana District organized a solemn conference dedicated to the 35th anniversary of the founding of the People's Army.



People's Heroes and Heroes of Socialist Labour, workers from the centres of work and production, cooperativists and members and relatives of martyrs' families, soldiers and officers, representatives of the ministries and central institution, of mass organizations, young men and women and other guests attended the conference.

The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party Comrade Enver Hoxha, the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly com-

rade Haxhi Lleshi, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers comrade Mehmet Shehu and other leaders of the Party and State were also present.

The opening speech was delivered by comrade Mehmet Shehu.

The speech for the occasion was held by the Member of the Central Committee of the Party and the Chief of the General Staff of the People's Army, Veli Llakaaj.

On July 10, the First Secretary of

THE PEOPLE'S ARMY



the Central Committee of the Party, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha, accompanied by the Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Party, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania and Minister of the People's Defence, Mehmet Shehu, and other Party and State leaders, met the students and cadres of the military schools at the Officers' Unit-

ed High School «ENVER HOXHA».

Just as the entire Albanian people, just as all the Armed Forces of the PSR of Albania, the cadres and students of the military schools paraded head high and proud past the Party leaders and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

After the parade, a great mass rally was organized, at which amidst an undescrivable revolutionary enthusiasm, Comrade Enver Hoxha took the floor.

The First Secretary of the CC of the PLA and General Commander of the Armed Forces of the PSR of Albania, Comrade ENVER HOXHA, speaking before the students and cadres of the military schools of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the People's Army.





*Students and cadres of military schools
applauding and cheering for the First Secretary of the CC of the PLA
and General Commander of the Armed Forces of the PSR of Albania,
Comrade ENVER HOXHA.*

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA

DEAR COMRADES, SOLDIERS AND CADRES OF OUR PEOPLE'S ARMY,

TODAY, I COME AMONG YOU TO CONGRATULATE YOU WHOLEHEARTEDLY ON BEHALF OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY AND ON MY OWN BEHALF ON THIS GREAT CELEBRATION, THE 35TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF OUR PEOPLE'S ARMY. JULY 10, 1943 IS A MARKED DAY IN THE HISTORY OF OUR PEOPLE, BECAUSE, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY AND IN THE HEAT OF THE GREAT WAR AGAINST THE ENEMIES, THE STEEL-LIKE UNITY OF THE MILITARY FORMATIONS OF THE FIGHTERS OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE WAS ACHIEVED, WHO HAD RISEN, ARMS IN HAND, TO LIBERATE THE HOMELAND ONCE AND FOR ALL FROM THE HEEL OF FOREIGN OCCUPIERS AND OF THE LOCAL BOURGEOISIE AND FEUDAL CHIEFS, WHO HAD BECOME THEIR ALLIES.

THIS UNITY OF THE MILITARY FORMATIONS OF THE PEOPLE'S FIGHTERS, WHICH UP TILL THEN WERE ORGANIZED ONLY IN GROUPS AND BATTALIONS, WAS ACHIEVED UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF OUR PARTY WITH THE CREATION OF THE GENERAL STAFF OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY AND OF LARGER MILITARY FORMATIONS. THE GREAT IMPORTANCE OF THE FOUNDING OF OUR ARMY CAN BE BETTER ASSESSED NOW, AFTER 35 YEARS, WHEN IT IS PUBLICLY KNOWN HOW IT FACED UP WITH SUCCESS TO THE LARGE INVADING FORCES OF THE ITALIAN AND GERMAN ENEMIES, AS WELL AS THE QUISLING FORCES WHICH, FIRE-BRAND IN HAND, INVADED EUROPE, SUPPRESSED AND KILLED THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE, BURNT AND DESTROYED THEIR HOMELAND.

The more the days, the months and the years which separate us from the day of the founding of our Army, the more magnificent this great deed of the Party, which, will be mentioned in history forever, seems and the more it is appreciated. The organized war for the final liberation of the Albanian people from two-fold oppression, from the foreigners and the internal enemies, in order to see this happy day, was crowned with success.

Today we remember with great respect our heroic comrades who fought with courage and selflessness for the liberation of the Homeland and with their blood cemented the foundations of this strong fortress, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, we remember with great respect and profound love the glorious heroes of the National Liberation War, those who fell in the field of honour, in the trenches, in the mountains, in the valleys, and everywhere in our country, who fought arms in hand and with any other means available in order to conclude this war with the complete liberation of the Homeland.

Today our entire people and Party are bowing with boundless gratitude before their sons and daughters who fell in the field of honour. They loved the Party with all their heart, because it represented the wishes, the will and the great interests of their people, because it knew how to lead them on the correct road on the basis of the infallible Marxist-Leninist principles, because it was able to revive and temper in them the qualities of patriotism, courage and resolve of the Albanian people through the centuries.

The Communist Party of Albania (today the PLA) knew how to draw correct conclusions from both the glorious events and the bitter events of the history of

our people till then, and bore them in mind in the very difficult moments when it had to struggle through the storm of the Great World War, which in its savagery and barbarity has no parallel in the history of mankind.

Today, after 35 years, when we assess the victories achieved during and after the National Liberation War, the great deed of the Party, such as was the creation of the People's Army, though small at that time, seems even more magnificent. Hence, dear comrades, our hearts swell with great joy today. In this jubilee celebration, all the hearts of our soldier people are beating with great love for the Party and of the Army, this Army which was formed in the mountains, and which comprises all the people, old and young, in its ranks.

Times are such that people's freedom and independence and national sovereignty, which are won through struggle, can be preserved and defended only by maintaining a disciplined army, imbued with proletarian feelings and with boundless loyalty to the people, the Party and the socialist Homeland.

The Central Committee of the Party, and I personally, have constantly followed your progress and successes, as well as your shortcomings, the obstacles and difficulties you have come across in the course of your work. You know that our Party, taking the greatest care of the defence of the country, has adopted all the measures and made many sacrifices so that the People's Army is equal to its high task, so that at any time it meets the needs of the Homeland, and is capable of defending Albania from any eventual enemy and whatever the quarter it may attack it from, from any danger which may threaten it.

Just as we notice great progress in every aspect and in every sector of state activity, such as industry, agri-

'S SPEECH

culture, education, culture and science, we notice the same in our People's Army, too.

Proceeding from Marxism-Leninism and its philosophical base, dialectical and historical materialism, our Party has guided the progress in all the sectors of the work and life of our country, which have developed in successive stages. In this process, it has overcome difficulties and obstacles, it has created ever new possibilities for everything to go towards further improvement and perfection. Actually, we are seeing with satisfaction that, parallel with the great progressive transformations which have been carried out in our country, in the first place in the education of the new man, in industry, agriculture, education and culture, the same uninterrupted successes have been scored in our People's Army as well.

Since its founding, the Party and its Central Committee loved and appreciated the People's Army very much, hence their greatest solicitude in the process of its growth from an «infant» to a «man», with all the Marxist-Leninist political and ideological merits and qualities, their efforts to equip it with the victorious strategy and tactic of people's war, to make it capable of carrying out its glorious tasks.

The development of our Army in these directions has followed the rates of development of all the other sectors of activity of our socialist country, a development which could not have been realized separately and one-sidedly.

In our country progress in all sectors has been frontal, because we have been aware that weaknesses or delays in one of them, would entail weaknesses and delays in the other sectors, as well.

All our socialist development, hence, not only industry, agriculture, but also education and culture, as well as the army, had to advance on the correct line of the Party and in a balanced and planned manner; it called for great material and moral efforts to realize this plan with success in all the sectors without exception.

From the very first days after Liberation, the Party has taught us that we must build the new and happy life for the people, i.e., socialism, never for a moment neglecting the defence of the people, of their victories attained through blood and sacrifices. The Party has implanted in our minds and conscience the great idea that in no case should the construction of the socialist economy be divorced from the strengthening of a powerful people's army. This is why in our country, parallel with the whole process of socialist construction, from the small army it was in the beginning, the army which had just

emerged from the National Liberation partisan War, our People's Army developed into an advanced modern army, loyal to the dictatorship of the proletariat, armed with the triumphant military science and our People's Military Art.

In the situations created after the war, the Central Committee of the Party followed with the greatest attention the development of events in the world and around our country and observed that, though victory was achieved, our Homeland, new Albania, had to be rebuilt from its foundations materially, but at the same time it had to be raised to a higher political, ideological and educational level.

In all these stages of development, the Party with its Central Committee at the head, carried our radical positive transformations in the tempering and education of our Army, it worked out the theoretical bases and fundamental principles of the building and training of the People's Army as the armed support of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Military tempering and education is continuing and it will go on also in the future. This work will go on also for the reason that ever new generations, which must master the theory of the Party, People's Military Art and the rich experience of the old cadres, are coming to the army. Along with what they take from the Army, the youth will bring into our People's Army a fresh will, fresh knowledge and fresh experience. From the great experience of the every day training, work, struggle and life of our Army, the Party and its Central Committee constantly draw conclusions and make analyses, perfect military art, raise the sound political level ever higher and see to it that Marxism-Leninism is implanted in the minds and consciousness of our men.

Comrades,

You the soldiers and officers of our great People's Army are the loyal sons and daughters of this people, who gave you birth and brought you up, therefore you must live close to them and together with them, you must share joys and sorrows with them, you must judge the successes, as well as the shortcomings of the moments we are going through with coolheadedness and with a sense of responsibility.

The Party gives the great People's Army the sort of education which a profoundly revolutionary people's army of a new type needs. And a profoundly revolutionary people's army like ours, is not an army of barracks, it is not a conventional bourgeois army. Our Army has an



entirely different nature, it is an army which defends the dictatorship of the proletariat, which defends socialism, and not the bourgeoisie and its wealth.

Inspired by the revolutionary ideas of the proletariat, our army defends the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the people, it stands guard on the genuine democracy of our working people, and not the «democracy» of a handful of capitalists.

Our People's Army is implementing with success the task set by the Party for its own political and ideological education and, in this direction, it has achieved satisfactory results. Our people must never for a moment overlook the task of their own ideo-political education. From the time when they go to school, when they are in active military service, as well as when they go over to the reserve service and all along their life, our people should keep on with their allround education. Comrades, wherever you work and lead, you must work for your continuous ideological and political uplift. You must consider education as one of the most important duties.

In our Army, as a political army, which is imbued with and steeled by the Marxist-Leninist ideology, is implemented the principle of putting proletarian politics in command, this means that the ideopolitical factor has priority over the military one.

This principle will help our Army in its advance provided all the people see politics, at all moments and in all its manifestations, from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism. If understood otherwise, the policy pursued in the army will be erroneous.

A policy viewed from a clear Marxist-Leninist standpoint, which expresses the reality with truthfulness and reflects the interests of the working masses, is the only unerring and just policy which benefits the people and the construction of socialist society. Our policy is closely linked with the materialist Marxist world-outlook, hence, it is correct. We have achieved these results because in general, the people understand our ideology, otherwise our country would not be advancing towards socialism, but would long since have been transformed into a capitalist country, and our small nation would have been put under the heel of imperialism or revisionism. For all these reasons, the fact that socialist Albania stands firmly on its own feet is due to the Party, its correct line, the Marxist-Leninist ideology and its heroic people. We all must master our ideology, which is a powerful,

active and revolutionary weapon for the revolution transformation of society. Everyone must strive to master this ideology, so as to be able to understand correctly the events, phenomena and processes we have gone, are actually and shall be going through in the future. Marxism-Leninism is the only revolutionary theory which illuminates the road of the preparation of the socialist revolution and its successful carrying out.

This means that we must apply Marxism-Leninism in the conditions of our country, in a creative manner, and never look upon it as a dogma, because dogma leads to subjectivism, divorces theory from practice.

The aim of the socialist revolution, which is an objective law, is to overthrow capitalism and pass over to socialism. The final objective of the socialist revolution is the construction of the classless society in which the division of society into classes is no more, the present contrasts between town and countryside, between mental and physical labour, are liquidated, etc. every member of the society takes from material blessings according to his needs, and a new world-outlook is created among the people, who lead a rich material and cultural life, quite different from the present. If we consider Marxism-Leninism as the leading ideology of the proletarian revolution, then we have properly understood the teaching of our Party, namely, that Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma. When our Party says that we should adapt the great theory of the proletarian revolution to our concrete conditions, this should not be understood as a regression, as denial of the revolutionary world-outlook of the working class, or as contraposition of these conditions to the proletarian revolution, as the modern revisionists do, but it should be understood as a progress which serves the faithful and creative implementation of our theory in the concrete terrain, in the concrete conditions.

Our theory teaches us that every event, process or social phenomenon should be viewed and interpreted from the angle of historical materialism, in irreconcilable struggle against idealistic viewpoints which are only a philosophical cloak draped around religious dogmas and conservative mentality. Idealistic viewpoints, as expressions of the anti-scientific philosophical world-outlook of religion and of reactionary classes, have a host of manifestations, which have existed in centuries and, which no matter how they have evolved, in essence are preserved by capitalist society, which strives by all manner of means to keep alive these regressive viewpoints, this reactionary and conservative ideology, because in this way that society prolongs its life and temporarily hinders the proletarian revolution, for a certain time hinders the implementation of the theory of the proletarian revolution, Marxism-Leninism.

You comrade soldiers and officers in active or reserve service, must live with the preoccupations of the country, must feel yourselves members of the armed

The First Secretary of the CC of the PLA and General Commander of the Armed Forces of the PSR of Albania, Comrade ENVER HOXHA; accompanied by Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA, Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of People's Defence, comrade Mehmet Shehu, reviewing the students and cadres of the military schools.

people, organized in the armed forces for the defence of the Homeland and the victories of socialism. Never imagine yourselves as separated and isolated from the problems Albania has. Just as the engineer lives with the problems of production of his factory or plant, or the agronomer with the problems of his agricultural farm or cooperative, so must you be interested in them to the same degree and never separate yourselves from the work and concern for the economy. As for the viewing of problems from the political and ideological angle, there cannot be two stands: one for the army and another for the broad masses of the people. The strengthening of the economy, the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland cannot be separated from each other. Any stand at variance with this correct stand of our Party would be metaphysics. After the reform we carried out in the army, the broad masses of working people of our country have become all builders, as well as defenders of socialism, they are workers, peasants and intellectuals, as well as soldiers of our People's Army.

You, soldiers and officers of the active and reserve service or those incorporated in the volunteer forces of popular self-defence, must understand well the need for the raising of your ideo-political and military level and make systematic efforts to enrich your political and ideological knowledge, and link it ever more closely with people's military art. Without this knowledge, or having only a smattering of it, you will never be good soldiers or good cadres of the Army. you will never be good workers, good engineers, you will never be good farmers or good agronomers, or good veterinary doctors. Therefore, once again, I emphasize the correct thesis of the Party that in our country everyone must make constant efforts to master the policy and ideology of the Party in order to become a worthy fighter for our new society. This will enable everyone to do well or very well the special profession he has learned in life or at school, or the job the Party has entrusted him with, or his duties as a leader. If he sees his special job in the context of the general tasks the Homeland is faced with then he will feel more the need to delve more deeply and continuously into the special science he has learned and he fights to put into practice.

Let us come now to the other task of the Army, its military education. I can say that the education of our Army is proceeding on an ascending course towards perfection in all directions. This is the outcome of the careful work of the Party and our political and military cadres, old and young, who have been able to properly implement the orientations of the Party with regard to the army. Our military cadres have made efforts, they have performed feats of heroism, have displayed determination and maturity in taking the decisions of the

Party on the best possible mastering of military science to the soldiers and, together with them, putting them into practice.

I want to stress that military education of the effectives of our People's Army is indispensable. Like any other science, military science, too, is in constant development. The technical-scientific revolution cannot be excluded from the Army, on the contrary, it is necessary and recommendable in order to reach perfection in every speciality of the army. As anywhere else, in the army, too, there can be no progress without technical-scientific revolution. Everything must advance, means must be perfected, thinking developed, it is important to pass from the summing up of experience to theoretical thinking and the formulation of new, more advanced, more efficient, more profitable laws.

If we follow the continuous development and the metamorphosis of our Army towards progress, towards the perfection of every one of its branches, we will notice that many things have changed and, actually, we have managed to work out our own people's military art. This people's military art is based on the experience of all our past years, from the founding of our army up to day, and it is the synthesis of this experience which is being studied and implemented by our armymen with success. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that everything is in progress, therefore, we must not regard our people's military art either as a dogma or something dead because there may be people who think that we must learn it by heart, that we must not change a single comma in its application in the concrete situations created; there have also been such people as the traitor Beqir Balluku with the other traitors Petrit Dume and Hito Çako, who planned the total destruction of our people's military art and its substitution for a capitulationist art.

We must always be able to transform things in such a way as to make our Army stronger every day, and constantly work to improve our people's military art in full compliance with the orientations of the Central Committee of the Party.

We are preparing ourselves militarily for the defence of the Homeland, of our freedom and independence, the victories of socialism, for the defence of our Party. This is the loftiest task of our Army. We must understand that all I mentioned must be defended from somebody, precisely from the enemies who do not wish us well, who seek to occupy, enslave us, to wipe out socialism, to liquidate the Party. Seeing the problem from this angle, we must always think and understand clearly that our people's military art, the education of our people with this art, their political and ideological education, are not an aim in itself, they are intended for a sound vital goal, that is, to enable us to cope with our eventual enemies successfully. They are not ima-

ginary enemies, they are alive, in flesh and blood, active and aggressive. They may attack us with arms, they may resort to diversion, they may also try to rot us from within. Then, on us falls the task of coping with them in the case of an armed attack, or in the case of attempts at diversion, or at eroding us from within. But how shall we cope with them? We shall cope with them with the means I referred to, and to this end, we must raise our political and ideological level, we must also make ourselves strong militarily, we must always be on our feet and vigilant.

In our efforts to educate ourselves in these directions, we never lose sight of the enemy, which we must not underestimate, for it does not sleep, it is in pursuit of definite aims, and is making various efforts and organizing itself in an all-round manner to liquidate us, but we, too, are making efforts on our part, but in the opposite direction, to defend ourselves from it, to defeat it in case it attacks us and to win over it. We must make efforts to see through the policy of the enemies from the political aspect. Our policy, in this respect must be wise, cutting and exposing. We must understand that the ideology of the enemies is an enslaving, idealistic, conservative, rapacious ideology, therefore we must oppose our Marxist-Leninist ideology to it, the science which fights their idealistic and enslaving ideology thoroughly, we must oppose the ideology of the proletariat to it. The other question is to resist any armed attack of the enemies and defeat them in war.

In the first two fields of preparation and objectives we can say that we are superior to our enemies, because our policy is correct, while theirs is wrong, unjust, it is an aggressive policy. The ideology of the enemies is condemned by history to failure, while ours is the ideology of the present and the future. We represent the proletarian revolution, socialism, communism, a new society, while our enemies represent capitalism and imperialism, an old society in decay, which, as our classics teach us, is the last stage of society with antagonistic classes. The enemies are doomed to extinction and destruction through war, nevertheless we must not underrate the armies and armaments of the enemies, but we must not overrate them, either. Our Army must understand these two questions well. In the view of our Party, underestimation or overestimation is always wrong and causes damage, leads to one-sided stands, whereas viewing and assessing the weapons of the enemy as they are, in all the danger they pose, enables us to take the necessary measures at the proper time in order to render them ineffective or to reduce their effect on our people. Our objective stand in assessing the enemy's weapons will enable us to use our weapons more effectively, to blunt and smash the attacks of the enemy.

The local wars the imperialists and the capitalists have fought against the peoples and countries which they

have sought to enslave, have confirmed these assessments of our Party. It is common knowledge that in all these wars of enslavement, the enemies have resorted to most modern means of war against the peoples. It is true that the peoples have suffered great damage in them, but difficulties have taught them to create such possibilities of defence and counter-attack as to fight off the apolitical, mercenary forces of the imperialist aggressors who have attacked them and defeat them successfully. This is what will certainly happen again if they attack our country.

Therefore, our Party always tells you soldiers and cadres of the army, as well as the entire soldier people that military questions should be always taken account of in everyday life, that no one should absent himself or withdraw, in any case and for whatever reason, from military training, from the discharge of military duties.

You, the military cadres, have a very important task: to teach the soldiers of the people our people's military art. But do not think it is an easy question, do not think it can be done without efforts, without toil, without sacrifices and without steel-like discipline.

Our people's military art is a living, dynamic art, an art in development. Our art is the contrary of sluggishness, stereotypes, indifferentism, inactivity, passivity and lack of coordination of all weapons in action. Our peoples military art preserves and constantly develops revolutionary dynamism and swiftness of partisan war, but it cannot be identified with partisan war. Our cadres and Army, our entire soldier people must understand this difference well.

It is essential to understand that we shall have to stand up to a large army acting according to tactics quite different from ours. The tactics and strategy of the enemy armies are barbarous in their essence and their objective is to invade our country, whereas our tactic educates the effectives of our army to be on the keen lookout and vigilant, and imbues them with the spirit of counter-attack to wipe out the enemies.

Therefore, as in everything else, but more so in the teaching of military matters, special wisdom is required in the activity of army officers and cadres, who must broaden their horizon of knowledge on the problem they will take up, they must first put it into practice, themselves, a practice in conditions different from those of the enemy confronting our army; a practice different from the strategy and tactics of the enemy, from the terrain in which it acts and the weapons which it uses. If the training and briefing of the army is done like this then we shall be far from applying a stereotyped method of teaching.

The defence of our territories against enemy attacks has very great importance. It is known that for the assailant to win the war, his soldiers must set foot on land, therefore the enemy will try by all manner of

means to set foot on our territory. On the contrary, the objective of our strategy and tactics is to stop the enemy from getting a foothold, that is, to wipe it out before it penetrates our territory, either on our seashore, in our air space, or in our border area. However, for this to be done, the Party, the Central Committee and the General Command have given instructions and taken decisions to prepare the whole territory for war, preparation to which you must devote exceptional importance.

Further, stopping to consider the tasks emerging for the further strengthening of the defence of the Homeland and our People's Army, Comrade Enver Hoxha, stressed that these tasks should be borne in mind by all the people and, especially, the effectives of the Army, who are continually trained to acquire the abilities needed to cope with success with the difficult moments which the Homeland may have to face to.

Therefore, you must apply yourselves zealously to the study of military art of people's war in all its aspects. All the cadres of the army, old and young, must collaborate closely, master it and bring their daily rich experience into it, enrich it and advance it to ever higher peaks.

With this I imply that our army cadres must not shut themselves up inside the shell of superficial study, or become slaves to a mechanical application of the great teachings which are placed at the disposal of our army. They must take into consideration that the enemy shall impose a modern war on us, that we shall oppose it to the end.

I have emphasized before that our cadres should get themselves acquainted with the strategy and tactics the enemy will resort to in a future war, they should know the weapons they will bring into use as well as their effective army, because if they know these, they will be able to take on time the expedient measures needed to confront the enemy. Therefore, we must follow the situations developing in the world most attentively. As our Party has taught and teaches us every day, situations are revolutionary; in these conditions the existence of imperialism is in danger, therefore it prepares for war. The revolution will destroy world capitalism, but it tries to defend itself by all means, and its last resort is war, local wars, and after them, a general world war. One war prepares the other, one creates new contradictions and deepens the existing ones, which is in the very blood of the capitalists and imperialists, while a redivision of the world deepens and sharpens the existing contradictions until it leads them to world war.

Therefore, we must follow the teachings of the Party politically, which explain these various developments of international situations. Never must we cherish illusions about changing situations. This does not mean that we should not avail ourselves of these situations in order

to profit from them, because the capitalist and revisionist states are riddled with contradictions, which we must make deeper, but always in favour of the world revolution, in favour of socialism, in favour of our socialist state. In the capitalist world the exploited classes exist and are at war with capital. The proletariat is at the head of these exploited revolutionary classes, side by side with it stand the poor peasants and the petty-bourgeoisie of the city.

Then Comrade Enver Hoxha spoke about the international situation today, the struggle of our Party and people against American imperialism, social-imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction.

The positions of our Party on current international affairs, as well as on all the other problems of the struggle against American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and world capitalism, have been and are clear, they are unchanged. Therefore, it is our urgent, constant, indispensable and vital task to strengthen these positions, and we will strengthen them, because we have a strong Marxist-Leninist Party, with steel-like unity of its ranks, we have a strong people in unbreakable unity around the Party, we have now a developed economy, which provides us the possibility to further develop our productive forces and improve the wellbeing of the people with our own forces, because we have a heroic People's Army, educated and tempered by our glorious Party of Labour in class battles.

In conclusion Comrade Enver Hoxha said:

Comrade soldiers and officers,

I congratulate you once again from my heart on the great celebration of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the glorious People's Army of Albania, I congratulate you on the successes you have achieved, and call on you to love the army, to train yourselves intensively and intelligently in order to make our army invincible. I recommend you to observe regulations, to carry out instructions, to master our theory of people's military art properly, and to show vigour in practice, to be revolutionary, to carry out tactical exercises with intelligence and determination and not in a mechanical manner.

You must love each other, consider each other friends in the full sense of the world, and respect each other. You must also respect your commanders, the cadres whom the Party has promoted to these posts in order to make of you soldiers capable of fighting for a great cause. On their part, the cadres must also work with the honesty and selflessness which characterize our people, in order to capture the hearts of their soldiers. Our army must be solid, it must have steel-like and conscious discipline. At any time the need arises it must be at its fixed posts and be courageous.

We have been preparing our people to look forward with great confidence to the construction of socialism,

to see the present realities and the possible developments right into the face. When we have succeeded in inculcating such a revolutionary spirit into people's minds and, hence, also, into our People's Army, then, no dangerous moment will catch us by surprise or frighten us; on the contrary, it will find us armed not only with weapons, but also with the undaunted spirit which is required to achieve victory over any enemy which will dare to attack our socialist Homeland, it will find us militarily, politically, ideologically and materially prepared. Never have the Albanian people lost their bearings in difficult moments, less so can they now, when our glorious Party is leading us, is educating us, is teaching us, and is preparing us for the wonderful situations which await us and which we are building ourselves; it prepares us also for the dangers which might threaten us, it prepares us for victory.

Therefore, dear comrade soldiers, students and officers, forward with great confidence in the Party, in its line; love it wholeheartedly and defend it unbendingly in front of all enemies, internal or external. Love for the Party is shown by properly implementing its directives, and the implementation of these directives is realized in full by making a profound study of them and by making them the blood and flesh of everyone who must live with them and fight for them. This is what it means to love the Party will all the forces of one's soul. Such a situation should be created and continuously tempered in the hearts of our soldier people, in your hearts, comrade soldiers and officers.

A HAPPY CELEBRATION TO YOU!

I wind up this conversation hailing:

LONG LIVE THE PARTY!

LONG LIVE OUR PEOPLE'S ARMY!

A detachment of military school students parading.



OPENING SPEECH BY COM



The Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania and Minister of People's Defence, comrade Mehmet Shehu, delivering the opening speech at the Solemn Meeting on the 35th anniversary of the founding of the People's Army.

Comrades,

In these days our people and our armed forces celebrate with the solemnity the jubilee of the 35th anniversary of the founding of our People's Army. We come to this great jubilee with a rich balance-sheet of successes and victories in the unexampled struggle of our people and Party for the construction of socialism and the strengthening of the defence of our country.

Under the leadership of the Party, the working class, the cooperativist peasantry, the people's intelligentsia, our entire people are at the height of their revolutionary drive for the implementation of the tasks of the 7th Congress of the Party, with unshaken confidence in the complete construction of the socialist society relying on their own forces, in heroic struggle to overcome the savage blockade

RADE MEHMET SHEHU

and break the concentric encirclement of foreign enemies, in a tit-for-tat struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism, modern revisionism and the new opportunism of old roots. The unity of the people around the Party and the unity of the Party around its Central Committee, with the founder of our Party, our Army, our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, our beloved leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, at the head, is stronger than ever. This unity has weathered every storm which has swept our country from the founding of the Party to this day, all those who wish ill socialist Albania will, as always, break their heads against the steel-like wall of this unity.

The founding of the General Staff of our National Liberation Army by our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha on July 10, 1943, in the heat of the heroic struggle of our people against the foreign fascist occupiers, marked the great turning-point of this struggle which led to the complete liberation of the country from the foreign yoke and the setting up of the people's power, relying only on our forces and without the presence, in any case, of foreign allied forces on Albanian territory.

Much blood was shed in our land for freedom and independence. The foundations of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania are cemented with the blood of our immortal martyrs. All the blessings we enjoy today have their source therein, in the blood of our martyrs. Today we bow with boundless respect before the memory of our martyrs and take the solemn pledge that we will never allow their blood to be trampled underfoot by foreigners and that we will loyally uphold their red torch and pass it on to sure hands, generation after generation, marching always on the road of the Party, a road for which they laid down their lives. May the blood and memory of our glorious martyrs remain unforgettable for ever and ever!

Under the leadership of our Party and under the command of our General Commander, Comrade Enver Hoxha, we are marching in the footsteps of our martyrs for freedom. Our People's Army has become the inheritor of the loftiest and purest revolutionary virtues of our legendary partisans. It is an invincible force and the loyal and sure guard of the victories of socialism and the sacred and inviolable borders of our socialist Homeland. At any time, it is fully prepared to discharge the sacred task of the defence of the Homeland and socialism with honour, with the traditional heroism and determination of the Albanian people and the boundless loyalty of pure and revolutionary communists.

Our Army was born, grew and is being tempered and strengthened as a People's Army. It has its own tactics and strategy of people's war worked out by the Party. The great historic merit of our Party is that it fully carried out Lenin's teachings on merging the army with the people, on making every soldier a citizen, and every citizen a soldier who knows how to use weapons. With us, the People's Army is the same as the armed people, for this is how Lenin teaches us, that only the entire revolutionary and armed people, a soldier people as our people are, are in a position to defend the achievements of the people's revolution, socialism and the Homeland, with success.

We celebrate the 35th anniversary of the founding of our People's Army in the conditions of a brilliant internal situation and in the conditions of a turbulent situation in the outside world. With the fire-brand in their hands, US imperialism and Soviet socialimperialism and their allies with imperialist tendencies are bent on setting the world on fire. Never in the history of mankind have the arsenals of war assumed such colossal and complex proportions as they have today in the hands of the war-mongering imperialist and expansionist great powers. US imperialism and Soviet socialimperialism are the source of the danger of war, but there are also other hegemony-seeking powers which are fanning up the fire of war and playing with fire. Zigzags and withdrawals are only temporary for the revolution. The final victory will without fail go to the world proletariat, to the freedom-loving peoples of all continents. It is only a question of time. Imperialism, socialimperialism, racism, revisionism, opportunism have only one prospect before them: the hatred of the peoples, shame and discredit, defeat and doom. No amount of intrigues, blackmail, war arsenals, military putsches, reactionary alliances, demagoguery, money, espionage, nothing will save them from this inevitable doom. In history, prospects lie open only to socialism and communism, and not to the bourgeoisie and reaction.

Socialist Albania is a strategic objective of high priority to the US imperialists, the Russian socialimperialists and the enemies of socialism. The Party of Labour of Albania is the most irreconcilable ideological opponent of modern revisionism and world opportunism. But they can do us nothing, for we are in our Marxist-Leninist right, in the right of our people and of the cause of all progressive peoples of the world, the cause of the revolution. As long as we have the Party and its correct Marxist-Leninist line, the steel-like unity of the people

and the Party and their invincible vitality, our mountains which have always been the staunchest allies of the Albanian people, the sympathy of the true revolutionaries and the freedom-loving peoples of the world, the enemies can do us nothing. We have everything we need to ensure the defence of the Homeland against any enemy.

Our task is to implement the line of the Party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha faithfully, to dig our pickaxe even more deeply for the complete construction of socialist society, relying only on our own forces, keeping the rifle always ready, constantly vigilant and resolved for work and sacrifice, so that the red banner of socialism and communism is never lowered or stained, but kept flying forever aloft with the revolutionary pride in this part of the Balkans and Europe which is called the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.



*A View of the Solemn Meeting
on the Occasion of the 35th Anniversary
of the Founding of the People's Army*



FROM THE SPEECH OF CO

Our People's Army has been, is and will always be a revolutionary Army of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Unlike the bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists, who try to conceal the class and political character of their armies, our Party openly declares that the Army of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is an army of the dictatorship of the proletariat, an army of the entire armed people which is led by the Marxist-Leninist Party, an army educated and tempered with the proletarian ideology and trained according to our military art of people's war. Its soldiers and cadres are the sons and daughters of the working people, of the liberated workers and peasants, who have common interests and fight for the same goal, the construction of socialist society and the defence of the socialist Homeland.

The leadership of the armed forces of a genuinely socialist country by the Marxist-Leninist Party constitutes a general law, an absolute necessity for them to preserve and strengthen their revolutionary class character. The Party of Labour of Albania has loyally abided by this principle, consistently implemented it in all its activity and waged an irreconcilable struggle against the various enemies and any erroneous view or practice in this field.

From its experience and its Marxist-Leninist analysis of the bitter events which took place in the revisionist countries where the armies were employed by the opportunist traitor cliques to carry out the counter-revolution, our Party has drawn important lessons, just as in all fields, also in the continuous revolutionization of the People's Army. The main lesson is that the weakening of the leading role of the Party in the armed forces is fraught with the danger of their degeneration, of their transformation from forces in the service of the revolution into forces which serve the bourgeois-revisionist counter-revolution.

The Marxist-Leninist Party gives the army its class consciousness, educates it with the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook. The study and mastery of Marxism-Leninism, of the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha are the necessary condition for the army to remain always an army of the working class, an army of the socialist revolution. For this reason the Party repeatedly emphasizes that a broad-ranging, continuous and systematic work should be conducted in the army, among soldiers and officers, as the fundamental component part of the whole program for the education of the army, because man is the decisive factor in the struggle for the defence of the Homeland. At the same time, the Party stresses that combat readiness should be strengthened, the role of weapons and war technology should never be underrated, because, when mastered and in the hands of conscious people, they make our army and defence invincible.

The revisionists, too, make use of the expression, «the party must lead the army», as a mere slogan. But it is a demagogical attempt to deceive the masses and lull them to sleep. All their efforts boil down to the aim of transforming the army into a tool in the hands of the cliques in power, so that it may command the party, oppress the people, defend the privileges of the bourgeoisie and implement a bourgeois-revisionist policy.

Our People's Army was built and modernized in keeping with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, in conformity with the socialist socio-economic order, the objectives and tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the concrete conditions and circumstances in which our country, encircled by capitalist-revisionist states, exists. Our Party of Labour has clearly defined the mission, the role and character of the army of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this field, it has clashed with various bourgeois-revisionist views on the army, it has resolutely fought against anti-Marxist theorizations as well as the pressure to build, educate and train our army according to foreign models. The Party has always been vigilant and consistently waged the class struggle against all the enemies who have tried to distort its military line.

The Party uncovered and smashed Koçi Xoxe's gang which tried by all manner and means to disarm the people who had waged the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, and to place our army under the command of the Yugoslav revisionists. Koçi Xoxe wanted to liquidate the Party in the army and substitute its role for that of the organs of state security.

The Party has waged another major fight against the views and activity of the plotters Beqir Balluku, Petrit Dume and Hito Çako, who in a conscious manner and with definite hostile aims sought to bring about the degeneration of the army, in order to stage a counter-revolutionary overthrow in our country. For this purpose they tried to undermine the implementation of the revolutionary measures of our Party in the army, displace the Party from the leadership of the army, replace our revolutionary military art with a revisionist military art, in general, sabotage the defence of the Homeland. These enemies not only drew inspiration from the ideology of the revisionists, but were also linked with the revisionist states, in whose service they had placed themselves.

The Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, the people and the army smashed and condemned these traitors, saved the Homeland and socialism from a great danger. The liquidation of the group of Beqir Balluku, Petrit Dume and Hito Çako and the application of the revolutionary broom to their hostile activity in the army, further revolutionized our army, all the structures of our defence, strengthened the leading role of the Party, the

MRADE VELI LLAKAJ

Marxist-Leninist education and training of the entire people.

The Party has continuously fought for the popular spirit and traditions of the partisan army to be strengthened in our army, for close links to be established between the cadres and soldiers and between the entire army and the people.

A characteristic of our army is not imposed discipline, but conscious discipline which stems from the understanding of the lofty and noble task and mission of our soldier and officer, of every member of our armed forces. No other army of the world has such broad democracy as that which exists in our People's Army, which goes as far as the control by the mass of the soldiers on the training, economic activity, the cadres, commands and staffs. The soldier of our People's Army has his personality and dignity which nobody can impair, he has his say and makes himself heard about all problems. Our democracy does not in the least infringe the discipline, the compactness and strength of our army.

Our People's Army is outstanding for its lofty moral qualities and its healthy communist education. It preserves and develops the best patriotic and militant traditions of the people and partisan army, which give it vigour and vitality, valiance and courage. With our soldiers and officers, the Party cultivates and tempers ardent love for the people and the freedom of the Homeland, boundless devotion to the cause of the Party and communism, deep hatred of enemies and traitors.

The Party also looks upon the army as a great school for the education of the entire new generation of the country. Not only does it prepare and train the young people militarily, develop them physically, but it also forms them politically and ideologically, educates them with love of order, discipline and work.

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The Party has stressed that the defence of the Homeland is a duty above all duties, a great concern of the entire people, for the Homeland is not defended by the regular army alone, but by the entire people. In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania the army is constituted by the entire people. Soldiers, officers and regular detachments constitute only a small part of our great People's Army. Our entire people, militarily organized, armed and trained, always on the alert and ready to defend their Homeland, are genuine, permanent guards, in constant combat readiness.

This is a great victory which our people led by their heroic Party of Labour have achieved. For the first time

in history Lenin's saying that, «all soldiers should be citizens and all citizens soldiers capable of using arms», has found its implementation in our country.

A regular standing army shut up in barracks and isolated from the people is the characteristic of the bourgeois and revisionist countries. The bourgeoisie sees to it that the army is kept as much isolated from the people as possible, as far from the worries and problems of the people's masses as possible, it tries by all manner and means to manipulate it ideologically and psychologically, and train it militarily to turn it into a tool to achieve its domination.

Our Party bases the defence of the Homeland, freedom and independence on the Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance. This principle is a general law, and not a temporary policy of changing circumstances. The very fact that our people are building socialism and defending the Homeland in the conditions of a savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement makes the implementation of this principle a vital necessity. The Party has implanted this correct line deep in the consciousness of every one. Therefore, with us, everybody, young or old, soldier or worker, thinks and works for the defence of the Homeland, keeping the pickaxe in one hand and the rifle in the other. Relying on their own forces, our people have achieved brilliant results in all fields of activity. Our experience rejects the bourgeois-revisionist concept that a people small in numbers and a small country cannot live free and independent, and build socialism without economically, politically and militarily relying on a great state. It shows that the defence of the Homeland can be secured even without placing oneself under the umbrella of the great powers and without participating in military pacts and alliances with the imperialist and revisionist states. Our people liberated themselves and their country without the presence of the armies of the anti-fascist coalition on their territory. Life proves that the superpowers and all the imperialists and revisionists are never interested in and have never fought for the defence, the freedom and independence of the peoples of other countries, but have constantly tried to subjugate them and turn them into tokens to be bartered.

The question of the defence of the Homeland, of national freedom and sovereignty, of the preservation of the independent position of the state in all fields, is of special importance in the conditions of the present-day development, when the imperialist superpowers are making all efforts to dominate the peoples, while the bourgeois ideologists, the reactionary theories, try to back up and justify these actions, to perpetuate imperialist domination.

Our Party has resolutely rejected the reactionary theories which look upon national sovereignty as an outdated concept, as a source of feuds and wars. Likewise, it has exposed the notorious theory of «limited sovereignty» propounded by the Soviet revisionists, a theory which tries to justify Soviet socialimperialist rule in other countries. The presence of foreign troops, be it under the guise of the so-called «army of the socialist country», is tantamount to actual occupation, loss of freedom and national independence.

One of the main sources of the strength and invincibility of our socialist Homeland has been and remains the steel-like unity of the people around the Party, which has successfully coped with the incessant threats, pressures and plots of the imperialist and revisionist enemies. The Party and the interests of the Homeland demand that we strengthen this unity ever more, because it constitutes the decisive conditions for the triumph of the revolution, the construction of socialist society and the defence of the Homeland. Therefore we must always keep our revolutionary vigilance high against the efforts of the internal and external enemies, wage the class struggle on the correct road, consistently implement the orientations and directives of the Party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha in order to fight against liberalism, sectarianism and other alien manifestations which encroach upon the unity of our people around the Party.

The defence of our country is closely linked with the economy, with its allround development. It is part and parcel of all the work of our people for the construction of socialism, of all the activity of the Party and state. There can never be a strong defence without a strong economy. The better state plans are fulfilled, the more production is increased, the more the economy is strengthened, the stronger and the more invincible the defence of the Homeland becomes. Therefore the work and struggle for the strengthening of the defence capacity of the country is not limited to military readiness and training alone, you must also work and produce with high productivity and quality, with proletarian discipline and sense of duty, under a strict savings' regime.

The Party of Labour of Albania has worked out people's military art, which is based on the Marxist-Leninist theory, revolutionary military science, the experience of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War of our people and the revolutionary wars of other peoples. It has faithfully implemented the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin to the effect that, when setting up a new army, the proletariat must work out a new military method and art, a new military science which must correspond to the new social relations and the new state organization. Our people's military art supplies a scientific answer to the task of the defence of the Homeland, the concrete conditions of the special present-day reality of our country, the principle of complete self-reliance and the demands of the people's war,

It is based on the principle that not even one span of our soil should be given up to the enemy. Young and old are being trained in our country for this purpose. Our socialist country has taken all the measures so that Albania is never caught unprepared and unawares.

Comrades,

The ceaseless strengthening of the defence of the country is closely linked with the situations which are developing in the world today, with the dangers and threats menacing the freedom and independence of the peoples from the aggressive and expansionist policy of imperialism, socialimperialism and their allies.

Prompted by their thirst for the domination and exploitation of the whole world, the United States of America and the Soviet Union are frenziedly competing with each other to extend and expand their spheres of influence, to set up new strategic military bases and bridgeheads of aggression, to control sources of primary raw materials and world markets, to hitch countries and peoples to their war chariots. In different areas they have stirred up armed conflicts and set up new centres of tension which threaten to be transformed into great wars and set the entire world ablaze. The American imperialists and Soviet socialimperialists represent today the two main pillars of the blood-thirsty imperialist system, the greatest exploiters of the peoples, the supporters of the counterrevolutionary and reactionary forces in all countries. Their strategic aim, which they try to further by all manner, is to strangle the revolution and the liberation wars of the peoples, to destroy socialism, to perpetuate the capitalist system and colonialist rule.

A result of this expansionist policy is the situation in the Middle East, where the Arab people have been robbed of their land and wealth, where the Palestinian people have been denied the right to have a country, where Israel, this loyal gangster of American imperialism, is trampling underfoot the sacred rights of the Palestinian people and the other Arab peoples with unexampled arrogance and brutality.

The superpowers have taken the fire of war to the entire African continent. With their intervention and at their instigation, various African countries have been incited against one another, and the blood of their long-suffering peoples is being shed to further the interests of foreigners.

Similarly dangerous and fraught with grave consequences is the situation in the Far East where the superpowers have stirred up various conflicts, like that between Vietnam and Cambodia.

Typical manifestations of the imperialist policy of the superpowers are the headlong arms race, which has assumed colossal proportions, and the arms' trade, which is one of the greatest sources of superprofits for the imperialists and socialimperialists.

At present, efforts are being stepped up to strengthen the military blocs and to expand their aggressive

and counterrevolutionary activity, to set in motion all the organisms and instruments of war which the superpowers master. US imperialism and Soviet socialimperialism, along with their aggressive blocs of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, keep up large military forces. For purposes of menace and blackmail, they carry constant and various spiels and manoeuvres close to the borders of other states, while their naval fleets and air forces, stationed in various areas of the world, patrol and stage demonstrations of force in order to intimidate the various peoples and countries. At the same time, suspicious agreements and alliances are being struck up, behind which are hidden new dangers and plots against peace and the security of the peoples. All this indicates that the two imperialist superpowers are feverishly preparing to hurl the world into a new slaughter.

The international situation is made even more troubled by the deep and allround political, economic and financial crisis which has the capitalist-revisionist world in its grip. This crisis, which has caused a slump in production, increased inflation and millions of unemployed, has further aggravated the situation of the broad masses of working people. Finding no other way out, the imperialist and world capitalism seek their salvation in the militarization of the economy and the stepping up of the further exploitation of working people. At the same time, they have intensified their expansion to the other countries in order to plunder even more of their raw materials and to preserve the monopoly trade.

In these conditions, our Party, as always, exposes with all its forces the plans of American imperialism, Soviet socialimperialism, the bourgeois, revisionist and opportunist theories which try to justify the preparations for a new war. It works with all its forces to further increase the vigilance and combat readiness of the people, to strengthen the economy in an allround manner, so as to be able to face up to any danger. We know full well that our country, which is successfully building socialism, which submits to no foreign dictate or arbitrariness, which energetically and fearlessly exposes the aggressive policy of the imperialist superpowers and their tools, is an eyesore to many enemies.

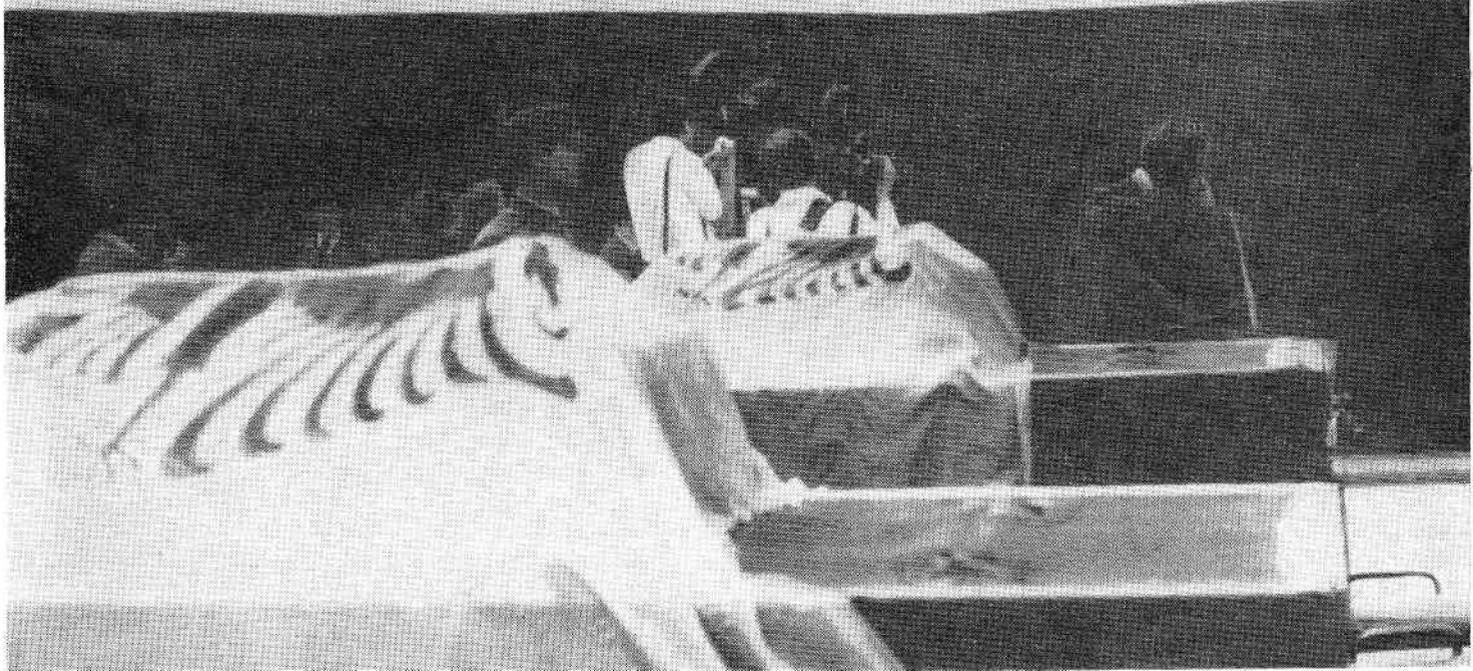
In the world today unrestrained demagogy is being conducted from all quarters to cover up the dangerous plans and plots, which are being hatched up against the freedom and independence of the peoples, as well as to embellish and varnish the hegemonic policy of imperialism, socialimperialism and the international bourgeoisie. The US imperialists and the Soviet socialimperialists are raising a deafening clamour to publicize their alleged desire to ease tension, to carry out general disarmament, to assist the other countries to emerge from poverty, to restrict arms trade, to set up atomic free areas, to reduce troops in Europe, etc. The aim of all this is to lull the vigilance of the peoples to sleep, to encourage illusions and hopes, to open the road for expansion and aggression, to keep the people always oppressed and under their domination.

The policy of the superpowers, the efforts of the bourgeoisie and reaction to preserve their oppression and exploitation of the masses of working people come up against the resistance and the fight of the peoples, of the revolutionary and progressive forces of the world. They oppose the dictate and intervention of the great powers in their internal affairs, they fight to defend their national sovereignty and assets. The peoples are waking up to the dangers threatening them from the war-mongering plans of the superpowers and rejecting the imperialist and revisionist demagogy which seeks to deceive them.

Our people and Party have supported and will go on supporting the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the peoples, they have been and will always be in solidarity with all those who fight for the freedom and independence of their countries, against imperialism, socialimperialism and reaction. The masses of our working people condemn any national oppression and capitalist exploitation, whatever the mask they put on, or the form under which they appear, they are against any racial discrimination and discriminatory policy. Our people are confident that, grave as the situation may be, savage and dangerous as the intrigues of the imperialists, the revisionists and oportunist may be, the cause of the revolution, of the freedom of the peoples and socialism will triumph.

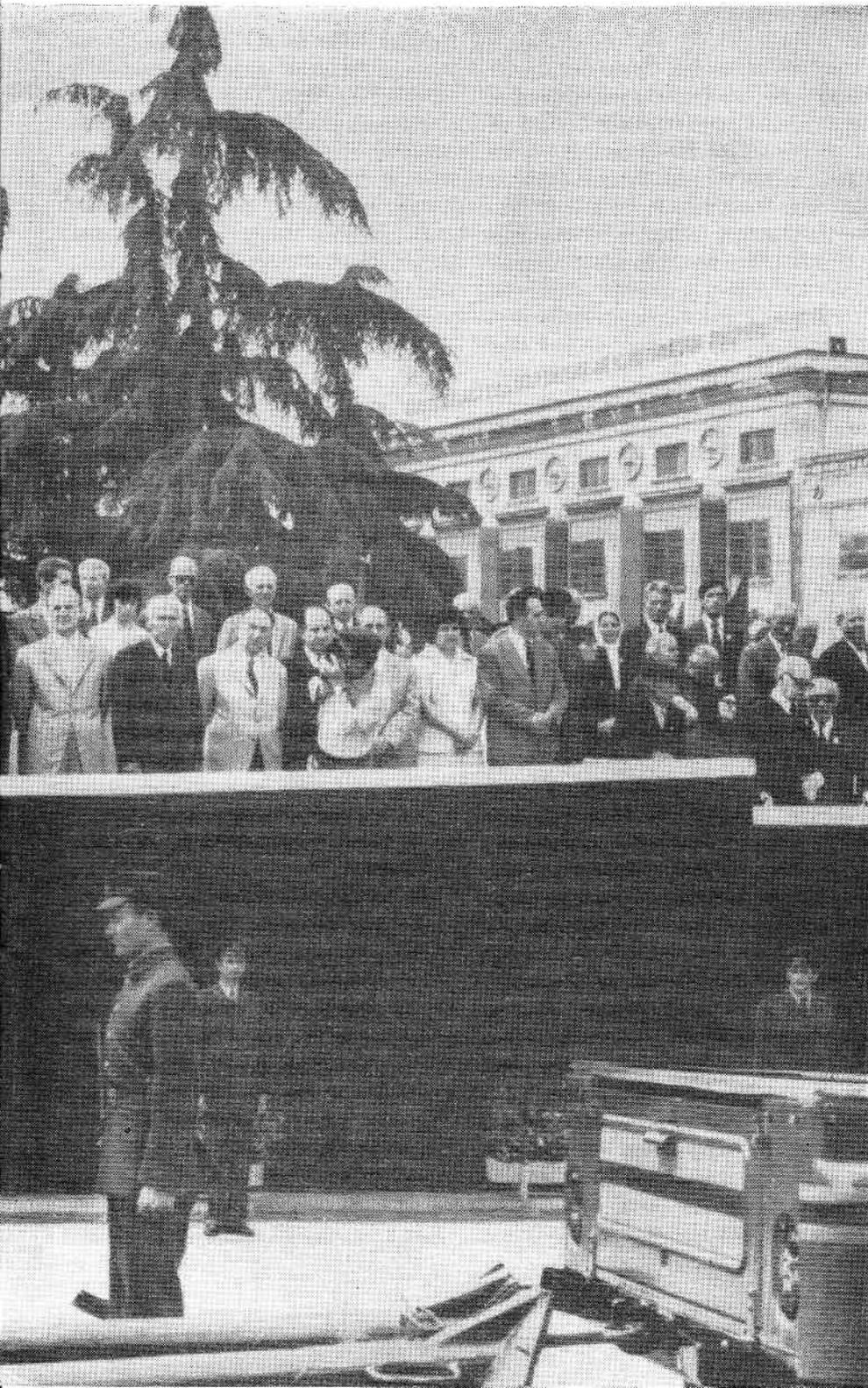
THE CENTENARY OF THE ALBANIAN L

A marked event in the hist



TENARY EAGUE OF PRIZREN

ory of the Albanian people



This June the Albanian people duly commemorated one of the most marked events in their ancient history, the Albanian League of Prizren.

One hundred years ago, when Albania was still suffering under the savage domination of the Ottoman Empire, the «Albanian League» was founded in the town of Prizren, which today is part of the Autonomous Socialist Province of Kosova in Yugoslavia. It included in its ranks representatives from the different regions of Albania and the different strata of the population.

The Albanian League of Prizren was founded under the auspices of the «Central Committee for the Defence of the Rights of the Albanian Nationality», which had been set up in Istanbul in 1877 to secure the autonomy of Albania, the uniting of the Albanian people as a separate nation, and the defence of the Albanian territories from the greedy desires of the neighbouring chauvinists, who, taking advantage of the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the Russian-Turkish War, 1876-1877, and with the backing of the Great Powers, wanted to extend their domination into the territories inhabited by Albanians.

The founding of the League was the outcome of the powerful outburst of the mass heroism of the people, which became a reliable support for all its activity.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu addressing the rally organized on the occasion of the burial of the remains of the brothers Abdyl and Naim Frashëri in Tirana. Comrade ENVER HOXHA and other leaders of the Party and State were also present on the tribune.

From 1878 to 1881 under the leadership of the Albanian League of Prizren, which was transformed, later, into a Provisional Government, for three successive years of legendary battles which will be remembered throughout history, the Albanian people, displaying incredible heroism, defended the territories of Albania, which the Great Powers, in negotiating the Treaty of San Stefano with the Sublime Porte of Istanbul and at the Congress of Berlin, had decided to hand over to neighbouring states.

In 1881, however, the Albanian League of Prizren was savagely suppressed through the coordinated efforts of the Great Powers, the Ottoman Empire, and the neighbouring Balkan states. As a result a large part of the Albanian regions were torn away from the national territory. Although put down with fire and steel, the Albanian League of Prizren left an indelible imprint on the Albanian people, and its platform remained the basis of our whole national movement until the proclamation of the independence of the country on November 28, 1912.

In commemorating this important event in their history, the Albanian people remembered with veneration their finest sons and daughters, who gave their lives for the freedom of Albania and the inviolability of its territories in those stormy years; they commemorated the organizers and leaders of this movement who gave their all for the good of the Homeland, the valiant commanders who led the legendary battles and inspired all the Albanian patriots in the fight by their personal example.

On the eve of the centenary of the founding of the League, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, on the proposal of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, made posthumous awards of the high order of People's Hero to the organizer and ideologist of the Albanian League of Prizren, Abdyl Frashëri, the valiant

and undaunted commander of the armed forces of the League, Sulejman Vokshi, and the valiant fighter Mic Sokoli, who blocked the muzzle of a Turkish field-gun with his own chest in order to enable his forces to advance.

Tens of other patriots were decorated with orders and medals for their political activity and dauntless struggle.

On June 10, in the Opera and Ballet Theatre in Tirana, a commemorative meeting was organized dedicated to the centenary of the founding of the Albanian League of Prizren. Taking part were people from work and production centres, relatives of martyrs fallen in the wars for the liberation of the Homeland, veteran patriots from all parts of the country, working people of the central departments and institutions, working people of art, culture and science, leaders of mass organizations and others. Also taking part in the meeting were the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, Enver Hoxha, the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Haxhi Lleshi, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mehmet Shehu, and other Party and State leaders.

Also in attendance were a group of scientists from the Autonomous Socialist Province of Kosova, Kosova patriots, citizens of Albanian origin from Turkey, as well as compatriots from the USA, France, Argentine, Rumania, and Austria. The meeting was attended also by a delegation of the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist) which was visiting Albania on the invitation of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania.

The meeting was declared open by the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Haxhi Lleshi. The commemorating address, which was heard with great interest, was delivered by the Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, Vice-Chairman of the General Council of the De-

mocratic Front of Albania, Ramiz Alia.

Finally, a concert with patriotic revolutionary items was performed for the participants.

In the context of the centenary of the Albanian League of Prizren, through the good offices of the Government of the PSR of Albania, the remains of the organizer and ideologist of the League, Abdyl Frashëri, were brought back to the Homeland from Turkey. Together with the remains of his brother, Naim Frashëri, our national poet, who with his writings, has educated and inspired entire generations of fighters and patriots with the feeling of love of the Homeland and the Albanian language, they were placed in the tomb of the Frashëri family, in one of the most beautiful places of the capital.

On this occasion, on the 11th of June, a mass rally was organized in Tirana with the participation of more than 100,000 people. Among them were delegations from all over the country, representatives from Kosova and from the colonies of Albanians outside the Homeland, as well as Emin Ereri, the grandson of the distinguished Albanian scholar and patriot, the third of the Frashëri brothers, Sami.

In the central square of the capital, where the coffins with the remains of Abdyl and Naim Frashëri were borne on two gun carriages, the Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania, Mehmet Shehu, addressed the rally.

His speech was heard with great interest and attention.

Then, the participants, including the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, Enver Hoxha, the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Haxhi Lleshi, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mehmet Shehu, other Party and State leaders, foreign guests, and delegations from all over the country, followed on foot behind the coffins along the Boulevard «Dëshmorët e Kombit» and

climbed the hills to the south of the capital, where the tomb of the Frashëri family stands among the trees. After the burial ceremony scores of wreaths were piled high on the graves, which are surmounted by the busts of the three brothers, Abdyl, Naim and Sami Frashëri. Among the many wreaths was that of the CC of the PLA which was placed by Comrades Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu.

Also on the 11th of June, in one of the halls of the Palace of Culture, the exhibition «The Albanian League of Prizren, 1878-1881» was opened. At the ceremony opening the exhibition, which was attended by many leaders of the Party and State, the opening speech was made by Prof. Aleks Buda, Chairman of the Academy of Sciences of the PSR of Albania.

On the same night of the 11th of June the People's Theatre staged the drama «Besa e Madhe» (The Great Oath), with a theme from the years of the heroic struggle which the Albanian people waged under the leadership of the Albanian League of Prizren.

The National Conference of Studies on the Albanian League of Prizren, organized by the Academy of Sciences of the PSR of Albania in collaboration with the University of Tirana, was held in Tirana from 12th to 15th of June.

The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, Enver Hoxha, the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Haxhi Lleshi, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mehmet Shehu, other Party and State leaders, attended the opening day of the Conference.

Taking part in the proceedings of the Conference were working people from all over the country as well as the group of scientists from the Autonomous Socialist Province of Kosova, headed by the Academician Ali Hidri, the Arbëresh professor Francesco Solano, head of the chair of the Albanian language at the University of Cosenza, the historian and publicist

from Turkey Nexhip Alpani, the professor from Bulgaria Nikolaj Todorov, president of the International Society of Studies for the South Eastern Europe, the professor from Rumania Mihail Berza, the professors from France, George Castelan, Christian Gutte and Alain Duselier, the professor from the German Federal Republic Klaus Delev Grothussen, as well as a group of Kosova people related to the families of the fighters who participated in the events of the Albanian League of Prizren, citizens of Albanian origin from Turkey and compatriots from the USA, France, Argentine, Rumania and Austria.

The Conference was declared open by the Minister of Education and Culture, Tefta Cami.

The reports, «The Albanian League of Prizren and its Historical Roots» by the President of the Academy of Sciences Prof. Aleks Buda, «The Albanian League of Prizren and its Struggle for National Liberation and Unification» by Prof. Stefanaq Pollo, Director of the Institute of History at the Academy of Sciences, «The Albanian League for the Defence of the Rights of the Nation in the Years of the Eastern Crisis» by Prof. Arben Puto, «The Albanian League of Prizren as a Cultural Factor in the National Renaissance» by Prof. Alfred Uçi, were delivered at the Conference.

The reports and papers make a papers on various aspects of the activity of the League, including also those read by the foreign guests. To this number must be added another seventy-five papers which were read to the scientific sessions organized in the regions of Kukës, Gjirokastra, Dibra, Shkodra, and Korça.

Prof. Aleks Buda, President of the Academy of Sciences of the PSR of Albania, declared the Conference closed, among other things saying:

The reports and papers make a penetrating analysis of the political strategy and tactic of the Albanian League, bringing into relief the complicated

and contradictory conditions existing under the Eastern Crisis of the 70's of the 19th century, when the question of the destiny of the Albanian nation was raised with particular strength. In those conditions the Albanian League defined three fundamental tasks: recognition of the Albanian nation as one and indivisible, the preservation of the inviolability and integrity of its territories and their unification into one autonomous or independent national state, these being tasks which constituted three tasks inseparable from one another, and the realization of which would meet one legitimate, objective and subjective, demand of the development of the Albanian society.

From the work and proceedings of the Conference it emerged with greater clarity that the Albanian League occupies an important place in the Eastern Crisis of the period 1875-1881. A complete picture and an accurate understanding of the Eastern Question, as the greatest question of diplomacy in the last quarter of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, cannot be conceived except on the basis of a new evaluation of the Albanian League of Prizren, of our national movement in general. The question here is about an evaluation which confronts the simplist treatment of this question by the old bourgeois historiography, which is guided by formal juridical considerations to negate the existence of an Albanian question as early as that historical period. The diplomatic aspect of the Albanian League, is, likewise, important to the completing of the picture of the scope of the activity of the League, as a many-sided and complex activity, which according to an expression by Comrade Enver Hoxha, is characterized by «one single line, the line of the political thinking and revolutionary action, always in development and ascendant, which have had as their objective the freedom of the Homeland, its complete and territorially unviolated independence».

THE WORK OF OUR MEN OF RENAISSANCE LIVES ON IN NEW SOCIALIST ALBANIA

Dear comrades,

Dear brothers and sisters, Citizens of Tirana,

This day is a marked day for the Albanian people, for us who live on the beloved soil of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and for our Albanian brothers beyond the borders of the Homeland.

On the occasion of the jubilee of the centenary of the Albanian League of Prizren, we extend our ardent greetings to all our Albanian brothers in Kosova, Macedonia, Montenegro, and all other regions, wherever they live.

After almost a century in foreign soil, now, on the great jubilee of the centenary of the Albanian League of Prizren, the remains of one of the most glorious sons of the Albanian people, the great patriot and fighter, Abdyl Frashëri, have been brought back and will rest forever in the free and flowering land of Mother Albania, in our sacred soil, here, in the capital of our Homeland, together with the remains of the great poet, the fiery hearted patriot, «the Nightingale of Albania», the immortal Naim.

It is an honour and duty for our generation to show the greatest respect for the glorious patriots of our National Renaissance who did so much for the freedom of our people and of the Homeland, among whom the Frashëri brothers: Abdyl, Naim and Sami, shine like perpetual fiery stars.

The Party of Labour of Albania is the loyal bearer of the banner of the men of our Renaissance. It is the Party which raised this banner to the highest peaks, in the bloody battles of the most glorious epic of the Albanian people, in the National Liberation War and the people's revolution, for the liberation of the Homeland from any kind of bondage and oppression, and now in the unexampled struggle, waged under siege and blockade, for the construction of socialism and communism.

The great dreams of the patriots of our National Renaissance became a reality thanks to the correct leadership of our heroic Party, with its glorious founder and leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, and thanks to the blood and sweat of our people. And what has been achieved in socialist Albania is a thousand times greater

MEHMET SHEHU — Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSRA. Speech delivered at the mass rally organized to honour the memory and work of Abdyl and Naim Frashëri (Tirana, June 11, 1978).

than these great and immortal patriots ever dreamed of. The Albania of Scanderbeg and of the men of our National Renaissance, the long-suffering Albania of centuries of wars, with its soil drenched with the blood of its own people, the socialist Albania of the generation of Enver Hoxha, is marching today with the head held high and with militant step on the high road to socialism and communism, in struggle against all its enemies, the enemies of all mankind, against imperialism and socialimperialism, against revisionism and world reaction, and there is no force on earth which can block this triumphant revolutionary march and bring it to a halt.

Abdyl and Naim were two of the most brilliant figures of our National Renaissance, of that revolutionary democratic epoch of great importance in the history of the Albanian people, which marked the emergence of our nation from mediaeval darkness — feudal and imperialist — on to the broad road of the armed uprising of the Albanian people for freedom and independence, democracy, light and education.

The men of the Albanian Renaissance were «outstanding people of progressive ideas, courageous, revolutionary illuminists, with a great and ardent love for their country», they were great thinkers and fighters with pen and rifle, talented organizers and diplomats. They inscribed on their banner the unity of the whole people in the struggle for the freedom, national independence and territorial unification of Albania, for Albania's democratic social progress. Their line was the line of a blow for blow struggle against all the enemies of Albania with words and the pen, with organization and politics, with rifle and uprising, for the salvation of the Homeland, for the freedom of the people, for democracy and progress.

Like all the genuine patriots of the past, from the time of our national hero, the great Scanderbeg, our men of the Renaissance, were not individual «heroes», but a whole pleiad of the true sons of the people, bearers of the finest virtues of the people, linked like flesh to bone with the people, champions of the loftiest interests of the people, of their spirit of unyielding resistance to any enemy, of their boundless love of country, militant determination and exemplary vitality. Such were Abdyl, Naim and Sami, Naum Veqilharxhi and Zef Jubani, Jani

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Vreto and Kostandin Kristoforidhi, Pashko Vasa and Jeronim de Rada, Koto Hoxhi and Hasan Tahsini, Zija Prishtina and scores of other distinguished patriots and fighters of the Renaissance, whom our people remember with profound love and respect. Glory through the centuries to the immortal men of our Renaissance!

Its profoundly political and liberation character, its pronounced popular and democratic content, its reliance on the inexhaustible strength of the people, its revolutionary method of struggle — the armed uprising, as the main way to attain the national objectives, its channelling of all the efforts for the development of the national language and culture into this main stream as a means of awakening the masses of the people and raising them in the liberation armed struggle — these constitute some of the fundamental distinguishing features of the great movement which is known as «the Albanian National Renaissance».

These fundamental features characterize the whole activity of the Albanian League of Prizren, founded on June 10, 1878, which represents a glorious culminating moment in the epoch of our National Renaissance. The Albanian League of Prizren was the product and the direct continuation of the previous efforts made by the Albanian people for freedom and independence. It constitutes a brilliant epic in the unbroken chain of the heroic struggles waged through the centuries by our indomitable insurgent people, who «blazed their trail through history sword in hand», always keeping undiminished their burning desire for freedom, for living masters in their own land, for their rich language, their brilliant traditions, their fine customs, and their own inviolable individuality.

The Albanian League of Prizren fought with all its might to make a reality of the fundamental objectives of the national movement of the Albanian people: for recognition of the Albanian nation and unification of all the Albanian territories in a free state, to win the right to national autonomy from the Ottoman rule, and to present the partitioning of Albania by the Great Powers of Europe and the rabid chauvinists of the Balkans.

The League of Prizren and the Albanian people, who united around it in all the regions of our country, did

not submit to pressure, blackmail and violence by the imperialist Great Powers, but with unprecedented courage and bravery, rose in revolt and, arms in hand, opposed the Ottoman occupiers, the ill-famed Treaty of San Stefano of the year 1878 and the anti-Albanian decisions of the Congress of Berlin of the same year on the partitioning of Albania. The League of Prizren and the Albanian people fought with courage and heroism against the vile chauvinistic aims of the neighbouring Balkan monarchies and their barbarous attacks on the Albanian regions.

The battles fought by the forces of the armed people under the League of Prizren, such as the battle against Mehmet Ali Pasha at Gjakova, or the glorious battles in defence of the Albanian territory at Plava and Gucia, Hot, Gruda and Ulqin, the bloody battle of Shtimje, and countless others, which continued for three years on end, and in which our people, with their spirit of mass heroism, wrote one of the most glorious pages in the history of their strivings for their freedom, their land and their country, will remain unforgettable through the centuries.

The League of Prizren grew into a general national movement which included the efforts and the struggle of our people in all the regions where the Albanians constituted a compact whole and the majority of the population, in the four vilayets of that time, Shkodra, Kosova, Manastir, and Janina. It was not fortuitous that Abdyl Frashëri and his fellow-fighters chose Prizren as the centre of the League of the Albanians. Legendary Kosova has always been a centre of ardent Albanian patriotism, like all the regions of Albania in the South and in the North, in the West and in the East. Branches of the Albanian League were set up everywhere, while in the liberated regions they replaced the Ottoman administration with an Albanian administration, and the people, without distinction of religion and region, were all united under the banner of the League.

This just, profoundly popular struggle, which was characterized by the active mobilization of all the creative energies of the broad masses of our people, their ardent patriotism, and their spirit of mass heroism, brought forth such outstanding political, and military leaders and personalities of our national culture as Abdyl Frashëri, Sulejman Vokshi, Ymer Prizreni, Pashko Vasa, Thimi Mitko,

Haxhi Zeka, Iljaz Dibra; it brought forth heroic fighters and people's leaders such as Mic Sokoli, Ali Ibra, Shuaip Spahlu, Isuf Sokoli, Ramadan Zaskoci, Jakup Ferri, Odhise Kasneci (Nesturi), and many others, whose memory our people hold in deep respect.

The decision of the Presidium of the People's Assembly to award the title «Hero of the People» to the outstanding fighters of the Albanian League of Prizren, Abdyl Frashëri, Sulejman Vokshi and Mic Sokoli, as well as the decoration of many other patriots of that period, is an expression of the high assessment which our Party and People's State make of the heroic struggle which these great patriots waged in the interests of the people and the Homeland. It is the high assessment which the Party, the People's State and our people make of the League of Prizren itself and its patriotic and revolutionary activity. Glory to the fighters of the Albanian League of Prizren, who fought with such courage and heroism for the freedom of the people, for the Albanian land, for the Albanian nation!

Abdyl Frashëri was the political leader and the ideologist of the Albanian League of Prizren, the keen-minded diplomat who represented the League with dignity in the foreign world and insistently defended the interests of the Albanian nation before the Great Powers, against the savage intentions of the Balkan chauvinists of carving up Albania. He was the soul of the League of Prizren and its struggle. It was he who inspired and drafted its program, and he fought as a tireless activist and organized the League to put this militant, revolutionary program into practice. As the principal and the most consistent representative of the more progressive wing of the League, Abdyl Frashëri was the first to issue the call to the people for the armed uprising, in defiance of the Ottoman Empire and the Great Powers, only with the forces of the people, in blow for blow struggle with all the enemies, in order to win the autonomy of Albania from Istanbul and against the partitioning of Albania by the chauvinistic monarchies of the Balkans, with the support of the imperialist Great Powers of Europe.

The Albanian people throughout our national territory followed Abdyl Frashëri on the road of honour, because the aspirations of this great patriot were the aspirations of the people themselves, because the struggle which he led expressed the loftiest interests of the Albanian people and the Albanian nation.

The Ottoman occupiers condemned Abdyl Frashëri and he rotted in prison, but he never yielded to them, and the people kept him in their hearts and made him immortal. And again it is our people, with the glorious Party of Labour at their head and masters of their own country, who today, have brought the remains of their unforgettable son to rest for ever in our sacred soil, which gave him birth and to which he dedicated his whole life. The memory of the great revolutionary patriot, Abdyl Frashëri, will live forever!

Today, while honouring the work and memory of Abdyl Frashëri, the Albanian people bow with the greatest respect, also, in memory of Abdyl's brother and close co-fighter, Naim. The immortal figure and work of Naim Frashëri, this fiery - hearted fighter of our National Renaissance, who burned out his whole life in the service of the Homeland and the people, will remain engraved forever in the minds and hearts of the Albanian people.

Naim was an outstanding thinker who contributed so much to the development of our national culture. He is our great national poet, who sang so sweetly to the Motherland and the natural beauty of Albania, who sang with such fire to the freedom and the indomitable patriotic spirit of the Albanian people. Naim put his powerful talent and his magnificent literary work in the service of the greatest and most sacred cause, the liberation of the Homeland and the Albanian people. He was not a poet of drawing-rooms and the mean and petty world, he did not sing praises to Sultans and oppressors, conquerors and blood-suckers, but he sang to the people and their struggle for freedom, to the bravest of the brave and our National Hero, who led our people in the epoch-making legendary struggle which bears his name - Gjergj Kastrioti, Scanderbeg. Naim sang to the pure spirit and feelings of our people, he sang to the Albanian land, and its inspiring beauty. The work of Naim was a progressive call to the people to revive the glorious traditions and virtues which have always characterized them, and to take up arms for the liberation of the country from the foreign yoke.

Naim is the real founder of Albanian literary language, of which he had a marked political concept as a powerful barrier against the danger of foreign cultural assimilation and as a keen weapon to awaken the national consciousness of our people in struggle against their enslavement.

The light spread by Naim never died away, but continued to light the way of the fight for freedom, the road of honour and progress, to the generations. His historic work, as an inseparable part of the great spiritual treasury of our people and a brilliant expression of his creative genius, lives on and is respected in the new socialist Albania. The name and activity of the great Naim will always be a torch blazing eternally in the land of Albania.

The great patriots and fighters of our National Renaissance did not live to see the fruit of their work. But, their toil and the blood they shed were not in vain. The seeds they sowed struck root and were embodied in the efforts of the succeeding generations which, following in the footsteps of their ancestors, kept the traditions of the fight for freedom constantly alive.

The great uprisings of the years 1910-1912, the heroic struggles and tireless patriotic activity of Ismail Qemali and Luigj Gurakuqi, Isa Boletini and Ded Gjo Luli, Çerçiz Topulli and Mihal Grameno, Hasan Prishtina and

hundreds upon hundreds of others, which were crowned with the historic victory of the proclamation of independence on November 28, 1912; the unrelenting struggles of the Albanians against imperialist interventions and invasions; the great peasant uprising of Haxhi Qamili of the years 1914-1915; the glorious epic of Vloza of 1920; the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1924; the struggle of revolutionary democrats like Avni Rustemi, Bajram Curri and their comrades, and of the communist groups, against the tyrannical, anti-popular, anti-national and obscurantist regime of Ahmet Zogolli, the armed resistance to the Italian fascist invasion of April 7, 1939 — all these things are vivid historical proof that our people have never laid down their arms and have never for a moment ceased their struggle and efforts for national independence and liberation.

Our heroic Party inherited, developed and raised these glorious revolutionary fighting traditions even higher in the most glorious epic of the many centuries of the history of our people, the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, and it imbued them with a new content in its unprecedented struggle for the construction and defence of socialism, for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of the revolution and the liberation of the peoples.

Comrades,

The great men of our Renaissance, amongst whom the Frashëri brothers were most outstanding, dreamed, thought, strove, fought and dedicated their whole lives to the good of the Homeland, in order to see Albania, free, beautiful, prosperous and advanced.

Sami Frashëri, the wise ideologist of our National Renaissance and the great scholar and philosopher of those times, wrote the book «Albania, what it has been, what it is, and what it will be». In it he spoke about an Albania of the future, democratic and politically advanced which, according to him would be strong provided it had the support of the people, about an Albania where metals would be mined and processed, railroads would be built and industry and skills developed, where the swamps would be drained, the land would be irrigated and agriculture, livestock-raising and fruit-growing would advance. Sami wanted an Albania free from the darkness of Ignorance, where primary education would be compulsory and free of charge, and secondary schools and universities would be opened, where the academy of sciences, institutes of study and printing presses would be set up, where the national art and culture would develop, where the woman would be liberated from the heavy burden of backward customs and bondage under male domination, and so on. He issued the call that we must fight for our rights, for the good of our nation, and said that «whoever stands in our way and tries to stop our advance on this sacred road, we must put aside, knock him down, trample over, and go ahead... We must not

be afraid of anything, must strive and never stop striving, till we attain what we want».

«Happy the man who will live to see her a lady», wrote Naim Frashëri about Albania, expressing this ardent desire of all the patriots of our National Renaissance. And here, today, thanks to the leadership of the Party and the blood and sweat of the people, socialist Albania has become a «lady», and what a «lady»! She has become «mistress in her own home», who enjoys the respect of numerous friends throughout the world and is not afraid of frenzied enemies. She has become a heroic fighter, clad in the red gown of socialism and communism, who is keeping a firm grip on the rifle and the pick and forging ahead with youthful courage and vigour on the road to the complete construction of socialist society with her own sweat, and there is no force on earth that can stop her on this road. Glory through the centuries to our Party of Labour, which is the worthy successor to the patriots of our National Renaissance, the bearer and consistent applier of the ideas and teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, loyal to the end to the interests of the people, socialism and communism!

The men of our National Renaissance dreamed of an Albania liberated from the regressive and obscurantist feudal order. Today, our Homeland is the country where not only the remnants of feudal relations, but also the capitalist relations of exploitation of man by man have been liquidated once and for all, and socialism, the most progressive order known in human history, has triumphed in both town and countryside.

In power here, and firm as granite, stands the dictatorship of the proletariat which guarantees the most complete and genuine democracy for the broad masses of working people, with the working class at the head, and only for them, which ensures the never ceasing advance on the glorious road of the construction of socialism, and defends the interests of the people and socialism from any enemy.

The great deed of the Party and people has turned Albania into a socialist country, where there is only development, prosperity, progress, social justice, work, education, a happy and joyful life, and consistent struggle for the complete construction of socialist society and the defence of socialism and the Homeland from all enemies.

The happy life we enjoy in socialist Albania has been achieved through great toil and efforts, through heroic struggle and untiring work to overcome the countless difficulties, to cope with the savage imperialist-revisionist blockade, to foil all the sinister plans of internal and external enemies. The great pressure of the deep economic and financial crisis of the capitalist and revisionist world has had no negative consequence or impact on our socialist economy because the people, under the leader-

ship of the Party, have put their backs into the construction of socialism, by relying on our own efforts.

Our socialist economy is sound and stable. Small socialist Albania is the first country in the world without taxes, the country which knows no crisis, unemployment, or price rises, which has laid down in the Constitution that it accepts no credits or «aid» from any capitalist and revisionist state.

Our Party has created the new man of socialist society with the proletarian world outlook and lofty moral virtues, who thinks, works, fights and lives as a revolutionary in order to build socialism, to cope with and smash the hostile encirclement and blockade of imperialism and revisionism, and to defend the Homeland. The ceaseless march of our socialist revolution wiped the great evil of religion and backward customs from our socialist life, opened the doors of the schools to the people, emancipated the woman, opened broad prospects to the vigorous outburst of the abilities and inexhaustible energies of the working masses, with the working class at the head.

The imperialist Great Powers and their chauvinistic lackeys have not given up their ambitions in regard to Albania. Today these ambitions are of the same nature as those of the time of the men of our National Renaissance, if not more savage and diabolical, though in new conditions. The imperialist superpowers are leading the world towards war, striving to set Europe, the Balkans and the entire world on fire. Modern revisionism has put itself totally in the service of capitalism and imperialism. The new opportunism, in fact, has become the most devoted ally of US imperialism and the most zealous supporter of the most reactionary and fascist forces of the world: US imperialism and Russian socialimperialism are contending with each other for world domination. Their clamour about détente is demagogy and a disguise. Today, the skies are dark with thunder clouds hanging over the peoples and continents.

But the world «moves nevertheless». It is moving forward; the advance of the revolution does not cease. The peoples are understanding who are their friends and who are their enemies. The struggle of the peoples for liberation and against imperialism and neo-colonialism is mounting. The genuine revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists are advancing in the teeth of the imperialist-revisionist storm, placing themselves at the head of the proletariat and of the working masses in their complicated and fierce struggle against the capitalist system, which is growing old and cannot escape its death.

On the great front of this decisive struggle of the freedom-loving peoples, of the world proletariat, of the genuine revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists, of all the progressive forces against imperialism and socialimperialism, against revisionism and opportunism, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, occupies a place of honour

today, as an indomitable fighter, which is determined to remain loyal to the end to the cause of the freedom of the peoples, the cause of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism, socialism and communism.

Loyally implementing the correct Marxist-Leninist line of our heroic Party, in the struggle for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland, in the struggle against all internal and external enemies, our people have gained great experience. All the plots of the enemies against socialist Albania have failed up till now and they will fail in the future, too. The guarantee of this is the heroic leadership of our Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, the great vitality of our people and the steel-like unity of the ranks of the Party around the Central Committee, and the people around the Party. In the face of this unity, every attempt of the enemy has been smashed to smithereens. Any of our external enemies who underrates the strength of this unity and the determination of our Party and people never to separate their words from their deeds, never to deviate in the slightest from the correct Marxist-Leninist line of our Party, is making a grave error and so much the worse for him.

The great patriots and fighters, who fought for the freedom and independence of our Homeland unspairingly, yearned for a strong Albania, with a «name» in Europe and the world. They evoked the glorious times of Scanderbeg. Pashko Vasa, that outstanding patriot of the National Renaissance, whose remains have also been brought home these days, wrote at that time, «A great lady you have been, brave men called you mother». Now, the name of Albania resounds and is heard with respect throughout



the world. And this is thanks to the correct Marxist-Leninist line of our Party of Labour in the revolution and socialist construction, thanks to its consistent internationalist stand in support of the revolutionary movement and freedom-loving peoples, thanks to the consistent principled struggle it has always waged against international imperialism and neo-colonialism, and first and foremost, against American imperialism and Soviet socialimperialism, against the forces of reaction, against modern revisionism and opportunism of all hues.

Whenever the modern revisionists, enraged by the firm Marxist-Leninist stand of the Party of Labour of Albania, have extended their ideological disagreements to the sphere of state relations also, they have suffered defeat and have covered themselves with shame, while Albania has always come out triumphant. The clearest example of this is the reactionary activity of Nikita Khrushchev against Albania. Nothing frightens us Albanian communists, or the Albanian people, because we are in the right, in the proletarian, Marxist-Leninist right, which is a thousand times stronger than the imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement, and the blackmail and the threats of foreign enemies.

The history of our people is the history of their unceasing struggles through the centuries against savage and merciless enemies, who have oppressed and exploited them, murdered and massacred them, in their attempts to subjugate and liquidate them as a people and a nation. But the enemies have never been able to achieve their fiendish purpose. In the fire of those struggles, the lofty virtues of our people, the revolutionary fighting traditions

which have made the Albanian people uncoquerable and have aroused the sympathy and respect in all the freedom-loving and progressive people of the world for the Albanian people and their Homeland, have been imbued in them.

Our Party of Labour has blended these patriotic, revolutionary fighting traditions of our forefathers together with socialist patriotism, which has become a powerful weapon for the education of the present generation and the generations to come, in the struggle for the ceaseless flowering of our socialist Homeland and its defence, in the heroic struggle to overcome any enemy, any encirclement and blockade, to always uphold the name and revolutionary honour of the Albanian people, the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Glory to the fighters and heroes who sacrificed their lives and shed their blood for Mother Albania and for the good of the Albanian people!

Glory to the eternal memory of Abdyl Frashëri and Naim Frashëri!

Long live our heroic people, the builders of socialism!
Long live our glorious Party and the beloved leader of our Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

About 100,000 working people of the capital took part in the rally organized in Skanderbeg Square in Tirana in the context of the ceremony of the burial of the remains of the outstanding patriots of Albanian national Renaissance, the brothers Abdyl and Naim Frashëri. A view of the rally.



THE ALBANIAN LEAGUE A BRILLIANT PAGE OF OUR HISTORY WRITTE

Dear comrades,

Today, 100 years are complete since the Albanian League was founded in Prizren, it represents one of the most outstanding events in our glorious history. It was formed in very complicated and critical situations when the defence of the legitimate rights of the Albanian nation, which had been trampled underfoot and were being savagely violated by the Ottoman rulers, was raised as an urgent question, when the big imperialist powers of Europe and the chauvinist monarchies of the Balkans were hatching up ominous plans for the seizure of Albanian territories.

Today, with feelings of profound respect and gratitude we recall the heroic struggles and efforts of the Albanian League of Prizren for the freedom of the Homeland and its unity as a national state, highly appreciating the historic role and consequences of these efforts for the creation of an independent Albania. As Comrade Enver Hoxha has put it, the road and struggle of the Albanian patriots «was not an easy road, not the road of trickery and bending the knee, of fear of and submission to the stronger, but the road of clashes with ferocious internal and external enemies, both open and disguised, a road forced open by the people with keen political sightedness and maturity, with the pen and the rifle in hand, with bloodshed and innumerable sacrifices.» (E. Hoxha, Works, Vol. 24, p. 7),

Today, in celebrating the 100th anniversary of the League of Prizren, this brilliant page of our history written in blood, we recall with profound respect and honour, the heroism and sacrifices of all those who gave their all for the national cause and who, in very difficult and complicated situations, fought with rare valour, with rifle and pen and with everything possible for their Mother Albania. We honour with gratitude the memory of the outstanding leaders who emerged from the bosom of our people small in numbers but great in courage, bravery and wisdom. The patriotism, courage and wisdom of Abdyl Frashëri and Sulejman Vokshi,

RAMIZ ALIA — Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC of the PLA, Vice-Chairman of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania. Speech on the centenary of the Albanian League of Prizren (Tirana, June 10, 1978)

Iliaz Dibra and Shuaip Spahiu, Ymer Prizreni and Mustafa Tetova, Daut Boriçi, Filip Çeka, Selim Çoba, Mihal Harito, Petro Meksi, Dhimitër Kolea, Thimi Mitko, Mehmet Ali Vrioni, Haxhi Zeka, Odhise Kasneci and other men of those times originary from all the regions of Albania, who defended the Homeland in those critical circumstances, will remain a great example of patriotism and devotion to the Homeland and people generation after generation. The heroism of people's outstanding fighters like Mic Sokoli and Ali Ibra, Isuf Sokoli and Mehmet Beci, Mehmet Gjyli, Jakup Ferri, Ramadan Zaskoci and many others who put their chests to the muzzles of enemy guns, will always recall to the present and future generations that nobody donated our people their freedom which was won only with their own blood and struggle.

Our people are commemorating the centenary of the Albanian League of Prizren in freedom and independence, in unbreakable unity and linked like muscle to bone with the Party of Labour. They are commemorating this great historic event in their revived Homeland, masters of the country and their own fate, when, guided by their own Marxist-Leninist Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, they are building their new life and making the Homeland bloom, when socialist Albania is honoured and respected throughout the world. They are commemorating this date amidst the drive at work and great revolutionary enthusiasm to implement the decisions of the 7th Congress of the Party in all fields, to advance our industry and socialist agriculture, education and culture, and to strengthen the defence of the Homeland.

At this outstanding centenary of our national history, when we recall with pride the heroic struggle which the generations of the past have waged for national liberation and unity, the struggle which showed the world the vitality and courage of the Albanian people, their determination to live free and independent, we send our greetings to all patriotic Albanians wherever they may be, our brothers of Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro, who, as an inseparable part of the Albanian nation, are part of its history through the centuries.

OF PRIZREN - N IN BLOOD

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In the history of our national movement, the Albanian League of Prizren takes a most outstanding place and represents an important stage of this movement. The League of Prizren was the first political organization of all Albania, set up within Albania, and which included the whole country, an organization which had not only a national ideological platform and a clearly defined political program but also a state organization on a national scale, its own army, and its own propaganda and cultural apparatus. It acted as the sole representative of the whole people, not only within the country but also in relation with the outside world, foreign governments and international organizations. If the other states did not accept it formally, it compelled them to recognize it on the battlefield and in diplomatic clashes. It is important that the League of Prizren presented the question of the freedom and independence of Albania as an urgent question demanding immediate solution, a problem which now, no one could ignore. It challenged imperialist Europe and demonstrated to it that no oppression, no violence, no plot or intrigue could turn the Albanian people from the road on which they had set out.

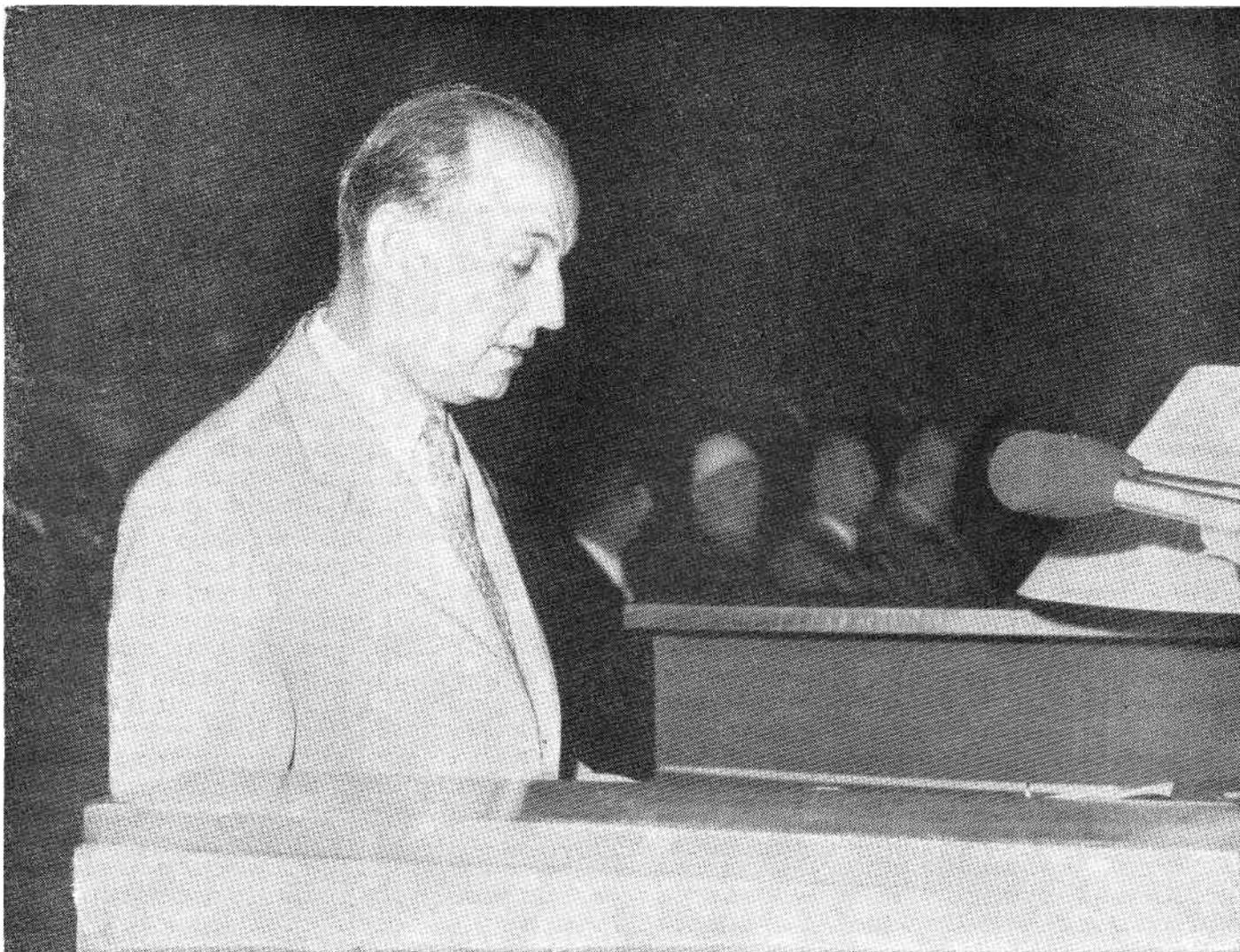
At the time when a great peril threatened Albania, the partitioning of its territories and the perpetuation of foreign enslavement, the Albanian League of Prizren placed itself at the head of the whole people and began a heroic struggle for the defence of the people's rights. Its program expressed the fundamental demands of the Albanian national movement: recognition of the Albanian nation as an indivisible whole and respect for the principle of nationality, the preservation of the inviolability and integrity of the national lands and the unification of the territories of Albania in a single national state.

The struggle of the League to carry out this program when Albania not only had no allies, but had many enemies, was truly a heroic undertaking. Only their fiery patriotism, their clarity of mind, their unflinching confidence in their forces, their spirit of revolt and their high sense of national pride could rouse, as it did, the Albanians to fight against «the Seven Kings».

As any important event in history, the League of Prizren was no chance outburst, nor was it the result of political junctures or the offspring of foreign diplomacy, as some shallow or anti-Albanian historians claim it to be. It was the natural result of the internal political, economic and social development of Albania and had its roots deep in the centuries-long struggle of our people for freedom and independence. It did not grow on barren soil, it was the continuation of the heroic resistance of the Albanian people against the tremendous storms of history, it was the consequence of the active efforts of a fully-formed nation which was fighting for the defence of its vital interests.

When the Albanian League of Prizren was formed, Albania had entered the fifth century of its Turkish bondage, which had brought innumerable misfortunes and sufferings upon the Albanian people. National oppression, brutal feudal exploitation, the ignorance the foreign occupier kept our people in, the devastating wars of the Ottoman Empire, insecurity and anarchy had become unendurable. The shaking-off of the foreign yoke was the most pressing question for our people. The innumerable uprisings, which had never ceased since Scanderbeg's times, although they had been defeated or put down through savage suppression, had always left in their wake an ever deeper hatred for the foreign rulers, an ever more ardent love of freedom, an ever greater determination to win. This love of freedom and this hatred for the enemies which went on increasing from one generation to another, would one day burst out like a volcano to open the road to the liberation of the Albanian people and the creation of their independent state. In struggle for national existence and liberation, Marx wrote, is also expressed the national consciousness aiming at the formation of national states...

The 19th century, as in the other countries of Europe, had brought about radical changes in the Albanian territories. The emergence of new capitalist relations, the connections of the various regions among themselves, merging of local markets into a common national market had created one economic community which, along with the community of language and territory, had led to the



The Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA comrade Ramiz Alia addressing the solemn evening dedicated to the centenary of the Albanian League of Prizren.

formation of the Albanian nation. As a consequence, now every action of a political, economic or cultural character assumed nationwide dimensions and clearly expressed national features.

This is also observed in the great people's uprisings of the years 30-70 of the 19th century, which were directed against the destructive consequences of the Turkish reforms of the Tanzimat, and in particular against the corrupt bureaucratic administration which the Sublime Porte was trying to impose on Albania. These uprisings clearly reflected the radical change which had taken place in the historical process of the Albanian people. Many of them transcended the regional boundaries of the former uprisings, established inter-regional links, and they were not led by the big feudals, but by the petty local chiefs who were more closely linked with the peasant masses. These uprisings

embodied an extremely important idea, that of distinguishing the Albanian nation from the other nations, and raised the question of a special treatment of Albania, as a particular province of the Empire which should be administered not by Turkish officials but by local people. All this proved that a nation and a developed national consciousness already existed in Albania. This reality was very clearly expressed by one of the outstanding representatives of our National Renaissance, Pashko Vasa, in October 1878, when he wrote: «The consciousness of the Albanian nation revolts against the very idea of submission... The present Albanian League originates precisely from this feeling. The idea (of its creation) was inspired by nobody, it was born in the consciousness of all at the same time, and nothing could dampen its vigour... the representatives (who have come) to Prizren... take their mandate as

leaders precisely from this national consciousness, and they obey precisely this national consciousness in their action as soldiers» («Acts of the Albanian National Renaissance 1878-1912», Tirana, 1978. The Memorandum of October 22nd, 1878, document No. 32, p. 67).

The League of Prizren, was formed at a time when the echo of the French revolution and the revolutions of 1848 etc., which had shaken Europe, had reverberated strongly throughout Albania. Many of the leaders of the Albanian uprisings and especially the ideologists of the national movement had been inspired by the progressive ideas of the time, and had drawn lessons from these revolutions. There were also countless Albanians who had taken part in the anti-Turkish uprisings which had led to the winning of independence by the peoples of the Balkans. Now they were all conscious that such a thing had to be done in Albania, too. The progressive ideas of the time found a favourable terrain in the great centuries-old traditions of the Albanian people, in their struggle for freedom, independence and social progress.

A long time prior to the League of Prizren, Naim Veqilharxhi, Kostandin Kristoforidhi, Zef Jubani, Jeronim De Rada, and other ideologists of the National Renaissance had expressed in their writings the initial demands of a national character for the unity of the Albanians without distinction of region or religion, for the spread of education and culture in Albania, for economic and social reforms which would set the country on the road of progress.

Thus, all the conditions had been created for the Albanian National Movement to be raised to a higher stage and to undertake the greatest and most essential tasks that had to be solved. Now the need arose for an organization on the scale of the whole country, and above all, for a program which would unite the fighting energies of the people around a single aim.

These requirements were realized by the Albanian League of Prizren which took in hand the leadership of the whole movement and extended organizationally over the whole of the Albanian territories, uniting the activity of the masses of the people with the national ideas.

The Albanian League of Prizren was formed at the time of the Eastern Crisis of the years 1875-1881. This crisis served to spark off the outburst of the great people's hatred accumulated through the centuries for the foreign occupiers as a danger signal which brought the masses of the people to their feet to defend their country, their nation and their life from the plots which the Great Powers were hatching up.

Objectively, the possibilities existed for cooperation between the peoples of the Balkans against their common enemies. But this did not take place, and not through any fault of the Albanians. Although Mon-

tenegro and Serbia declared war on Turkey for the sake of the liberation of their oppressed compatriots and their national unity, they also aimed to annex the greater part of the Albanian territories. Thus, the solution to the Eastern Crisis, which had begun with the people's anti-Ottoman uprisings in the Balkans, suffered its first distortion through the chauvinism of the neighbouring countries. Meanwhile, the intervention of the imperialist Great Powers of that time gave this Crisis another direction to the detriment of the Albanian people and in the interests of the expansionist aims of these powers. This began with the Treaty of San Stefano and the Congress of Berlin and ended with the further bargainings at the expense of the Albanian people which led to the partitioning of Albania in 1913.

Under the Treaty of San Stefano, whole Albanian regions were handed to the Balkan Slavonic states. The Greater Bulgaria which was created at this time included Kumanova, Kaçanik, Tetova, Kërçova, Gostivar, Dibra, Struga, Peshkopia, Pogradec and Korça. Serbia received part of the Sandjak of Prishtina down to the outskirts of Mitrovitsa, while Gucia, Plava, Vermosh, Kelmend, Hot, Gruda, Tivar and Ulqin were handed to Montenegro. As can be seen, here we are not dealing with some restricted and disputed peripheral zone, but with the seizure of a large part of the Albanian territory.

The consequences of the imperialist policy of the Great Powers and especially of the chauvinist policies of Russia, Serbia and Montenegro were very grave to Albania. The forcible expulsion of tens of thousands of Albanians from the northern regions of Kosova by the Serbian armies showed the Albanian people what fate awaited them with the implementation of the San Stefano Treaty and the decisions of the Congress of Berlin. Precisely in these years, the governments of Serbia and Montenegro initiated that policy of the violent mass expulsion of the Albanians from their lands, a policy which had as its objective the denationalization of the Albanian provinces. Even after 1913, when, by decision of the imperialist powers, half of the Albanian territories were given to Serbia and Montenegro, this policy was never changed. Indeed, it was further elaborated and perfected, assuming monstrous forms such as those which were put forward in the ultra-chauvinist program of the Serbian politician V. Chubrilovich who advocated the forcible deportation to Turkey and the physical elimination of all Albanians who were left under the Yugoslav monarchy.

These were the dramatic concrete circumstances of those years which gravely affected the feelings of our people and led to the outburst of the irresistible popular revolt and a general movement for self-defence.

The Albanian League which was founded in Prizren on the 10th of June, 1878, a 100 years ago today,

was created to cope with this situation, when the Albanians, as the folk song says, took the oath, «either victory or death». The participation in it of representatives from all the different regions of the country, and the powerful support given to it by all social strata, the peasants, the highlanders, the ordinary people of the towns, showed that with the forming of the League of Prizren, a very important historic event had occurred in Albania. At the head of it was the ardent patriot, Abdyl Frashëri, the outstanding ideologist of the Albanian national movement and an indomitable fighter for the rights of Albania, who was known both in the South and the North and enjoyed the great trust of the people as a champion of the supreme interests of the nation.

* * *

In the difficult conditions when Albania was alone and encircled by enemies who threatened it from all sides, the League was faced with very important and complicated tasks, which required courage and boldness just as much as they needed wisdom and diplomacy. It had to fight on many fronts simultaneously under the pressure of the time which could not wait, and of events which demanded an immediate reaction.

The Albanian League of Prizren has the great merit that it defended the Albanian nation when the enemies were seeking to deny its existence. Right from the start and during its whole existence, the League waged a great struggle to make clear not only to the Great Powers which had gathered in Berlin, but to the whole of European public opinion, that the Albanians constituted a completely formed nation in itself, which had an ancient history, its own language and culture, which had made its own contribution to European civilization, which had resisted every aggressor and which had never surrendered to foreign occupiers.

Whole volumes can be compiled with the memoranda, letters and protests sent from all over Albania to the Congress of Berlin, with newspaper articles and other documents which acquaint world public opinion with the Albanian question. «The Albanians,» Abdyl Frashëri declared, «have preserved their Homeland, their nationality, their language and customs by repelling the attacks of Rome, Byzantium and Venice in the barbarian times. How is it possible to allow a nation so valiant and so closely linked with its soil to be sacrificed in this century of knowledge and civilization...?» («Acts of the Albanian National Renaissance, 1878-1912». Memorandum of the Albanian League to the Powers Signatories to the Treaty of Berlin, document 43, p. 83).

In a memorandum signed by 500 people, which was sent from the city of Shkodra to the Congress of Berlin on 13th of June, 1878, it is said: «Whether Catholic, Orthodox or Moslem, the Albanian hates the Tur-

kish rule as much as he hates any other foreign rule... We are not and do not want to be Turks, so we oppose with all our forces anybody who would endeavour to make us Slavs, Austrians, or Greeks. We do not want to be anything but Albanians («Acts of the Albanian National Renaissance, 1878-1912», Tirana 1978 pp. 21, 23).

This struggle for the Albanian nation at that time had very great principled and practical importance. The imperialist Great Powers and their clients in the Balkans, with the objective of using the Albanian territories as a token to be bartered in their negotiations, denied the existence of the Albanian nation, its culture and history, denied the existence of the national consciousness of the Albanian people and presented their struggle as a struggle of a number of divided tribes. There were those who said that an Albanian people did not exist at all, that Albania was just a geographical expression. But the emperors of Europe, the Sultan of Turkey, and the Kings of the Balkans soon realized the significance of this geographical expression. They were compelled to send in even their fleets and troops against it and to suppress the armed resistance of the Albanian people who did not submit to their decisions.

The echo of these reactionary views can still be heard even today, from certain foreign historians and publicists, who in order to deprecate and disparage the efforts of the Albanian people for their rights, even now, a 100 years later, present the struggle of the League of Prizren as the struggle of a number of divided Albanian tribes. Their insistence on historical injustices and distortions is intended to underrate the importance of the struggle of the Albanian nation which has never fought to occupy the territories or to violate the rights of others, but which, throughout its whole existence, has been in struggle to defend its own home and rights which the others denied and have seized.

The struggles of the Albanians for the recognition of their nationality, to stay on the land where their forefathers were born, for the Albanian language and culture, for the preservation of their national traditions and individuality, have never harmed anybody and have never violated the rights of any other nation or people, and the evoking of these struggles and efforts, which fills the hearts of all Albanians with justifiable pride over the patriotic tasks of our people, does not harm anybody apart from those who have still not freed themselves from anti-Albanian chauvinism and from defending the injustices which have been inflicted on Albania.

We remember and make a high estimation of the great and all-sided struggle of the Albanian League of Prizren for recognition of the Albanian nation and for the implementation of the principle of nationality in the solution of the Albanian question, not only as the

descendants of those who, in those critical years raised their voices and took up arms to defend the sacred and inviolable rights of the Albanian nation, but also as militant Marxist-Leninists to whom the struggle for freedom, independence and national sovereignty is inseparable from the struggle for socialism.

The Albanian League of Prizren saw the recognition and affirmation of the Albanian nation as closely linked with the question of the state political organization, of a national, political administrative organization which would ensure the self-government of Albania. The League expressed this progressive political thought, which reflected the historical development of the Albanian nation, in its demand for the formation of a single Albanian national and autonomous state within the framework of the Ottoman Empire as a first step to go over to complete separation as soon as favourable conditions were created.

The demand for the autonomy of Albania, which would unite all the Albanian lands in a single unit, was put forward in the first acts of the League and was developed and elaborated in a consistent manner assuming a broader and more profound meaning in the heat of the war against the chauvinist neighbours and the Ottoman rulers. Through its General Council convened at Prizren in November 1878, the League brought to the attention of the Sublime Porte and the European Powers the common will of the nation for the creation of a single vilayet out of four vilayets, in which the Albanians made up the largest and most compact part of the population, with a single centre in the middle of Albania, with Albanian administration and with a general assembly which would implement reforms useful for the country.

In the Assembly of Gjirokastra, which met in July, 1880, with representatives of all the Albanian regions, a further step was taken with the putting forward of the demand for the formation of an Albanian Government and the separation, in fact, of Albania from the Turkish Empire. The program drafted in Gjirokastra testifies to the fact that the demands of the League for the simultaneous solution of the problems of the preservation of territorial integrity, the union and unification of Albanian territories and an autonomous national government of the country, responded in full to the desires and aspirations of the Albanian people, to the ideal of the Albanian national movement.

The League of Prizren fought for such a single, undivided, autonomous Albanian state. It rejected and condemned as anti-Albanian activity all the projects of the Great Powers for the so-called settlement of the Albanian question through the formation of separate autonomous units based on provincial or religious divisions, behind which were hidden the interests of Euro-

pean and Balkan foreign powers to keep the whole of Albania under their domination.

It is the historic merit of the League and an expression of its courage that, relying on the voluntary military forces which had been raised on its initiative and which had the support of the population, without awaiting the Sultan's approval, it implemented autonomy in practice, gradually replaced the Turkish civil and military administration, exercising its own complete power in the northern and eastern regions of Albania and especially in the vilayet of Kosova. In the other regions, the Ottoman administration remained formally, but in practice it was paralysed. The League was not afraid to undertake the historical responsibilities which the time imposed, and it demonstrated this very well, when, at the end of 1880, in Prizren, in agreement with Abdyl Frashëri and other representatives of Southern Albania, the Central Committee of the League proclaimed itself the Albanian «Provisional Government», with Ymer Prizreni at the head.

Echoing these events, the great ideologist of the National Renaissance, Sami Frashëri, wrote to Jeronim De Rada that «the League of Prizren saw the necessity of uniting Albania and making it one autonomous, and eventually, even completely independent country, according to the situation. Thus, the League assumed the name of Provisional Government and expelled the Turkish governors from all the vilayet of Kosova and from Prizren, Gjakova, Tetova, Dibra and other regions».

Although it existed for only a short time, the creation of the Provisional Government had great importance. It was a proof of the abilities of the Albanian people to govern the country themselves, to organize an independent state, the existence of which all the enemy propaganda tried to deny. On the other hand, with the constitution of the Central Committee of the League as a Provisional Government, the Albanian people demonstrated that they were smashing not only the will of the Sultan but also the international norms and rules which the Great Powers established in their chancelleries.

The radical representatives of the League and of the Albanian National Renaissance did not, in general, regard the formation of an autonomous national state and its break-away from the Ottoman Empire as a mere administrative and formal act, but as a turn which would open the road to the independent economic, social and cultural progress of the country. In the views and activity of the leaders of the League patriotism and democratism were undivided.

Independent Albania, in the view of the outstanding ideologist of the National Renaissance, Sami Frashëri, who also represented the progressive Albanian opinion of the time, would not need either kings or princes, who would suck the blood of the people. Albania, Sami wrote in the beginning of 1881, would be

governed by a sort of democracy, whose form it would not hire from the other countries, but would find in the Albanian people themselves, in their own traditions. These ideas on the future organization of the Albanian state were further developed in his famous work, «Albania, her past, her present and her future», which later became the complete platform for the entire national movement.

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The struggle for the preservation of the territorial integrity of the Homeland is one of the most brilliant aspects of the Albanian League of Prizren. In the face of the grave danger threatening Albania, at a time when the Sublime Porte had capitulated to the Great Powers and was bringing pressure to bear on the Albanians to have them surrender their regions to the neighbouring states, the League took in hand the defence of the country, in opposition to and against all. With arms and through diplomatic channels the League opposed the unjust decisions of the Congress of Berlin, denounced these decisions as a «historical and moral crime» and expressed its determination «to refuse to release an inch of ground of the mother soil», and to fight to the last drop of blood to defend it. «Any alteration of the border made without our knowledge... would be invalid, and without the participation of the leaders of Albania we shall not accept the release of even an inch of our territory», the League declared. But when the Great Powers of Europe took no notice of this solemn warning, Abdyl Frashëri addressed them with the words which remain historical, «Your work with the Treaty of Berlin is over, our work as Albanians begins from this day».

The Albanian people, led by the League, wrote glorious pages of heroism in the fight in defence of Plava and Gucia, Hot, Gruda and Ulqin, those Albanian regions with which the Great Powers sought to placate the greed of King Nicholas of Montenegro. This was a war which was waged in defence of the interests of the whole Albanian nation and the integrity of its territory, a war which showed the world that the Albanians would never surrender to the expansionist aims of anybody.

As Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «Unforgettable will remain the legendary battles of the Albanians who for three years on end bravely defended Plava and Gucia, Hot, Gruda and Ulqin, thereby unprecedentedly challenging the Western Powers which had decided to separate them from Albania» (E. Hoxha, Works, vol. 24, p. 11).

The struggle for Plava, Gucia, Hot, Gruda and Ulqin aroused the whole of Albania. An entire people stood behind the highlanders of the North and the thousands of volunteers from the other regions who rushed to their help. A special contribution to this struggle was made by the people of Kosova, who, at the first call,

under the leadership of the League, rushed to the trenches to defend the borders of the North. The united strength of the Albanian people smashed and defeated the repeated attacks of Montenegro and forced the Great Powers to amend their unjust decisions several times.

To defend the territorial integrity of the Homeland, the Albanian people had to fight single-handed also to face the united fleet of the Great Powers of Europe which sealed off the Albanian coast and undertook to impose the plundering decisions of the Congress of Berlin by means of violence. The Albanian people had to fight the Ottoman armies of Dervish Pasha, the forces of Montenegro and the continuous political and military pressures of the Serbian and Greek monarchies. Through their armed struggle and at the cost of their own blood, the Albanian people prevented the tearing away of Plava, Gucia, Hot, Gruda and Çamëria, but they lost a part of the north-eastern regions of Kosova which remained under Serbian rule and the cities of Tivar and Ulqin which were annexed by Montenegro.

The volunteer army led by the indomitable fighter Sulejman Vokshi put up unprecedented resistance and displayed rare valour in the fight against the many armies which Turkey sent to Albania to destroy the League. The League replied to the violence of the Sublime Porte which sought to force the Albanians to give up their armed resistance in defence of the integrity of the Homeland and to secure its autonomy with the armed uprising.

The people's struggle against the innumerable forces of the Turkish Marshal, Dervish Pasha, which took place most fiercely in Kosova, Dibra etc., where the main cities were liberated one after the other, testified to the unbent will of the Albanian people to defend their rights to existence as a nation, and their immense love of freedom and independence.

The bloody battles fought by our Kosova brothers in Spring 1881 further raised the glory of the Albanian nation. The 40 Turkish battalions were faced by 7,000 Albanian insurgents led by the outstanding intrepid fighters Sulejman Vokshi, Ali Ibra, Mic Sokoli, Bajram Rama, Sefë Kosharja, Smail Hyseni, and others. The volunteers fought innumerable battles against the Ottoman hordes, such as the battles of Slivova, Shtimja, Caraleva, Dule, Suhareka, Plava, Gucia, and so on. The blood of the Albanian people was shed in torrents to defend the land of their forefathers, the freedom and honour of the Homeland.

The enormous Turkish armies suppressed the Albanian uprising, destroyed the League, devastated and drowned the country in blood. However, they proved unable to suppress the insurgent spirit and love of freedom of the Albanian people. This determination and confidence in the future is beautifully expressed in those hard times for Kosova by a folk song which runs: «Sur-

prised, Dervish Pasha asks: /My God, where have the people gone?/ — There they are, in the mountains which clouds touch, Be sure, you will meet them again».

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The creation of the Albanian League of Prizren and its fight for autonomy and for the defence of the territorial integrity of the Homeland against the biggest coalition of enemies which could be created at that time, once again brought out the great truth that the Albanian people have made their own history. Facing our small people stood great forces, the Ottoman Empire, the Great Powers of Europe and the neighbouring chauvinist monarchies. The alternatives were either Albania would be crushed under the «heavy ruins» of Turkey or be cut up by the chauvinist neighbours, or the people must rise to their feet and fight with confidence in their own strength to save themselves from the enemies and the great dangers which were threatening them. «Albania's salvation or perdition depends on the Albanians,» Sami Frashëri wrote at that time (Sami Frashëri, «Albania, her past, her present and her future», Tirana, 1962, p. 65). And the Albanians chose the road of honour and glory. The people rose to their feet and fought for their rights through to the end.

The League of Prizren and its leaders had firm confidence in the vitality of the people, in their ardent love for the Homeland and freedom, in their resolve to resist the storms of history. The experience of the struggles for freedom convinced them that the only road to the autonomy and territorial integrity of the country was their reliance on the forces of the people.

The League of Prizren and the events unfolding in the 1878-1881 period enabled the people to grow better aware of the dangers threatening our country and lay bare the anti-Albanian policy of the big European powers and the chauvinist states of the Balkans. The bitter results brought about by the political, diplomatic and military combinations of these powers did away with illusions and vacillations and proved that freedom and independence could be achieved by the Albanian people themselves.

The Albanian League of Prizren represents one of the highest peaks of our Renaissance which Comrade Enver Hoxha has described as «a revolutionary democratic epoch of great importance» (E. Hoxha, Reports and Speeches, 1967-1968, p. 368). It gave the struggle for territorial integrity and autonomy an advanced, patriotic and democratic content. The very demand for the elimination of the Turkish yoke and the formation of an independent national state was an important democratic measure because, as V. I. Lenin points out, in any national struggle of «an oppressed nation, there is a general democratic content aimed against oppression» (V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 20, p. 471).

The masses of the people and their representatives in the committees of the League, constituted the most resolute force which impelled the League and its most consistent leaders to undertake radical political and military actions for the defence of the integrity of the Homeland and the autonomy of Albania, to paralyse the vacillations and treachery of the feudal land-owning and clerical elements who supported the Turks.

From the very beginning, as early as its first Assembly, the League was composed of many rank-and-file elements of the people, about whom Pashko Vasa wrote: «These representatives were neither chiefs nor influential people. They spoke on behalf of the Albanian people because they themselves were the people,... they returned into the fold of the people from which they had emerged and try as you would to find them today, you will not find them, for you cannot see or catch hold of them» («Acts of the Albanian National Renaissance, 1878-1912.» The October 22nd memorandum. Document 32, p. 67).

The political, ideological and military activity of the League awakened and tempered the political consciousness of thousands upon thousands of Albanian peasants, highlanders and people of the cities who, for three years on end, waged a courageous and determined struggle against many powerful enemies.

But along with this, and this is more important, the League achieved the unity of the Albanian people on a national scale and disclosed the vitality of this unity. It waged a resolute struggle to overcome religious divisions, tribal and regional peculiarities and made great efforts to unite all the masses around the national ideal. From its very beginning it treated the question of national unity as the sole fundamental basis for the realization of its program and as a condition for the defence of the Homeland and victory over the enemies. It is because the idea of unity complied with the loftiest interests of the Homeland and represented the aspirations of the broadest masses of the people, it is because it represented the most powerful and most reliable weapon which the Albanian people could oppose to their enemies, that many acts of solidarity and mass heroism without precedent in Albania up to that day, burst out.

This national unity displayed its vitality in the most difficult moments during the years 1878-1881 in the struggle in defence of the borders in the North and the South when, from the centres of both Northern and Southern Albania simultaneous protests were dispatched to the Great Powers, when aid was raised and volunteers gathered in Central and Southern Albania to be sent to the North, when the population of Kosova and Shkodra displayed their readiness to send in volunteer forces to defend the borders of the South.

The sound organization of the League itself which united in its ranks Gëgs and Tosks, Moslems and Christians, served to strengthen national unity. Through

a dense network of committees and branches, the Central Committee of Prizren maintained ties with all the regions and directly led the masses of the people who had risen to their feet in the face of the danger of the partitioning of the Homeland. Powerful hotbeds and among the main centres of the League were those regions which had become the objectives of the expansionist plans of the chauvinist Balkan monarchies, Kosova, Dibra, Shkodra and the northern highlands, Gjirokastra etc. Thus, the League created a broad front of the patriotic forces of the nation, a unity which left its indelible mark on the political thinking and practical activity of the national movement right throughout the later period.

* * *

The patriotic and democratic spirit of the Albanian National Movement in the period of the League of Prizren made itself felt with special force in the artistic-propaganda literature of the time which received a new impulse from the fire of the fight for freedom. The founding of the Society of Letters in Constantinople in 1879, the creation of the alphabet of the Albanian language and the publication of Albanian school-books imparted a great impulse to the spread of the study of Albanian language and helped «the activity of the League... its work for the strengthening of the brotherhood of the Albanians and the union and revival of Albania,» as Sami Frashëri said.

The literary and journalistic creativeness of the outstanding men of letters, of the great patriots Sami Frashëri, Pashko Vasa, Naim Frashëri, Jani Vreto, Thimi Mitko, Jeronim De Rada, Koto Hoxhi etc., had the same importance and value as the armed struggle. Through their immortal work in the service of the Homeland they have deserved the high appreciation the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have made of them as «eminent men of progressive ideas, courageous revolutionary illuminists who had a great and ardent love of country» (E. Hoxha, Reports and Speeches, 1967-1968, p. 369).

The League of Prizren marked a new stage in the development of the national democratic culture. It had a direct influence on the solution of a series of pressing questions which had to do with the development of this culture, such as the defining of a unified alphabet, the development of the national school, the extension of various literary, publicistic, political and educational literature. The upsurge in this period of Albanian writing, artistic and political literature, journalism and translation shows the very great importance which the cultural factor had parallel with the political, diplomatic and military factors.

The League gave a fresh impulse to the development of national literature and socio-political thinking, and laid solid foundations for the future, too. As early as the days when the League was fighting its military bat-

ties, the problem of the Albanian language was raised and considered as the pivot of the national movement, as the factor which cemented the unity of the spiritual life of the nation, as the expression of the originality of national culture and a weapon in the struggle for freedom and independence.

Increased interest in the magnificent values of people's culture, folklore, in particular, better acquaintance with the ancient traditions and the history of the people, flourishing artistic literature and the vigorous outburst of oral creativeness, inspired by the ideals of patriotism and freedom, testify to the great influence exerted by the ideas and activity of the League for the progress of national culture.

The ideologists of the League and of the Renaissance considered the struggle for the national and democratic character of culture as an important factor to win freedom and independence, to preserve and consolidate the individuality of Albanian national life, to enhance and strengthen the national consciousness of the people.

A great merit of the League of Prizren and all the leaders of our National Renaissance was the way in which they faced up to and solved the problems arising from religion in Albania in favour of the national cause. Experience proved the great damage which religious fanaticism and divisions, which were exploited by the foreigners to hinder the development of the movement for national liberation, had inflicted and were inflicting on the country. Unlike any other Balkan country, in Albania none of the religions, or the three of them together could serve the cause of liberation and be transformed into a banner of liberation.

Rising above religion, above religious fanaticism and divisions, a thing which was by no means easy in the time of which we are speaking, the ideologists of the League and the Renaissance launched the militant slogan that Albanian's religion is Albania. This very correct and progressive stand strengthened the unity of the Albanians, regardless of their religious attachments, in the struggle for freedom and independence.

The ideology and the political thinking of our Renaissance, backed up also by the experience of the military, political and diplomatic battles waged by the League, illuminated the perspective and the objectives of our movement for national liberation up till the victory of independence.

Although the Albanian League founded at Prizren had a short existence, the great epic which it wrote gave a new further impulse to the national movement of our people. Its importance is not measured by the time it lived, but by the major influence it exerted on the subsequent battles for freedom. At the key moments, when the Albanian people again came up against the hostile attitude of the Great Powers and the chauvinistic neighbouring circles, they relied on the patriotic ideas of

the Albanian League, on its political, organizational and military experience.

Its platform worked out in the fire of the liberation struggle, which envisaged the preservation of territorial integrity and the formation of the independent Albanian state, remained the basis of the program of the Albanian National Movement during the whole period up to the 28th of November, 1912.

With the proclamation of independence and the formation of the independent state of the 28th of November, 1912, to which the League of Prizren made a great contribution, the National Assembly of Vlora, headed by the great patriot Ismail Qemali, met one of the fundamental demands of the League. But in the extremely complicated international conditions when the Balkan War had broken out and the Albanian territories had once again fallen prey to the rapacious ambitions and acts of occupation of the neighbouring monarchies, the other fundamental task of the League, the preservation of the territorial integrity of the Homeland which had been seriously dismembered, remained unsolved.

Time has raised the League of Prizren to the pedestal of the glorious history of the Albanian people. Its lofty patriotic spirit, hatred for oppression, boundless love of freedom, its unyielding stand against any foreign pressure or interference, its desire for knowledge and progress and unshakable confidence in its own forces, which were displayed so majestically in the years of the activity of the League of Prizren, were embodied in and became an inseparable part of the character of our people. These outstanding features were enriched in content and raised to a higher level in the heroic epoch of the National Liberation War and the construction of socialism, when our country, under the leadership of the Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, became truly free and independent, when our socialist Homeland became strong and prosperous.

Comrades,

The heroic past of our people and its struggles for freedom and independence are a great source of inspiration to this day for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland.

Great tasks lie ahead of our people, the realization of which will strengthen the country and make it flourish further, will enrich the material and spiritual life of our people even more. The Party calls on all, workers, cooperativists and intellectuals, to work with all their forces and in a lofty patriotic and revolutionary spirit in order to constantly increase industrial and agricultural production, to carry forward the technical-scientific revolution, to develop the socialist culture further, to increase vigilance and strengthen the defence of the Homeland.

Our country is working and living in a world where savage forces are trying by all means to hinder its

further advance. In such conditions, ever deeper understanding and implementation of the great revolutionary principle of self-reliance is a guarantee to face up to all threats and promote the socialist construction in Albania.

Relying on their own forces, our ancestors stood up to many and various difficulties and enemies. The material and spiritual forces of the Albanian people in the past bear no comparison with those of the present. Now they are masters of their own fate, they are led by a heroic Marxist-Leninist Party, tested and tempered in the great class battles against internal and external enemies, they possess a developed socialist economy, an invincible national defence. There is no storm which can shake this bastion of socialism, which has become dear to all Albanian patriots, anywhere they live in the world, and which enjoys the support and sympathy of the peoples and revolutionaries of all countries.

The unity of our people to realize their ideals has played a decisive role in the long and difficult struggle of our people for national freedom and the creation of an independent state. The spirit of unity and patriotism, which our people have always kept alive, assumed a new content and rose to a higher degree during the years of the National Liberation War, and especially in the period of socialist construction. It has been one of the fundamental factors in the victories our people have scored in the defence of the Homeland and the construction of the new life, in coping with successive blockades and blackmail of the enemies against our country.

In the conditions of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and under various pressures brought to bear by old and new enemies upon socialist Albania, the consolidation of the compactness and unity of our people around the Party is an extremely important task of every citizen and patriot. The steel-like unity is a guarantee for the defence of the Homeland and the victories of the revolution, for marching always ahead, with sure steps and head high on the correct Marxist-Leninist road, on which our Party is leading us.

In celebrating the centenary of the Albanian League of Prizren, in honouring the heroic efforts of our forefathers and their great contribution to the struggles for the freedom and independence of the Homeland, we realize even more clearly the dangers which stem today from the aggressive and chauvinist policies of the superpowers, from the dangerous plots and manoeuvres of the bourgeoisie and reaction.

The international situation today is complicated and troubled. It is fraught with dangers and surprises. Hotbeds of tension have been created in many regions of the world and new conflicts have been stirred up. These fires have been kindled and fanned up by the US imperialists and Soviet socialimperialists, who do not hesitate to commit any crime to satisfy their selfish expansionist interests. The two superpowers, in contest

with each other, are interfering brutally in the Middle East to divide the Arab peoples and to sabotage their liberation struggle, to defeat the just cause of the Palestinian people, and to perpetuate the Israeli occupation of Arab territory, in order to put this rich and strategically important region under their imperialist domination.

US imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and their neo-colonialist allies have hurled themselves with unprecedented fury upon Africa in order to extend their plundering grip. It is the policy and activity of these insatiable wolves which is causing the bloodshed of the peoples of this long-suffering continent, in the Horn of Africa, Angola, Zaire and the Sahara. It is this policy which is encouraging the racists of Southern Africa to oppress and massacre the peoples of Azania, Namibia, and Zimbabwe.

A result of the policy of the imperialist superpowers, their plots and intrigues is the fratricidal conflict between Vietnam and Cambodia, are the reactionary coups d'état which are occurring one after another in many countries of Latin America, Asia, or Africa, the increase of military bases in foreign countries, the headlong armaments race, and so on.

There is no end to the crimes of the superpowers. Their interference in the internal affairs of the peoples is carried out openly, with unheard of arrogance, their efforts to exercise their dictate in world affairs and to limit the state sovereignty of nations have assumed monstrous proportions. The clouds which are hanging over international life today are heavy with the danger of war, which the US imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists, the international bourgeoisie and all reactionaries united with them want, are preparing for, and are inciting.

That is why the Party teaches us that we must always be vigilant. The enemies of the peoples and socialism are ferocious and perfidious, be they US imperialists, Soviet social-imperialists, or various bourgeois or revisionist reactionaries.

In order to deceive and confuse the peoples, to open the way to imperialist expansion, efforts are being made in many directions to present black as white, to present enemies as friends. The demagogy of the US imperialists and the Soviet socialimperialists to present their aggressive actions and brutal interference in the lives of the peoples as concern for the peace and security of nations, is notorious.

But now the peoples are running up against another propaganda, as demagogic as it is unrestrained, they are encountering counter-revolutionary theories and theses which play the role of opium to anaesthetize the revolutionary spirit of the people. One of them is the so-called theory of «three worlds». This theory wants to replace Marxism-Leninism with opportunism. It advocates that the proletariat and the peoples should

unite with the bourgeoisie and imperialism, should unite with classical reaction and known fascists, should even unite with the devil himself allegedly to defend national independence. Hiding behind the threat of the hegemonism of Soviet social-imperialism, which is a savage and continuous threat, the theory of «three worlds» demands of the peoples that they must not make any move, that they must not struggle against US domination, and the oppression and exploitation of old colonialists, but must maintain the status quo, the existing dreadful situation. The preservation of the status quo is in the interests of various imperialists and to the detriment of the revolution and the liberation struggles of the peoples.

The theory of «three worlds», which even claims to be the strategy of the revolution, in fact, is an anti-Marxist counter-revolutionary theory. It preaches to the workers, the proletariat of various countries and the working masses that they must give up the revolution because, it alleges, the time has not yet come for the revolution. It denies the hegemonic role of the proletariat in the revolution. Contrary to the Marxist-Leninist class criteria, it considers the forces of the blackest right-wing reaction as its allies, and even calls it a victory when the representatives of the Right, even the most extreme Right, come to power in different countries.

The theory of «three worlds» is an anti-people theory. Contrary to the vital interests of the peoples, contrary to Lenin, who described the incitement to war as a crime, because the peoples pay for war at the cost of their own blood, instead of making efforts to defeat the imperialist plans for war, the pseudo-theory of «three worlds» is encouraging world war, fanning up the arms race between the two superpowers even further, as though this race, the production of neutron bombs and the increase in the war budgets of the military blocs will be the salvation of the world.

The theory of «three worlds» advises the peoples to rely on US imperialism, the views of which it proclaims as «in common with, or the same as», its own preachings. What the views of US imperialism are, the peoples know very well. The US imperialists are rabid anti-communists, defenders of the capitalist and neo-colonialist system, gendarmes in the pay of international reaction. They have always fought and are fighting now with everything they have to destroy socialism, to strangle the revolution, and enslave the peoples. The ordinary people, everywhere in the world, cannot fail to ask: Is the theory of «three worlds» united with these views and this strategy of US imperialism?

This theory poses as a champion of the defence of the national independence and sovereignty of the peoples, but in practice it unites with their enemies. The theory of «three worlds» does not regard the struggle

for freedom, national independence and sovereignty of the peoples of the so-called «third world» as a constituent and indivisible part of the revolution, but as a field which can be exploited for temporary, pragmatic aims. This stand is not in favour of the people's sovereignty and liberation struggle, it serves the preservation of all the imperialist injustices which are a burden on the peoples. With this opportunist and anti-Marxist preaching of unity with US imperialism, the international big bourgeoisie and reactionary cliques, allegedly for the sake of the creation of a united front, which is as absurd as it is unrealizable, the theory of «three worlds» not only undermines the revolution which it negates, but also the cause of the peoples' independence which it claims to defend. When it is recommended that the Pentagon and NATO, Wall-street and the oil sheikhs, the generals of the Wehrmacht and the Japanese militarists, Strauss and Mobutu should take part in this front, the peoples have no difficulty in seeing it as the anticommunist and colonialist front against which whole generations of revolutionaries and patriots of all countries have been fighting and pouring out their blood for scores of years.

In its stand towards reactionary cliques and the forces of the Right, the theory of «three worlds», which poses as anti-revisionist, is on the same line as Carrillo, who speaking in the Spanish Parliament about the new Constitution, demands that the monarchy must be defended, and rejects demands for the establishment of the Republic. It is on the same line as the Italian revisionists of Berlinguer who are the most ardent defenders of the bourgeois order and its apparatus of police oppression. The pseudotheory of «three worlds» is at peace with these revisionists.

Following this course, some day it may be reconciled with Soviet revisionism. This theory has proved that whoever follows a pragmatic, anti-Marxist policy, adapted to passing circumstances, before long will be describing as his friends those who he cursed as enemies up till yesterday, just as Nikita Khrushchev did.

Our Party has fought and will continue to fight to unmask both the aggressive policy and demagogy about peace of the US imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists, and the false theories which undermine the cause of the revolution and the peoples' liberation, such as the theory of «three worlds». In regard to theories about the «non-aligned world», they are nothing but lies and deception, which are not worthy of any special attention, because the events which are occurring day by day in the world are refuting them.

Freedom and independence, socialism and the revolution can be successfully defended and carried forward only by fighting courageously and with determination against all enemies of the proletariat and the peoples, against imperialists, whether US or Soviet, whether old

or new imperialists, against revisionists of all shades and reactionaries of all countries, against all those who are deceivers of the peoples and proletariat.

As Comrade Enver Hoxha strongly stressed at the 7th Congress of the Party, our Party is solid for, and gives its sincere and unreserved support to the struggle which the different peoples are waging today to defend their freedom and independence from the aggressive aims of US imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and other imperialism, to all those who are fighting against racism, colonialism, neocolonialism, and other forms of national enslavement. The Albanian people strongly condemn any foreign interference in the internal life of the peoples, any attempt of the imperialist, revisionist and reactionary forces to restrict the sovereignty and hinder the emancipation of nations.

The policy of our Party and socialist State is for normal relations and friendship with all those countries and states which respect the principles of sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of others. In particular, we always desire to have good neighbourly relations, friendship and exchanges in the fields of trade and culture with the neighbouring countries, without violating one another's sovereign rights

A hundred years ago our forefathers, through the Albanian League of Prizren, challenged the united enemies of the Albanian nation. This challenge was an expression of the determination, valour and courage of the Albanian people to fight in any circumstance, if necessary, against all enemies, for their rights, for freedom, for independence and for national unity. Today, free and independent Albania which is led by a heroic, far-sighted, Marxist-Leninist Party, headed by the beloved son of the whole Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, is marching confidently on the road of socialism and stands proud and unflinching, facing the enemies of our country, of the revolution and Marxism-Leninism. It can stand this way because it is inspired by boundless confidence in its own strength and the strength of the people, in the strength of triumphant Marxism-Leninism, in the triumph of the revolution and the future of socialism. The Albanian people and the Party of Labour have never threatened anybody, they have never been afraid of anybody either. There is no force in the world, no threat, no blackmail, no blockade or pressure which can turn our people and Party from the road which they have chosen, from the struggle for the great cause of communism.

Long live the centenary of the Albanian League of Prizren!

Long live the freedom-loving, brave and patriotic Albanian people!

Long live the Party of Labour of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha at its head!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

THE 8th C OF THE WOMEN'S U



CONGRESS UNION OF ALBANIA

In an atmosphere of extraordinary enthusiasm, the 8th Congress of the Women's Union of Albania was held in the ancient city of Durrës, now the largest seaport of the country. The holding of this Congress, which coincided with the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Women's Union of Albania, is a marked event not only for the women but also for the entire people of Albania. In socialist Albania, women occupy an equal place with men in all fields of life. That is why the proceedings of the 8th Congress of this militant organization were followed with interest by the entire people.

The Congress took place at a time when the women of Albania, like the entire Albanian people, have mobilized all their energies to put into practice the decisions of the historic 7th Congress of the PLA, which marked a very important moment in the history of the Party and of the Albanian people. The decisions of the Congress clearly defined the road which the Albanian people will follow to complete the construction of socialist society in Albania in the difficult conditions of the savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement.

The 8th Congress of the Women's Union of Albania set the tasks which the Organization faces for the mobilization of women on this course and concretized them more clearly. This was apparent from the Congress agenda, which included:

1. Report «On the role of the woman in the socialist construction and on the activity of the Women's Union of Al-

bania between the two Congresses. The tasks emerging for the implementation of the decisions of the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania».

2. Elections to the central organs of the Women's Union of Albania.

Attending the Congress were about 1,400 delegates from all the regions of the country as well as many invited guests and veteran members of the organization.

The First Secretary of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha, the chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Haxhi Lleshi, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mehmet Shehu, and other leaders of the Party and State, attended the proceedings of the Congress.

Taking part in the Congress were the delegation of the Women's Union of Vietnam, headed by Le Thy Xuyen, Vice-President of this Union; the delegation of the revolutionary women of Britain, headed by Diana Bunian; the delegation of the revolutionary women of Brasil, headed by Cecilia Costa; the delegation of the women of the People's Republic of Benin, headed by Philomena San Sua Suamu; the delegation of the revolutionary women of Greece, headed by Victoria Pappadopulos; the delegation of the revolutionary women of Germany; the delegation of the revolutionary women of Iran; the delegation of the revolutionary women of Italy, headed by Elena De Rocco; the delegation of the Union of Democratic Women of Japan, headed by its President Shigeko Morita; the delegation of the revolutionary women of Canada; the delegation of the Women's Union of the People's Front of Chile, headed by Isabel Jerino; the delegation of the National Union of Women of Mali, headed by the secretary of the admini-

nistrative affairs of this Union, Hana Dialo; the delegation of the revolutionary women of Mexico, headed by Léonora Velasques; the delegation of the Women's Union of Palestine, headed by Fatma Bernauey; the delegation of the Union of the Anti-fascist Revolutionary Women of Portugal, headed by Ester Musnic, member of the National Council of this Union; the delegation of the People's Union of Women of Spain, headed by Lucila Arago Carrion; the delegation of the Women's Union of Tanzania, headed by Hatidja Selimin; the delegation of the Women's Section of the All-African Congress of Azania, headed by Elisabeth Sibeyko; the friend from Belgium Elian Vogel Polsky, professor at the Free University of Brussels; as well as the friends from France, Anique Misquaie, directress of the Montrouge Institute of social studies in Paris, and Paule Lejeune, professor of literature at the University of Rouen; the delegation of the Women's Section at the African National Union of Zimbabwe, headed by Teuray Ropa, secretary for the problems of women; the Albanian compatriots residing in the United States of America and France, Vangjelia Theodosi and Melpomeni Mërtiri.

The opening session of the Congress was also attended by Reg Birch, Chairman of the Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist) and Dorothy Birch, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist), who were staying in Albania on the invitation of the CC of the PLA, as well as the foreign delegations, which on the invitation of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Albania participated in the celebrations organized in Albania on the 25th of May, African Freedom Day.

Comrade ENVER HOXHA
at the 8th Congress of the WUA,
where he was met with cheers
and ovations by those present.

The Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA, Lenka Çuko, declared the Congress open.

The report of the General Council of the Women's Union of Albania, «On the role of the woman in the socialist construction and the tasks emerging for the implementation of the decisions of the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania», was submitted to the Congress by Vito Kapo, President of the Women's Union of Albania.

The member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA, Kadri Hazbiu, read the message of greeting which Comrade Enver Hoxha addressed to the 8th Congress of the Women's Union of Albania on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party.

The hall of the Congress resounded for minutes on end to the enthusiastic applause and cheers of thousands of participants for the Party of Labour of Albania and the leader of the Party and of the entire Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Discussions of the report of comrade Vito Kapo followed.

The delegates from all over the country, from the industrial combines and big construction sites, from plants and factories from agricultural cooperatives and army units, from cultural and scientific institutions, activists of the organization of the Women's Union of Albania, conveyed to the Congress the words of all the women of Albania, expressed, once more, from the tribune of the 8th Congress of the Women's Union of Albania their profound gratitude to and boundless love for the Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha, who with their correct and farsighted policy, liberated the Albanian woman from the two-fold oppression and exploitation, showed her the road towards her allround emancipation and development and created the concrete conditions for her to advance on this road. The delegates also expressed the determination of all the women of Albania to preserve and strengthen

the steel-like unity of all the people around the Party more and more, and to put into practice the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha on every front, at work and in life, in production and in the family, and above all, to put into practice the instructions of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha to bring up a younger generation educated with sound moral norms and revolutionary feelings, with boundless love for the Homeland and confidence in the victory of socialism and communism.

The delegates to the Congress received with applause the warm messages of greetings by the foreign delegates who attended the Congress on the invitation of the General Council of the Women's Union of Albania and expressed to them the ardent feelings of solidarity of all the women of Albania with the just struggle of the women and girls of all countries of the world against capitalist-revisionist oppression and exploitation and for their emancipation.

The warm words of the foreign delegations, full of love and respect for the Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha, the high assessment they made of the successes achieved by the Albanian women in all fields of life, and their approval of the correct road towards further emancipation on which the Albanian women have advanced, roused the revolutionary enthusiasm of the delegates to an even higher level.

The messages of greetings addressed to the Congress by many organizations and friends of socialist Albania, for whom it was impossible to take part in the Congress, were also received with enthusiasm.

The Congress was greeted by a group of youth, boys and girls from the city, who, putting into practice the instructions of the Party, have gone to the countryside to work for a period of three years or perhaps permanently, to help in the development of agriculture and the raising of the level of the village, thus making a fine contribution to narrowing the dif-

ferences which still exist between town and countryside.

Then the Congress went on to the second point on the agenda: «Election of the central organs of the Women's Union of Albania». The Congress elected the General Council of the organization consisting of 157 members. At its first meeting, the General Council elected Vito Kapo, President of the Women's Union of Albania, and she delivered the speech closing the Congress:

«The proceedings of this Congress,» she said among other things, «were a brilliant manifestation of the steel-like unity of the women of Albania around the Party and its Marxist-Leninist line, of their boundless love for our glorious Party and its beloved leader Comrade Enver Hoxha, of their profound gratitude for everything which the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have done for the benefit of the entire people. The Congress demonstrated the political and ideological maturity of the Albanian women, the rise in their revolutionary consciousness, their preoccupation with the major problems of the country; it demonstrated that for the woman there are no loftier interests than the interests of the Homeland, the people and socialism. When they spoke here about oil and steel, about bread grain and the defence of the country, about education and culture, about science and art, about the education of children and so on, the delegates were thinking of the progress and happiness of our socialist Homeland.

Our Congress displayed a lofty revolutionary spirit. It showed that the women of our country live with the situations and understand them, that they are fighting with determination to break the imperialist-revisionist blockades and encirclement, to cope with its ideological aggression, to wage the class struggle on all fronts and in all fields correctly.

We, comrade delegates, spoke here of that high level of emancipation which our woman has attained, of that real equality which our socialist system has ensured for her.



A view of the presidium of the 8th Congress of the WUA.

It is a marvellous thing to see what great enthusiasm the 8th Congress of the Albanian women has aroused throughout the country. This is the expression of the truth that the problems of the woman and of her emancipation are more and more becoming the problems of our whole socialist society. The Party created this wonderful reality which gives us support and multiplies our efforts for the coming battles.

The Congress was concluded with the singing of «The International» which echoed from the hearts of the thousands of women present.

During the four days of the proceedings of the 8th Congress of the Women's Union of Albania, the atmosphere of enthusiasm was manifested everywhere in the country and especially in Durrës. For four days on end the squares and the streets of the city resounded to the songs and dances of thousands of children, who celebrated the International Day of Children. Wherever they went, the delegates were surrounded with the love and joy of the citizens of Durrës. Many of them took the delegates and the foreign guests to their own homes

where they spent pleasant hours in heartfelt friendly conversation.

In honour of the delegates, on the final day of the Congress, a grand concert was given in the summer theatre of the city, and this was another manifestation of the strength and vitality of the Albanian people in general and of the women in particular.

For the foreign delegations which attended the 8th Congress of the Women's Union of Albania was given a dinner which passed in a very warm and cordial atmosphere.

MESSAGE OF GREETING ENVER HOXHA TO THE 8th WOMEN'S UNION OF ALBANIA OF THE CC OF THE PARTY

To the 8th Congress of the Women's Union of Albania

Dear comrade delegates,

The whole of Albania is following the 8th Congress of the Women's Union of Albania, this important event in the life of the country, with great interest and joy. The banners of the victories with which you come to your Congress are the fruit of the efforts of all the women of Albania, of all our people, to realize the program of the Party for the complete emancipation of the women and our whole socialist society.

It is a special pleasure for me, on behalf of the Central Committee, the whole Party and on my own behalf, to greet your comrades, all the heroic women of socialist Albania, and to wish you success in work and the proceedings of the Congress. Let the voice of our woman and girl fighters burst forth at your Congress, let their opinion and their determination to carry forward the cause of our socialist revolution and socialist construction be expressed with full force.

Your Congress is a vivid testimony to the thorough-going and wide-ranging revolution which has taken place in the life of the Albanian woman. You, yourselves, who have come from the construction sites of new projects, from the flourishing plains, from the mountain areas or from the cities, reflect the magnificent reality of our country, the new woman liberated from oppression and exploitation, the woman worker and fighter, educated and cultured, who takes part not only in production, but also in running the state and the Party, you reflect that complete equality and lofty dignity which socialism has given the woman.

The Party feels a special joy when it sees that the women of Albania have achieved that high level of emancipation for which it has worked and fought since the very first days of its founding. In the woman, the Party found that indomitable spirit of our people which, for centuries on end, resisted oppression and exploitation, it found those lofty virtues which would make them unflinching fighters in the war; in the woman the Party found that force which the Homeland needed for the construction of new Albania. In countless deeds the woman of our country has always displayed her great love of and boundless devotion to the Party, because in the Party she saw the genuine leader which would make her great dream come true, which would make her free and equal, honoured and respected in society. Therefore, when the Party issued the call, the Albanian woman rose courageously in the National Liberation War, in the struggle to destroy the old state power, to smash its laws and canons, to wage the class struggle consistently, to build socialist society and establish new norms and customs of proletarian morality.

The victories achieved in these struggles were cemented with the pure blood of the finest daughters of our people. To the Party, the people and our Homeland, the glorious heroines Mine Peza and Qeriba Derri, Bule Naipi and Persefoni Kokëdhima, Marta and Prenë Tarazhi, and all the women and girls whom our history has ranked alongside the outstanding fighters of this country, will always remain beloved and unforgettable.

From the heights we have attained, the glorious road that the Albanian woman has traversed, can be seen clearly. It is the road of the struggle for the socialist revolution, without which there would have been no genuine liberation and emancipation of society, hence, of the woman, in our country. This road has been and remains a school of incalculable value for the woman of socialist Albania today and for all generations to come. It shows what the proletarian revolution is capable of doing for the woman and the woman herself is capable of doing for the revolution, when she is led by the Marxist-Leninist Party.

7th CONGRESS OF THE WOMEN'S UNION OF ALBANIA ON BEHALF OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

The emancipation of the Albanian woman, one of the greatest victories of the socialist revolution and one of the most important achievements of our Party, assumes ever greater proportions when we see the situation of the woman in the capitalist and revisionist world. There, too, there is talk about the emancipation of the woman, but this is only a propaganda slogan, because in reality, in that unjust and inhuman society, the woman, more than any one else, is used as a commodity and is subjected to merciless exploitation. The women are among the first victims of the serious consequences of the economic-financial crisis, they are thrown out on the street, they are the most oppressed and disregarded section of society.

The Party appreciates the great role which the militant Organization of the Women's Union of Albania has played in the successes achieved. During the 35 years of its existence it has loyally carried out the tasks entrusted to it by the Party for the education and mobilization of the masses of women. Therefore, dear comrades, strengthen your broad organization even further, increase its role in order to defend and advance the victories already achieved, in order to consolidate and raise the emancipation of woman to a higher level.

Comrade delegates,

The 7th Congress of the Party laid down a great program of work and struggle for the allround development of the country on the road of socialism, relying as always on our own forces. This program cannot be realized successfully without the active participation of women, without their revolutionary struggle. The Party calls on the woman to work, because without her production will be unable to advance, it calls on her to keep a firm hold of the rifle, because without her the Homeland cannot be defended, it calls on her to raise her Marxist-Leninist educational, cultural and technical-professional level because without this the personality of the woman cannot be raised, it calls on her to participate in the running of the country because without this there can be no development of socialist democracy. The Party is firmly convinced that as always, the Albanian woman will fulfil her tasks, will be, as always, in the front ranks of the struggle for socialism.

Our whole society, the worker and cooperative farmer, the engineer and technician, the officer and soldier, are interested in the problems you will discuss at your Congress and tasks you will undertake, because shoulder to shoulder with their women comrades, they are building their country and making it prosper, breaking the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, overcoming the economic blockades and ideological pressure, carrying forward the socialist revolution.

Our society is also greatly interested in the noble mission of the woman as a mother, in the great role she plays in the raising and education of children. Our country has a wonderful younger generation, loyal to the Party and the people. This is also the great merit of the Albanian mothers, who bring up and educate their children to be like them as regards bravery, courage and patriotism, so that they outdo them as regards knowledge and the ever greater strides they will take on the brilliant road of socialism. The women of our country have implanted love for the Party and the Socialist Homeland in the hearts of the youth, they fight to make the families nests where eagles are reared, where boys and girls are inspired to serve socialism in the lowlands and the mountains, in the factories and on the construction sites, at

**Message of greeting of Comrade ENVER HOXHA
to the 8th Congress of the Women's Union
of Albania on behalf
of the CC of the Party of Labour of Albania**



The Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA Kadri Hazbiu reading the message of greeting Comrade ENVER HOXHA addressed to the 8th Congress of the WUA on behalf of the Central Committee of the PLA.

school and in laboratories, wherever the Homeland needs them most. This is a vital question for the present and the future of the socialist Albania.

The people and the Party are conscious that the whole society must make even greater efforts for the ceaseless emancipation of the woman, so that she is placed completely in the role which belongs to her as a great revolutionary force for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland, so that both in men and in women, all the old remnants, mentalities and prejudices are eradicated, so that the expressions of liberalism and conservatism and the bourgeois-revisionist influences, which sometimes hinder the woman from displaying all her values and abilities, are combated. The Party is certain that the Party organizations and the organizations of the masses, the state and economic organs, the educational and cultural institutions, the entire working people will all fight together to carry the emancipation of the woman from victory to victory.

Dear comrade delegates,

The situation in the world today is turbulent and fraught with great dangers and threats to the freedom and independence of the peoples. The bourgeoisie, imperialism, especially US and Soviet imperialism, the revisionists and opportunists of all hues, are striving in every way to suppress the revolt of the masses and strangle the revolution, to undermine the liberation struggle and enslave all countries. The superpowers and their followers are involved in a headlong armaments race and are preparing to hurl mankind into a new war. They are inciting conflicts between different peoples and nations, brutally interfering in their internal affairs, hatching up plots against the freedom and sovereignty of the peoples.

These situations, which are developing in the world and which are changing continuously, must be followed with the greatest attention by all, so that we are always ready and prepared to cope with any danger that may threaten our Homeland. They make it essential that we raise our revolutionary vigilance higher, steel the unity of the people around the Party more and more, and ceaselessly strengthen the defence of the Homeland. All of us, men and women, must work tirelessly to develop and strengthen our socialist economy, to fulfil all the tasks of the 6th five-year plan to the letter, to make the life of our people and our children more beautiful and more prosperous.

By fighting and working for the construction of socialism, the women of new Albania will uphold and develop the spirit of proletarian internationalism that characterizes them, will be beside the progressive women who are fighting for their emancipation and rights, and beside the peoples who are fighting for their national and social emancipation.

The beautiful city of Durrës, where your Congress is being held, is a city renowned for its patriotic and revolutionary traditions. It has a talented working class, an ancient and developed culture. May these traditions and the enthusiastic atmosphere of the people of Durrës be another source of inspiration for the successful proceedings of your Congress.

Under the leadership of the Party, with its ideals in mind and heart, throw yourselves, comrades, with fresh vigour into the battles to realize the tasks of the 7th Congress of the Party, fight like resolute revolutionaries to raise the glory of the socialist Homeland even higher.

LONG LIVE THE HEROIC WOMEN OF ALBANIA!

LONG LIVE THE MILITANT ORGANIZATION OF THE WOMEN'S UNION OF ALBANIA!

LONG LIVE OUR GLORIOUS PARTY!

GLORY TO TRIUMPHANT MARXISM-LENINISM!

**ON BEHALF OF THE CC
OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA
ENVER HOXHA**

Tirana, June 1, 1978

FROM THE REPORT OF CO TO THE 8th CONGRESS OF

«The 8th Congress of the Women's Union of Albania is taking place with the historic decisions of the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania and the further analysis of its important theses by the latest plenums of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and by Comrade Enver Hoxha personally, as its basis.

Educated with the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Albanian women express their unshakeable determination that, shoulder to shoulder with the entire people and under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, they will pour out all their energies to ensure the successful construction of socialism, the protection of the victories of the revolution, the defence of Marxism-Leninism and face up courageously to all the waves and storms from whichever quarter they come, consistently implementing the principle of self-reliance and smashing the savage imperialist-revisionist blockade.

The reality of socialist Albania is a living testimony to the correct line laid down and followed by the Party for the emancipation of women, too. This reality shows to what unprecedented heights the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, for whom our hearts beat with unbounded love and gratitude, have raised the Albanian woman and what brilliant prospects they have opened to her further advance».

From its content and importance, comrade Vito Kapo continued, the emancipation of the Albanian woman is an inseparable part of all the radical political, economic and social transformations which have changed the whole appearance of our society and which give her unshakeable confidence in the present and the future. The great advance in the life of the woman is a practical proof of the superiority of the socialist order, of the transforming power of the life-giving ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the correctness of the line of the Party.

It is the right and duty of the generation which went through the National Liberation War to remind the younger generation of our country of the facts about how the Party started its work among women, what difficulties it had to overcome and what methods were employed to arrive at the present stage. For centuries on end, the societies with exploiting classes had kept the Albanian woman in the miserable plight, had left her illiterate and shut within the four walls of her home. But the Party had faith in the strength and vitality of the Albanian woman, whose burning desire for freedom neither

the centuries of oppression nor religious obscurantism and backward customs had killed. In the difficult conditions of the exploiting orders, she contributed, together with the whole people, to the struggle for freedom and independence, for the defence of the land, the language, the nation and the family. That is why the Party turned to the Albanian woman, with full confidence in her worth and creative strength. It carried out a great deal of work among the masses of women to help them understand the need to link the struggle for national liberation with that for their own social liberation.

The Albanian Anti-fascist Women's Union carried out wideranging revolutionary activity to educate the women and mobilize them in the war, to destroy the old, to sweep away the ruins and build the new. The activity of the organization was successful because it was guided by the correct line of the Party, which embodied the loftiest virtues of our people, their fiery love of freedom and independence. The entire process of the destruction of the old and the construction of the new, on the road of the formation of our new woman was never for a moment separated from the major problems of the revolution. On the basis of the teachings of the Party and under its leadership, the Anti-fascist Women's Union of Albania and the other militant organizations of the masses, prepared the women for the National Liberation War and made them participants capable of acting both on the front and in the base area of this war, just as later, they prepared them and involved them in the struggle and work for the socialist construction of the country. Thus the experience of the struggle for the emancipation of the Albanian woman is clear evidence that the rights and freedoms of women can be ensured only under the leadership of a Party which is enlightened by the immortal Marxist-Leninist ideology and which applied it consistently.

Rapid rates of socialist construction are a distinguishing feature of our country. The rate has been even higher in our march towards the attainment of full equality between woman and man in all spheres of life, in production and social activities. Like the torrents which pour down from the mountains and make the plains fertile, the women and girls poured into factories and construction sites, into field brigades, fruit-growing and live-stock raising brigades, into local and national mass actions, into schools, courses and laboratories. Today, it is no longer a question of a handful of women, but of an

MRADE VITO KAPO WUA

entire army of emancipated women, politically and ideologically educated and professionally skilled, of a mass of women who militate everywhere, the same as the men, in all the political and social activity of the country, in the affairs of the state and the economy, in educational life and creative scientific work, in the field of culture and art.

In our country, the participation of women in productive social work is, on the whole, considered as a problem solved. This is a great victory of our socialist system, which ensured their personality at work, in society and the family, their economic independence, their educational and professional uplift, and won recognition for the real worth of women.

The road followed for the emancipation of the Albanian woman under the leadership of the Party, has confirmed the teaching of the great Lenin that just as the woman needs the revolution in order to liberate herself, the revolution needs the creative strength and revolutionary energy of the woman in order to triumph and advance. Many incontestable facts, the entire life of the Albanian woman and our society, have demonstrated the indispensability of indissolubly linking the struggle for socialism with the struggle for the emancipation of the woman, they show that the more socialism gives the woman, the more the woman gives socialism in return. The new Constitution, our second socialist Constitution which sanctions the victories achieved so far and opened up even more brilliant prospect to the woman and our entire people, endorses the emancipation of woman on a more extensive scale and at a qualitatively higher level.

The road of the emancipation of the Albanian woman is an original experience of historic value. It speaks of the outstanding contribution of the Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha, personally, to the allround theoretical elaboration and practical solution of this problem in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. The emancipation of the Albanian woman is one of the most glorious deeds of our Party, which has always treated the problem of woman as a major problem of the Party, as a problem of the entire society, as a problem which can be solved only when it is linked with the revolutionary struggle of the peoples for national and social liberation, when it is linked with the struggle of the proletariat and of the masses of working people under the leadership of the proletariat for the victory of the proletarian revolution and the construction of so-

cialism. The history of our country will record the revolution carried out in the life of the Albanian woman, the struggle for her emancipation, as one of the most outstanding deeds of the new Albania, a deed which has been inspired, organized and led by the Party of Labour of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha at its head. The Party teaches us, however, that the role of women and the Women's Union of Albania in our socialist society is constantly increasing, both in the struggle for the further emancipation of women and on all the other fronts of the socialist revolution. The experience of the struggle of the emancipation of the woman in Albania and the great contribution the woman is making in the socialist revolution refute the preachings of the Soviet revisionists and the opportunists of every hue that allegedly the revolution needs the forces and energies of women only in its initial steps, while later they should allegedly give up their organized struggle, stand aside from the fundamental problems of the development of social life, and return to the home. As a result of these preachings the International Federation of Democratic Women has turned into an instrument which hinders the development of the revolutionary movement of the masses of women.

From the experience of our country regarding the problem of the complete emancipation of woman, on the basis of the teachings of the Party, the analyses and summing-up it has made, we think it necessary to stress here, at this Congress, some fundamental conclusions which have great theoretical and practical importance for raising the struggle of the Women's Union of Albania and the contribution of the Albanian woman on all the fronts of socialist construction to a higher level.

First, in spite of the great achievements which have been made in our country, the struggle for the emancipation of women continues and will continue till communism. The complete emancipation of women is a leap forward which takes place within the context of the socialist revolution and through the class struggle. The Women's Union of Albania and the broad masses of women together with all the people, take and will continue to take an active part in this struggle, through their Marxist-Leninist attitudes, coping with the allround powerful pressure which the imperialist-revisionist encirclement exerts every day upon our country, both directly, and by setting in motion the internal enemies, the remnants of the past, the alien customs and rites,



The President of the General Council of the WUA Vito Kapo delivering the report to the Congress.

in an effort to bring about the degeneration of our people and undermine the work of socialism in Albania. In this struggle we must sharpen our vigilance against any enemy and act in a united front, men and women, boys and girls both against conservatism and against liberalism, both against the hangovers of the tendency of man to domination and the hangovers of the tendency of woman to subjugation.

The contribution of the struggle for the complete emancipation of woman is connected also with the existence of certain distinctions and inequalities among women themselves, as well as between women and men. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the elimination of all class distinctions is a historical task which is solved during the whole period of the transition from capitalism to communism. An inseparable aspect of this is the

elimination of the inequality of women and the ensuring of their complete emancipation. This task is being carried out gradually and successfully in our socialist country. Therefore, Comrade Enver Hoxha instructs us that, «just as we are fighting to close the gap of the economic distinctions between town and countryside, in the same way we must also close the gap of distinctions in the relations between men and women, so as to ensure their complete equality, not only in law, but also in reality».

Second, experience shows that in our socialist system the problem of women becomes the concern of the whole society. All the links of our system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the levers of the Party can and must help the masses of women to prepare themselves ever better politically and ideologically for the fulfilment of

their mission as citizens, working people, soldiers, mothers and regulators of family life.

Third, just as in the past, the organization of the Women's Union of Albania, led by the Party, will work in the future as the lever of the Party for the training, education and mobilization of the masses of women in the struggle for the solution of all the problems of the revolution and the socialist construction of the country. It is understandable that in the initial stage of the revolution, the Party directed the Women's Union of Albania to devote special attention to the work among women on account of the grave situation in which the oppressive regimes had left them. Now that really great progress has been achieved in the emancipation of women, in carrying on the struggle in this direction, the Women's Union of Albania, along with the other organizations of the masses, must work even harder to increase the contribution of women in all the fields of socialist construction, in order to activate the masses of women more and more in the solution of the main problems which face the Party and our socialist society.

The uninterrupted development and strengthening of our economy, as well as the successful fulfilment of the 6th five-year plan, powerfully relying on our own forces, requires a greater, more total mobilization of the forces and energies of the revolutionary Albanian woman, of her knowledge and creative spirit. The active participation of women in the socialist construction of the country has grown continuously. Women constitute 47 per cent of the total workers of the country. A distinguishing feature of the period that divides us from the 7th Congress of our organization is the more rapid increase of the number of women at work in comparison with the increase of the total number of the workers of our country. Thus, as against 1972, in 1977 the total number of workers grew by 23 per cent, while the number of women workers grew by 26 per cent.

Today the Albanian woman has put her shoulder to the wheel in every kind of work, wherever the interests of socialism need her. Her participation has extended to almost all branches of the economy. Women are now working with success in such important branches as metallurgy, the chemical industry, in oil processing and ore enrichment, in the engineering and electric industries, and many branches and sectors which, because of the high cultural and professional levels required there, were formerly considered as exclusively men's jobs. In the automatized and mechanized departments and work processes which require high precision, women and girls make up 30 per cent of the total number of workers. The number of women employed in these branches has increased more than three-fold as against 1960. The total number of women in the agricultural cooperatives has increased and in the state farms their number has almost

doubled. The effectiveness of the work of women in the sector of agriculture has also increased appreciably.

In the 6th five-year plan the women of our country see the brilliant prospects which are opened up before our socialist Homeland, and they have mobilized all their strength to achieve the targets at all costs.

We rejoice at the fact that today women and girls make up 30 per cent of the total number of the innovators and rationalizers of the country, as against 20 per cent in 1960. A large number of women have equipped themselves with profound scientific knowledge and have a high technical-professional level, which enables them to be active in the most varied sectors of the economy, science and culture, and to take part in studies of economic benefit and in the application of them.

The splendid results achieved by many women comrades and collectives are the result of the synthesis of their creative thinking, their advanced experience, their lofty communist consciousness, their mastery and practical application of scientific and technical knowledge, and of the perfect organization of production and its scientific management».

«The unprecedented revolution in the field of education and culture», comrade Vito Kapo continued, «which has been carried out in the glorious epoch of the Party in our socialist society, has had a very profound effect especially on the life of the Albanian woman. The very broad participation of the woman in all the links of the educational system and in the whole cultural life of our socialist society, as well as the positive, revolutionary trend of development of these phenomena in the future, have been and are, one of the fundamental means of the allround emancipation of the woman, for the enhancement of her personality and social dignity, for the increase of her knowledge and capabilities, for the continuous enrichment of her spiritual world, for the ceaseless increase of her contribution on all fronts of the construction and defence of our socialist Homeland.

Today, our whole country has been transformed into a great school. The ever greater mass participation in the people's education system at all levels has led to the colossal success that every day, over 700,000 pupils and students, 47 per cent of whom are women and girls sit regularly at their school desks. In a country in which, only four decades ago the woman was mercilessly oppressed by the savage laws of feudalism and capitalism, the church and Moslem Law, today over 51 per cent of the students of the part-time secondary schools of the educational system are girls. This is a magnificent achievement, a brilliant result of the Marxist-Leninist policy of our Party. We take pride in the fact that in our country 44.4 per cent of the students attending higher studies are women and that 42.4 per cent of the work-

ing people with secondary and higher schooling are women.

The allround cultural development of girls and women is realized in unity with the continuous raising of their educational level.

We need only mention that in the amateur artistic movement alone, in which hundreds of thousands of people participate, about 55 per cent of the participants are girls and women. Today, the Albanian women and girls are courageously mounting the stage and are making with great successes their debut in the fields of the literary, artistic, scientific and other creativeness. This is a very important indicator of the flowering of their communist personality.

«The successes achieved in the formation and tempering of the new Albanian woman», comrade Vito Kapo said, «have also led to her promotion to leading posts. Today, we have many women comrades performing top-level duties in the Party and state, at the centre and the base. There are women comrades who are members of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Political Bureau and the Council of Ministers or first secretaries of the Party Committees in the districts and chairwomen of the executive committees, managers of big economic enterprises, agricultural cooperatives and various educational and social-cultural institutions, etc. Nevertheless, the Party lays down emphatically that there are possibilities in the direction and more must be done, not only because the number of women who take an active part in productive social work is great, but also because with their political-ideological maturity, their experience at work, educational level, qualification etc., they have all the possibilities to carry out any duty of responsibility the Party entrusts to them.

All that has been said is the finest testimony to the enhancement of the political and ideological consciousness of women and the society as a whole, to the place and great role of woman in the ceaseless development of the socialist revolution in our country.

The raising of the political and ideological consciousness of women to the level we see today has not been easy.

In this struggle the organization of the Women's Union of Albania has played an important role to implant sound ideological convictions in the masses of women and to increase their class consciousness, to ensure the most active possible participation in the great struggle the Party is waging, at the head of the people, for the construction of socialism and the strengthening of the defence capacity of the Homeland, in the conditions of the savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement. It has striven to put all its political and ideological activity completely, and as well as possible, in the service of the great problems which arise from the revolution, the

stage achieved in the construction of socialism, as well as of the tasks laid down for the complete emancipation of women and the whole society.

The organizations of the Women's Union have based their ideological and political work on the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the materials of the Party and the works of comrade Enver Hoxha, which are the ideological nourishment of our whole people. They are our most valuable asset, by means of which the consciousness of women is moulded, their personality is raised and they become capable of serving the people and the Homeland ever better.

Finding its place and tasks in the common front of the ideological-political work of the mass organizations, the Women's Union of Albania, has implanted in every woman the conviction that socialism is the deed of the masses. Along with the gradual rise in the ideological-political consciousness of women, their active participation in the political-social life of the country has also increased. The word of woman is heard everywhere powerfully. Women and girls make up 27 per cent of the standing membership of the PLA and 29.4 per cent of all those elected to its various forums. In the representative organs of the People's State Power they constitute 33.2 per cent of the deputies to the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and 44 per cent of the members of the people's councils. Likewise, 41.2 per cent of those elected to the directing organs of the organizations of the masses and 30.7 per cent of the members of the High Court of the PSR of Albania are women and young women. Exercising along with men the rights sanctioned by law the women have greatly extended their direct participation in running the country.

Dear comrades,

In socialist Albania, a harmonious relationship has been established between the active participation of the woman in work and in social and political life and her role in the family.

The raising of the political consciousness of women to that level that they link all their duties in work and society with the situations in which our country exists, has strengthened our socialist family, has increased the mothers' joy and the children's happiness.

The participation of the woman in production and political and social work, the raising of her political, ideological, educational and cultural level, along with all the political and social transformations carried out in our country, have strengthened our family morally, diminished its economic function, strengthened its function of the reproduction of life and its educational function for all its members.

Today, thanks to our socialist order, to the allround progress of the country and the care for the life of mother and child, our Albania, which on the eve of libe-

ration had only 1,040,000 inhabitants, now has more than 2,513,600 inhabitants. The average life span has increased to 68,2 years as against 38 years in 1938. Albania has the highest rate of increase of the population and the lowest death rate in Europe. Of course these are the result of the general line of our glorious Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, which has placed the care for the free man of the socialist society above everything. Many countries in the world talk about humanism, but at the same time, with unprecedented cynicism, they suppress and exploit the people and compel them to live in dire poverty and this they justify with the excessive increase of the population. There is true humanism in Albania, which demonstrates with facts that our territory can feed many more people, just as the whole world has room and wealth for the entire natural increase of the population. The aim of the clamour of the bourgeois propaganda in the capitalist and revisionist world about the so-called «democratic freedom of abortion», is to divert the attention of women from the social contradictions and evils of the capitalist system, to conceal their real cause, the capitalist law of maximum profits, which is the source of the destruction of the family, its degeneration and the degeneration of all other social relations.

The socialist transformations and the participation of women in production and political and social work have greatly stepped up the educational function of the family and have strengthened its socialist character.

The bourgeoisie and the revisionists are exalting the role of the mother in the education of children in order to justify the withdrawal of women from social productive work, which has now become a general phenomenon among them. But, thanks to their 34 years of experience, the working women of Albania declare from their Congress that productive and political and social work has not hindered them, but, on the contrary has helped them a great deal, to perform their role as natural educators in the family and its influence has been such that the entire family performs its educational function better. By bringing into the family the matters of great concern to their work and society, the working, cooperativist or intellectual women, have made it a real centre of education. Not only have these stands removed the woman from the sphere of idle gossip and rumours, from quarrels and conflicts which might arise in the family as a result of the foolishness of an empty life, but they have also largely overcome that sentimentality which leads to the fulfilment of every childish whim or desire, however unreasonable.

Yesterday the Albanian mothers held their heads high when their sons or daughters took up the rifle and went to the mountains to fight for freedom. Today the young mothers of Albania, educated with the teachings of the

Party and as active participants in productive work and political and social activity, consider it an honour when their sons or daughters go as volunteers to railways construction sites, the great projects and the countryside. For all these things our mothers are proud, and the children, the younger generation of our country, who are carrying forward the banner of the revolution, are happy, because only in this way can our progress be guaranteed and our reliable and prosperous future be secured.

In the future, too, the Women's Union of Albania will make its continuous contribution to ensure that the family becomes more and more a centre of the revolutionary education of the younger generation and all its members».

Then, comrade Vito Kapo said that the Women's Union of Albania bases itself firmly on the principled Marxist-Leninist foreign policy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and supports the revolutionary democratic movements for the emancipation of women everywhere in the world.

After mentioning the most important international events and the correct stand of the PSR of Albania, in this connection Vito Kapo said:

«Dear comrades,

The problem of the liberation and emancipation of women remains an acute problem in the world today. The masses of women are growing ever more conscious that the struggle for their own liberation and emancipation is inseparable from the struggle for national and social liberation.

By taking part in concrete actions to oppose the savage oppression and exploitation by the ruling classes, the broad masses of women and the people are awakening, are seeking a way out and becoming more extensively involved in the battles of the class struggle. The struggle of working women for their rights, for work, equal pay and higher wages, against the domination of the superpowers, against monopoly and neo-colonialist capital, makes their democratic and revolutionary movements for emancipation even more powerful.

Women constitute that section of the working people, which suffers most under the capitalist system, which is subjected to savage discrimination within this system. Hidden behind the glossy façade of luxury, through the pages of magazines and on the cinema and television screens, in which film «stars» are advertised as though they were market commodities, lies the tragedy of the millions of working women and girls, immersed in poverty and ignorance, worn out by heavy toil that brings fabulous profits to the capitalist owners.

The bourgeois and revisionist constitutions boastfully proclaim the «equality» of women at a time when their most elementary rights are being trampled underfoot.

«Equality» only in words and inequality in deeds, «emancipation» in appearance and oppression and humiliation in fact — this is the reality in bourgeois and revisionist society. There are innumerable obstacles which make it impossible for working women to gain the necessary schooling or professional qualification; the gates to science or to leading positions in the state administration are closed to them. Those women who endeavour to overcome the narrow limits of the humiliating norms of bourgeois morality, which sanctions the inequality and inferiority of woman, come up against a thousand legal and administrative obstacles of the exploiting order which sanction the discrimination of the woman in law. Even in the countries most developed from the industrial viewpoint, the woman has not yet won the right to equality with man in work and to receive equal pay. In Britain, for example, which is one of the developed capitalist countries, the women receive only 60 per cent of a man's pay for the same job. The situation is the same in the USA, France and elsewhere. The overwhelming majority of women can be employed only in unqualified jobs. Over 60 per cent of the illiterates in the world are women; in Europe, for example, in some countries such as in Italy, about 60 per cent of the women have only elementary schooling or none at all.

In the conditions when the capitalist and revisionist system is in deep crisis, in order to disguise the growth of unemployment which hits the working women first of all, the old and new bourgeoisie is lauding the regressive process of the return of women to the home, while its hack journalists try to present these processes as something which allegedly is in keeping with the «nature» of women, who are predisposed to bear children, to engage in kitchen work, and to go to church. The bourgeoisie welcomes the increase of the ranks of unemployed women as a way to step up the competition on the labour market, in order to lower the cost of labour power and increase the scale of the economic exploitation of the working people. The return of the women to the home is advantageous to the bourgeoisie, also, because it isolates the women from the revolutionary and democratic social movements and impedes the growth of their political and ideological consciousness, splits their forces and weakens their organization. Therefore, the women of the capitalist and revisionist countries are expressing their opposition to these regressive processes, and protesting against unemployment and their increasing inequality.

Aware of the colossal force which the masses of working women constitute for the proletarian revolution, the ideologists of the bourgeoisie, the revisionists and the reformists, are spreading all sorts of reactionary concepts and theories, the aim of which is to alienate the women from the correct road of the struggle for their libera-

tion and emancipation, by trying in most refined ways to channel the movement of the women into directions which suit the interests of the ruling classes. All sorts of feminist and neo-feminist organizations, which are guided by reactionary bourgeois, revisionist, and clerical ideas, also serve the same aims. By means of these ideas they are trying to disrupt the women's movement, by putting into circulation slogans, which are as absurd as they are dangerous, about the «liberation of the female sex from the male sex», the «emancipation of women from the burden of children and the family», the «cultivation of femininity and sex», and other such slogans. To shift the attention of the women from the struggle against the bourgeois order, the ideologists of these organizations preach the destruction of the family, the abandonment of children, total disregard for every moral standard.

They are trying to turn the struggle of women for equal rights with men and, in general, for their emancipation, into a struggle between the sexes, into a struggle within the bosom of the family.

Regardless of their demagogy about the «emancipation of women», the Soviet revisionists, their satellites and the other revisionists, also, are pursuing essentially the same aims as the reactionary bourgeois theoreticians. With the slogan of «reduced hours of work and reduced pay» for women, they are trying to disguise the growth of unemployment and the degree of exploitation which are inevitable consequences of the restoration of capitalism in these countries. But the false propaganda of the revisionists, which justifies the policy of the driving of women out of employment, cannot hide the bitter reality of the strengthening of the economic dependence of the wife on her husband, of the liquidation of her rights, of her return to her former situation of domestic and social slavery.

The Khrushchevite revisionists are carrying out feverish propaganda and activity on an international scale, also, to impose the slogans and spirit of bourgeois pacifism of «peaceful coexistence», of the «lowering of tension», of the «complete and general disarmament» and so on, on the women's movement, at a time when the superpowers are organizing bloody wars of aggression, developing the arms race, and contesting for spheres of influence all over the world.

In order to mislead the masses of the women and to alienate them from the democratic, anti-imperialist and revolutionary movements, the Soviet revisionist are making use of the Women's International Democratic Federation. In placing itself in the service of the Khrushchevite revisionists, this organization degenerated, violated the principles on which it was founded and is playing a reactionary, counter-revolutionary role. Following the line which the revisionists imposed on it, the Women's International Democratic Federation has made unprincipled



A view of the 8th Congress of the WUA.

compromises with the feminist organizations, government and non-government, national and international organisms, which inhibit and oppose the development of the movements of women for their emancipation. Their «cooperation» extends even to the Vatican, this centre of mediaeval obscurantism, this ferocious enemy of the emancipation of woman.

We rejoice at the fact that an ever growing number of national organizations of women all over the world, as well as outstanding progressive activists, are carrying out activity independently of the Women's International Democratic Federation, which has placed itself under the orders of the modern revisionists, and are leading the struggle of the masses of women for their rights, against oppression and exploitation, against the policy of intervention and blackmail of the imperialist and social-imperialist superpowers.

In implementing the teachings of the Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Women's Union of Albania has devoted constant attention to the strengthening and extension of the ties of friendship with the revolutionary and progressive organizations of women and with their outstanding activists all over the world. We

have good relations of collaboration with many national and regional organizations, as well as with well-known activists of different countries. The Women's Union of socialist Albania is in favour of extension of these ties.

The participation in our Congress of delegations from countries as well as the many messages of greetings which we have received from the women's organizations of many other countries, are a powerful expression of these ties and the reciprocal support between the women of Albania and the women of these countries. They are a great encouragement for us in our further struggle for the complete construction of socialist society in our country. We greet our sisters fighting everywhere in the world and wish them ever greater successes in their activity, which has the genuine emancipation of women as its objective.

The women of Albania will always fight with determination against the common enemies — US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, the big bourgeoisie and reaction, modern revisionism, reformism, opportunism, and will always stand on the side of the peoples who are fighting for freedom, democracy, progress and socialism».

COMMUNIQUEE ON THE MEETING OF THE FIFTH PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PLA

Tirana, June 28, ATA, follows the communique on the meeting of the 5th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA: On June 26 and 27, 1978, the 5th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party met under the chairmanship of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha. It examined the report of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee «On the work done for the implementation of the decisions of the 5th and 6th Plenums of the Central Committee of the Party of the year 1974 and the tasks laid down by the 7th Congress of the Party for the further strengthening of the defence of the country», delivered by the Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania, comrade Mehmet Shehu.

After extensive discussion of the report, the Plenum of the Central Committee unanimously approved it and took the respective decisions.

Finally, in drawing the conclusions from the proceedings of the plenum, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha, spoke about the important tasks facing the Party and the people to further strengthen the defence of our socialist Homeland.

**THE 5th PLENUM
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY
OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA**

ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE ALBANIAN TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY

The Albanian Telegraphic Agency is authorized to announce that on the 7th July, 1978, through a note presented to the Embassy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Peking, the Government of the People's Republic of China announced its decision to immediately suspend all aid and payment of civil and military credits to Albania, to leave a number of very important projects incomplete and to withdraw all Chinese specialists working in Albania.

With this unilateral and arbitrary action, the Chinese government has taken a conscious and premeditated step to worsen relations between the two countries, to damage the economy of socialist Albania and its defence potential. This hostile act fills the Albanian people with indignation and profound anger. This act will be condemned also by the fraternal Chinese people.

The people of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania have nurtured pure feelings of love and respect for the Chinese people. They have defended the People's Republic of China courageously in the most difficult moments through which it was going, and they have sincerely fought for a true and internationalist friendship between the two countries. Whereas, by violating the agreements concluded officially between the two sides with the arrogance of a great state, by kicking off every principle of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the Chinese Government and its leaders consciously act to break and destroy this friendship. The suspension of all aid and the withdrawal of the specialists from Albania, also, reveal the hypocrisy of the Chinese leaders in their previous stands towards socialist Albania, they also reveal the character of the granting of these aids.

To justify its anti-Albanian act and to conceal the real causes which led it to take such perfidious act, which will most certainly be condemned by the entire public opinion of the world, in its note the Chinese Government presents trumped up arguments, and charges the Albanians with ingratitude. The Albanian Telegraphic Agency is informed that the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania will reply to the Chinese note in due time and will acquaint the public opinion of the world with documented facts so as to enable the peoples

to judge for themselves and to become convinced that Albania is in its right.

The suspension of China's the economic, civil and military aid to Albania, and the withdrawal of Chinese specialists from Albania stem from the adoption by the People's Republic of China of the big power course, from its deviation from the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism, from its rapprochement to and collaboration with imperialist and reactionary forces in the world, from the renunciation of aid to and support for the revolutionary and liberation forces on the international arena. The leadership of China conditions its economic collaboration with our country by the acceptance on the part of Albania and its submission to its anti-Marxist policy. The Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian Government have made efforts to solve the disagreements which existed between our two parties on the Marxist-Leninist road, but the Communist Party of China and its leaders have refused such a road.

Such actions as the suspension of aid, the withdrawal of specialists, and so on, which the Albanian people have experienced before with the Khrushchevite revisionists, cannot succeed in Albania. The pressures and blackmail, whatever be their nature, to bring our Party and people to their knees, have not had and will never have any success. They have been turned into defeats to their authors.

Pressures and blockades cannot drown the voice of socialist Albania, they will never compel the Albanian people to renounce their correct Marxist-Leninist stands, can never alienate them from the fight against imperialists and revisionists of all shades.

Under the tested leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, the Albanian people, now hardened to chauvinistic and imperialist methods which innumerable enemies have used against it, will face up to and overcome with success all obstacles, will win new victories, constructing the complete socialist society with their own forces.

The Albanian people, under the leadership of their Party of Labour, will continue to fight on this course, and are convinced that they will always enjoy the support of all freedom-loving peoples and revolutionaries of the world.

MESSAGE

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE

Santiago

Dear comrades,

The untimely death of the beloved Comrade David Benquis, one of the main founders, organizers and leaders of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, caused us immense grief. In these moments of deep sorrow for you, as well as for all the Chilean Marxist-Leninist comrades, we express you our sincere condolences.

Comrade David Benquis, as a Marxist-Leninist leader, dedicated all his revolutionary energy and capabilities to the construction and tempering of your Revolutionary Communist Party as a Marxist-Leninist Party, as the vanguard of the Chilean proletariat and people in the struggle against the fascist dictatorship and capitalist ex-

ploitation, for national and social liberation and the triumph of socialism in their Homeland. Our Party recalls with respect Comrade Benquis, as an unflinching fighter against U.S. imperialism and Soviet socialimperialism, which jointly exploit the peoples, as a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary against modern revisionism and opportunism of all hues.

Comrade David Benquis has been not only an ardent fighter for freedom, independence and socialism in his Homeland, but also a proletarian internationalist, supporter of the revolutionary movements of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples and of the

unity of the world Marxist-Leninist movement. We will always preserve alive the memory of our respected Comrade David Benquis, who also nurtured a sincere love for our Party of Labour and the Albanian people.

We express our conviction that at these moments of grievance for the loss of its leader, Comrade David Benquis, the sister Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile will further strengthen its ranks and will always carry forward the revolutionary struggle for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism in Chile, for which he fought with determination and courage during all his life.

First Secretary
of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania

ENVER HOXHA

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF DAHOMEY FOUNDED

«Flame», the central organ of the Communist Party of Dahomey, reports in its first issue, the founding of this new Marxist-Leninist Party on the African continent.

The Communist Party of Dahomey, as is stressed in the editorial of the newspaper «Flame», devoted to this event, was born as an objective necessity of the class struggle, of the social, economic and political conditions in Dahomey. It was founded on the anvil of the protracted class struggles in the country, courageously and resolutely overcoming all difficulties, overcoming the various obstacles set up by reaction in collusion with international imperialism, in struggle against the manifestations of revisionism, reformism, spontaneity, negligence of the role of the Party, sectarianism, etc. It resolutely relies on the immortal principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

In its programme, which has been published in this issue of the newspaper «Flame», the Communist Party of Dahomey, making an analysis of the internal situation, describes Dahomey as a «new colony of French imperialism» and also stresses that this country «is a target of the fierce rivalry especially between the two superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union». For this, the program says, the Communist Party of Dahomey, combating French imperialism, fights and will fight at the same time against the two hegemonic superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet socialimperialism. The Party does not separate the resolute struggle against these external enemy forces from the struggle against local reaction, the bureaucratic and comprador bourgeoisie and the remnants of feudalism, which back up imperialism. It sees in the working class of Da-

homey, though few in numbers, «the leading class in the revolution» which will exercise its leading role «through its Party, the Communist Party of Dahomey». At the present stage, the Party lays down as its major objective the fulfilment of these fundamental tasks: the political unity of the people around it, the arming of the masses and the setting up of a liberation army, the destruction of the apparatus of the existing neo-colonialist state and its replacement with a new apparatus of the people's dictatorship directed against the pro-imperialist classes and strata.

The program says that «both US imperialism and Soviet socialimperialism represent to the same extent the number 1 enemy of the international proletariat and of the peoples. You cannot rely on one to fight the other». Likewise, it is stressed that «one cannot rely on the other imperialist, and revisionist powers either, because they are linked with aggressive pacts and treaties, some with the USA, some with the Soviet Union. They suppress the peoples of various countries of the world, actively fight against the revolution and socialism. We must fight against them too». The Communist Party of Dahomey refutes the preachings of the «theory of the three worlds» for alliance with West European imperialism and US imperialism to allegedly combat Soviet socialimperialism.

In assessing the international situation, the Communist Party of Dahomey relies on the profound analysis the great leaders of the international proletariat, Lenin and Stalin, have made of our epoch, it relies on the four fundamental contradictions clearly defined by them, which it considers as a guide «to define all strategy and tactics of the Party of the proletariat». Bear-

ing in mind these four fundamental contradictions, the program of the Communist Party of Dahomey says that the so-called «theory of the three worlds» is a new formula of «peaceful coexistence» of Khrushchev. It preaches conciliation between the working class and the bourgeoisie. The Communist Party of Dahomey calls for a resolute fight against this new danger, a fight with the same vigour against US imperialism and Soviet socialimperialism. It declares that it «warmly backs up the Party of Labour of Albania and its leader Comrade Enver Hoxha for the resolute and principled struggle they wage to defend Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, as it has been defined and applied by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin».

The Founding Congress of the Party of Dahomey sent a message to the CC of the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha. This message reads in part:

The Founding Congress of the CP of Dahomey, hails the victories of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the PSR of Albania.

The Founding Congress of the CC of Dahomey resolutely supports the just struggles of the PLA with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism against all the tendencies of revisionism, to preserve the unity of the international Marxist-Leninist communist movement and to develop genuine proletarian internationalism, to defend and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and forge ahead with the complete construction of socialism in Albania. These just struggles inspire the communists of Dahomey, who are determined to scale all heights and encourage our working class and our people.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND REAFFIRMS ITS BASIC LINE AND POLICY

Statement of the National Committee of the Party

In its issue of May 2, 1978, the newspaper «People's Voice», the organ of the Communist Party of New Zealand, publishes the statement of the National Committee of the Party under the title «the Communist Party Reaffirms its Basic Line and Policy», which says:

The Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of New Zealand once again affirms its view that the basic contradiction in New Zealand, a developed capitalist country, is that between the working class and the capitalist class headed by the monopoly capitalist section. Consequently the working class faces a directly socialist revolution.

Any attempt to try to insert an intermediate stage between capitalism and the dictatorship of the proletariat is opportunism and revisionism. The adoption of a line of an intermediate stage of national democratic, people's democratic, or anti-imperialist, revolution, however correct for many countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, is nothing but class collaboration in regard to developed New Zealand. It means collaborating with one's «own» capitalist class, uniting with this class who are thoroughly pro-imperialist, and sowing the illusion among the working class and the masses that their exploiters and class enemy are really their friend and ally, willing to fight under the leadership of the working class and its Party for liberation from imperialism! And this when New Zealand history shows that the national capitalists back imperialism to the hilt! Such a line in relation

to New Zealand is reactionary bourgeois nationalism, pure and simple, it is a thorough-going betrayal of the basic interests of the working class.

Such in fact is the revisionist line which E. F. Hill and the other opportunist leaders of the Communist Party of Australia (M-L) are trying to impose on the Party and the working class of New Zealand through crude Khrushchev-type interference with its internal affairs and by means of intriguing and conspiring with a tiny gang of local anti-Party conspirators. These are being exposed at the present time.

The Communist Party of New Zealand, stresses the statement of the National Committee of this Party, follows a consistent line of revolutionary class struggle in New Zealand for the aim of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Internationally it unites with the working class of the developed capitalist countries in the revolutionary struggle for socialism and against imperialism and capitalism, particularly against the two imperialist superpowers, the biggest world exploiters, US imperialism and Soviet socialimperialism. It fights both in theory and in practice to unite the working class of New Zealand with the struggle of the oppressed peoples for liberation from imperialism and their internal reactionaries. It fights also for the widest unity between all peoples against superpower domination and drive to world war.

The Communist Party of New Zealand develops its line in conformity with proletarian internationalism and its own practice in revolutionary class struggle. It wages consistent struggle for strict adherence to the basic principles of Marxism and the correct relations between fraternal parties which includes non-interference in the internal affairs of the other parties. We hold that the solutions to the problems of the revolution in each country have to be solved by the revolutionary workers of that country.

In the present developing crisis of capitalism in New Zealand and abroad, the imperialist bourgeoisie are seeking to smash the Communist Party of New Zealand because it is in the forefront of the struggle in defence of the basic interests of the working class and the mass of the people. The imperialists are being aided by a small gang of petty-bourgeois elements within the Party.

However, the rank-and-file of the Communist Party of New Zealand, together with non-Party supporters, have stood firm to defend the Party. In doing so, they are defending basic Marxist-Leninist principles. It is this firm stand on principle that will ensure both the defeat of the revisionist conspiracies against the Communist Party of New Zealand and the further strengthening of the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally, stresses the Statement of the National Committee of the C.P.N.Z in conclusion.

IMPORTANT MARXIST-LENINIST DOCUMENT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

The statement by the National Committee of the C.P. of New Zealand on May 22, 1978, which was published yesterday in our press, in which it reaffirms its basic line and policy, is an important Marxist-Leninist document at a significant moment in the life of the revolutionary vanguard of the New Zealand proletariat.

In conformity with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, applied in the concrete conditions of New Zealand, the statement affirms that the N. Z. working class today faces the task of the socialist revolution and that the C.P.N.Z. consistently adheres to the line of the revolutionary class struggle for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Rejecting the preachings about an intermediate stage between capitalism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, which, in the conditions of New Zealand, as a developed capitalist country, would mean abandonment of the revolution and class collaboration with the local bourgeoisie, who are allies of imperialism, the National Committee of the C.P.N.Z. in its statement sternly condemns these

preachings as opportunism, revisionism, pure reactionary bourgeois nationalism, and utter betrayal of the fundamental interests of the working class.

On the international plane, the statement of the National Committee of the C.P.N.Z. also reaffirms a clear Marxist-Leninist internationalist line, the line of solidarity and unity with the revolutionary struggle of the working class of the capitalist countries for socialism and against the exploiting bourgeois order and imperialism, with the struggle of the oppressed peoples to liberate themselves from imperialism and the reactionary local regimes, with the struggle of the revolutionary forces and freedom-loving peoples against the two biggest enemies and exploiters, American imperialism and Soviet socialimperialism, against their aims for domination of the world and their preparations for a new world war.

The statement is clear evidence that the C.P.N.Z. insistently upholds correct internationalist relations between sister parties, on the basis of unwavering loyalty to the principles of Marx-

ism-Leninism of equality and non-interference in one another's internal affairs and the right of each party to solve the problems of the revolution in its own country without external pressure or interference, according to the universal precepts of Marxism-Leninism, its own revolutionary experience, and the concrete conditions of the country.

The Party of Labour of Albania, the Albanian communists, fully support these correct, revolutionary Marxist-Leninist positions of the sister C.P. of New Zealand and give their full backing to its resolute struggle against revisionist plots which are intended to divert the C.P.N.Z. from the revolutionary road, to bring about its degeneration and destruction. The Party of Labour of Albania expresses its deep conviction that such plots against the sister C.P. of New Zealand will end in ignominious defeat, as they have done in the past, and wishes the Party success in its revolutionary struggle and work for the further ideological, political, and organizational strengthening of its ranks.

INTERNATIONALIST RALLY IN CANADA

The newspaper «People's Canada Daily News», organ of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), reports that on 30th April, 1978, an internationalist rally was organized in the city of Montreal. The rally, which was attended by more than 3,500 people, was organized by the Communist Party of Canada (M-L).

Messages of greetings were sent to this rally from a number of Marxist-Leninist communist parties or groups and national liberation movements of various countries. The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, also, sent a message of greetings.

The Chairman of the Communist Party of Canada (M-L), Hardial Bains, delivered a speech in which he underlined the importance of this rally to the communist (M-L) movement in Canada, the Canadian proletariat and the strengthening of the international Marxist-Leninist communist movement.

When the message of greeting from the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania was read, says the newspaper, all present rose to

their feet and applauded vigorously. They also applauded the messages of greetings from the representatives of the Communist Party of Spain (M-L), the Communist Party of Portugal (Reconstructed), the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Iran, the messages and greetings sent by a number of other Marxist-Leninist parties and national liberation movements from various countries.

The newspaper «People's Canada Daily News» writes that both in the greetings read by the representatives of the participating parties and movements, as well as in the messages which were read there, the successes achieved by every Marxist-Leninist communist party and organization which is fighting in its own country for the cause of the revolution and socialism, are considered to be the common victories of the international proletariat. They stressed that unity of the internationalist Marxist-Leninist communist movement cannot be achieved except by resolutely opposing modern revisionism and opportunism of all shades, by firmly denounc-

ing the anti-Leninist theory of «three worlds» as a counterrevolutionary theory, which is a complete revision and falsification of Marxism, a counterrevolutionary strategy, against the interests of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples, against the revolution and socialism. The various messages of greetings express determination to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism and strengthen proletarian internationalism, to support the correct Marxist-Leninist assessment that the two superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet socialimperialism, today are the biggest and most aggressive enemies history has ever known. They represent the chief enemy of socialism and the freedom and independence of the nations, the greatest force defending the system of oppression and exploitation.

Among other activities a film on the 7th Congress of the PLA was shown and publications from the literature of the PLA and other sister parties were distributed to those taking part in the rally.

The manifestations closed with the singing of «The International».

IMPERIALISTS HANDS OFF VIETNAM

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

THREE YEARS HAVE GONE BY SINCE THE PEOPLE OF VIETNAM WON THEIR GREAT VICTORY OVER THE US IMPERIALIST AGGRESSORS AND THEIR DESPICABLE LACKEYS. THIS OPENED THE WAY TO THE REALIZATION OF THE LOFTY NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE, BOTH IN THE NORTH AND IN THE SOUTH. UNITED VIETNAM SET TO WORK FOR THE PEACEFUL CONSTRUCTION OF THE COUNTRY.

THE US IMPERIALISTS DID THEIR UTMOST TO BREAK VIETNAM, TO PUT THIS COUNTRY UNDER THEIR NEO-COLONIALIST DOMINATION AND TURN IT INTO A FORWARD BASE FOR AGGRESSION AGAINST OTHER PEOPLES OF ASIA. THE WHOLE MILITARY, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL POTENTIAL OF US IMPERIALISM WAS USED TO BRING THE HEROIC VIETNAMESE PEOPLE TO THEIR KNEES AND SUBJUGATE THEM. OVER 6 MILLION AMERICANS TOOK PART, DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY, IN THIS UNPRECEDENTEDLY BARBAROUS ADVENTURE.

The United States of America spent more than 145 billion dollars, dispatched the most «outstanding» generals of the Pentagon, the most highly trained soldiers, the most modern weapons and the most deadly poisons, to Vietnam. One after another, the US Presidents, Eisenhower and Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon, invented and employed all their strategies and «doctrines», implemented the policies of «Americanization» and «Vietnamization», the tactics of «scorched earth» and their diplomatic trickery, but it all ended in ignominious defeat.

The Vietnamese people opposed the ferocity, barbarism and trickery of US imperialism with their ardent patriotism, with their unflinching determination to fight with their steel-like will to win. The sacrifices which the people of Vietnam made and the heroism they displayed in the struggle imposed on them by the imperialists, are without precedent. They sacrificed

«ZËRI I POPULLIT» — *Organ of the CC of the PLA.*

the lives of millions of their finest sons, poured out all their material and spiritual energies on the altar of victory, and the country was burned and seared by fire and steel in the bloody war. On account of all these sacrifices and this heroism, on account of this great and glorious contribution they have made to the struggle of all other freedom-loving peoples who have risen against the aggressive policy of the imperialists, the Vietnamese people enjoy the admiration, honour, respect and sympathy of all the peoples of the world. He who has no respect and gratitude for these superhuman sacrifices must be condemned.

The Albanian people, educated by their Party of Labour with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, gave their sincere support to and backed to the hilt the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people against the US imperialists and their lackeys. They wholeheartedly hailed their heroic victories and expressed unwavering confidence in the triumph of their just cause. Our peo-

ple, like all the other peoples who were in solidarity with the anti-imperialist and liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people, hoped that they would be able to enjoy and consolidate the victories achieved at such cost of blood and sacrifice, to live free and build their socialist homeland in peace.

But the conflicts created and the armed clashes on the Vietnamese-Cambodian border, stirred up by the foreigners, which have already cost the lives of many victims, disturbed the work of peaceful construction which had just begun in Indochina. All the friends of Vietnam, among whom are the Albanian people, observe with regret that instead of being solved in the spirit of friendship, understanding and mutual interest, the Vietnamese-Cambodian disagreements have become even more complicated as a result of foreign interference.

The Party of Labour of Albania has clearly expressed its viewpoint and stand in regard to this conflict. The editorial of «Zëri i Popullit» of January 5 this year, on the border incidents between Cambodia and Vietnam, says that the stand of the Albanian people has been and is that the two neighbouring countries and peoples, who have fought together against imperialism and the same enemies, should cease any action which infringes the lofty interests of the revolution and the freedom of the two nations, and should resolve their disagreements on the road of friendly talks. We remain convinced that this

can be achieved through joint efforts and good will.

However, instead of becoming peaceful, because of new imperialist plots and intrigues of the superpowers, the situation in that zone is deteriorating and becoming ever more acute. An atmosphere which augurs no good has been created around Vietnam. The freedom-loving peoples of the world are worried about the new events that are taking place, but they are convinced that the Vietnamese people, who have brilliant militant traditions and an indomitable spirit, will cope with and overcome the new dangers and difficulties that have been created for them.

That the progress of Vietnam on its road of independent development and peaceful construction should be hindered, is a violation and offence to the conscience of all peoples, of all those who love freedom and respect the independence of nations, the right of each country to decide its own affairs for itself.

Opposing viewpoints on various questions may exist between the neighbouring countries but we hold that this should not be any reason to create and incite conflicts, and that the just and correct road to settle disagreements is that of talks. To seek to settle the issues by imposing the views of one side through political, economic pressures, etc., is something that must be condemned. This is a practice which the peoples have long ago rejected.

Vietnam has its own political and ideological views. That is its own affair. But we defend the rights of the people of Vietnam, the principle that each people decides the fate of its own country itself, without outside interference. No one has the right to exert pressures and threats on them.

Those who choose such methods and refuse to sit at the table to discuss the solution of disagreements which may arise between neighbouring countries, are not in the right. They are

the weaker in their arguments and are the culprits. Therefore, if anyone thinks he can impose his views and aims by means of pressures and blackmail, he can be certain that the Vietnamese people will not accept this and that no free people will approve it.

Following the victory over US imperialism and the reunification of the country a new epoch began for the Vietnamese people, that of efforts to heal the many grave wounds from the war, the period of reconstruction and socialist transformations. Now, no one has the right to interfere in their internal affairs, to impede the solution of these tasks and to create difficulties for them. No one should meddle in how Vietnam solves its own problems, how it handles the matters over which it is sovereign.

When pressures are exerted on Vietnam and efforts made from outside to dictate to it how it should act and what it should do in its own country, everyone understands what is hidden behind the slogans and fine words, «we support the freedom and independence of the peoples», «we give disinterested aid», «we respect the rights of nations» etc., which the imperialists use unsparingly.

Now, the Vietnamese people are faced with new great difficulties. But they have never been afraid or given way in the face of difficulties and pressures. They have learned to resist them resolutely and overcome them, no matter how great they may be and from what quarter they may come. Now, as in the past, they enjoy the solidarity and sympathy of all the freedom-loving peoples, and all the progressive forces. Those who stand loyal to proletarian internationalism consider it their duty to assist and support the Vietnamese people against the intrigues of big powers and all those, who willingly or otherwise, support these powers.

THE «THEORY OF THE NON-ALIGNED WORLD» AND THE «THEORY OF THREE WORLDS» UNITED IN DEFENCE OF THE IMPERIALIST STATUS QUO *«ZËRI I POPULLIT»*

The theories of the «non-aligned world», the «three worlds», the «free world» and all the other bourgeois and revisionist «worlds» have the one aim, not to assist the peoples to find the road of genuine anti-imperialist, revolutionary struggle, but to set them on a false trail, harmless to imperialist domination.

IMPORTANT EVENTS HAVE BEEN TAKING PLACE RECENTLY IN AFRICA AND ELSEWHERE, SAYS THE ARTICLE. THE ATTENTION OF WORLD OPINION HAS BEEN CENTERED ON THE LONG-SUFFERING AFRICAN CONTINENT, SWEEPED BY THE FLAMES OF VARIOUS CONFLICTS WHICH THE SUPERPOWERS ARE INCITING AND FANNING UP WITH ALL THEIR STRENGTH. THERE IS FIGHTING IN THE OGADEN AND ERITREA, FIGHTING IN CHAD AND THE SAHARA, FIGHTING IN ZAIRE AND ANGOLA, TORRENTS OF BLOOD ARE FLOWING IN RHODESIA, SOUTH AFRICA AND S.W. AFRICA. DAY BY DAY THE GIANT ANTONOV RUSSIAN AIRCRAFT UNLOAD MERCENARY SOLDIERS IN EAST AND WEST AFRICA, AND THE GIANT HERCULES AMERICAN AIRCRAFT TRANSPORT THE FRENCH FOREIGN LEGION AND THE SOLDIERS OF THE KING OF MOROCCO TO THE EQUATOR.

Ministers from Britain, West Germany, the United States and elsewhere are rushing back and forth

all over Africa in an attempt to convince the insurgent peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania to surrender their weapons to the white racists.

«ZËRI I POPULLIT» — Organ of the CC of the PLA

The imperialists of the East and the West are quarrelling, screaming accusations at each other about «interference in Africa», «expansionist aims», «disturbing the international balance», etc. etc. The old and new superpowers, the old colonialists and the neo-colonialists who have just begun to stretch out their tentacles, are all rushing to declare themselves defenders of the peoples and champions of peace in Africa. And under cover of all this deafening propaganda and cunning demagoguery, Africa is being inundated with foreign troops, with arms and munitions, with experts and advisers, diplomats and preachers.

A united front has been created including everyone from the old colonialists and United States imperialism to the Soviet socialimperialists and others, for the purpose of undermining, strangling and extinguishing the struggle of the African peoples. All these powers are trying to preserve their colonial domination or to seize dominating positions on this continent from one another. To the imperialist powers, anything which might hinder the independent, economic, political and social development, anything which might drown the African people's aspirations for social progress and genuine democracy, anything which violates and denies their vital interests, is fine. No morality, either the religious morality which they profess or the bourgeois morality to which they are devoted, stops them from torturing the black people of South Africa and Rhodesia, from killing the poor peasants of Ethiopia, Zaire or Angola and plundering the African oil, copper, uranium, iron and phosphate in the most insatiable and barbarous way.

Proceeding from that old imperialist principle of divide and rule, the colonialists have left the new African states a legacy of an endless number of border, ethnical, nationality, and other problems. Now the American imperialists, the Soviet socialimperialists and the others are exploiting the situation to set one people against the other and to hinder their uniting in the struggle against foreign and local **exploiters**. The imperialists and neo-colonialists are mounting a great propaganda campaign to incite feelings of hatred amongst African countries, to stir up old jealousies and set off new conflicts for narrow nationalist, tribal, racial or traditional ends. They are unsparing in the arms, instructors, advisers and specialists, they send to teach the African peoples how to fight and kill one another better.

In many African countries today, continues the article in «Zëri i Popu-

lit», it is the powerful capitalist and imperialist states which are making the law, which are propping up many of the local ruling cliques, which are directly dependent on them and which they install or remove, or even kill, as their own interests dictate. It is these anti-national, anti-popular reactionary cliques, real gendarmes of neo-colonialism, which guard the interests of the foreign capital invested in Africa, which defend the banks and subsidiaries of multi-national companies, which guarantee maximum profits for the foreign monopolies, which keep the people under oppression and in darkness, so that they will not see how they are being fleeced and plundered by imperialists and colonialists.

But now nothing can stop the awakening of the peoples of Africa, their struggle for freedom and independence, for political and economic rights, their struggle for full sovereignty over their national resources and assets and for their own culture and traditions. Neither the white mercenaries and imperialist weapons, dollars and rubles, nor the crucifixes of missionaries and the defeatist theories which are being exported wholesale to this continent from all over the world, can prevent the re-birth of Africa. And neither can those cliques, sold out to imperialists and colonialists, prevent this re-birth, however zealous they may be in their merciless betrayal. Today, the freedom and emancipation of the African peoples is a major demand of the time. The ominous forces of retrogression may make desperate efforts to hinder it, but the wheel of history will continue to roll forward as relentlessly as ever.

Neither the so-called theory of the «non-aligned world» which is being propagated with extraordinary zeal by the Yugoslav revisionists, nor the «theory of three worlds» can save the reactionary cliques, which are gover-

ning many countries of this continent, and the imperialist and neo-colonialist domination in Africa. The theory of the «non-aligned world» and that of «the three worlds», comprise a two-headed monster, created by the imperialists to deceive the peoples and to assist the imperialists in difficult situations. The political and ideological platform, which the inventors of these two theories advocate, is a strategy to preserve the status quo, to wean the African peoples away from the right road of the revolutionary and liberation struggle, in order to defend the imperialist domination and neo-colonialism in Africa, as well as in other regions and continents. They have come to the aid of the big imperialist powers, the former colonialists and the new neo-colonialists, to hinder the economic, political and social development of the peoples.

The advocates of the «non-aligned world» are trying to spread the illusion that it is possible to create a movement with neutral countries, independent from the military blocs of the United States of America and the Soviet Union, which could exert pressure on the superpowers, to convince them by logic to abandon their expansionist policy and with their hands on their hearts to share the wealth of the world in a fair and rational manner. Therefore, they say, there should be the minimum resistance to their policy, as little as possible struggle and revolutionary action to defend the rights of nations, as little as possible effort to lay down a clear line of demarcation between the friends and enemies of the peoples. According to them, what is needed is the maximum number of international conferences and seminars, the maximum number of meetings and theoretical debates, the maximum number of concessions, to convince the Americans and Russians that they must not «align» the world. Let us beg the American, British, French, German,

Belgian and other monopolies, to assist the economic, cultural and other progress of Africa, Asia and Latin America, out of their good will and the kindness of their hearts, they say.

This «non-aligned world» is like a dream, but a dream which the imperialists and revisionists, the neo-colonialists and capitalists are advertising noisily, to keep the peoples wrapped in illusions and to divert their attention from the dreadful reality in which they are living.

Daily practice, when even the reactionary ruling cliques are presenting themselves as «non-aligned», as «anti-imperialist», «democratic», «popular», «progressive» and even «socialist», shows that the whole theory of the «non-aligned world» is a great fraud, designed to blunt the vigilance of the peoples and divert them from real struggle against imperialism, and especially the two superpowers. What sort of «non-alignment» is it when even those countries in which oppressive counterrevolutionary anti-popular regimes, linked with a thousand visible and invisible threads with world imperialism and its military, economic and financial structures, etc., are in power, proclaim themselves and are accepted as «non-aligned»? It is well known that many states which advertise themselves as «non-aligned», while not formally members of NATO, the Warsaw Treaty or any other military bloc, have committed themselves completely to one or the other superpower or to the two of them, as well as to the other big capitalist and imperialist powers, through a series of treaties and official operative agreements.

How can the theory of the «non-aligned world» or that of «three worlds» be considered theories which fight for the liberation and emancipation of peoples oppressed and exploited by imperialism, which oppose the interference of the superpowers in the internal affairs of other coun-

tries, which are for defence of the independence and sovereignty of nations, when they take under protection and consider as allies such criminals and hangmen as Mobutu, Bokassa, and others like them who are savage enemies of their own peoples and vile lackeys of imperialism? How can those who sell the interests of their Homeland, who turn to whoever gives or promises the most, who are with the socialimperialists today and with the Americans tomorrow, or vice versa, be defended and proclaimed heroes of the struggle against the two superpowers, as the «theory of the non-aligned world» and the «theory of three worlds» require?

It is by no means accidental, continues «Zëri i Popullit», that the chiefs of American imperialism like Carter, the Soviet socialimperialists and representatives of other imperialist powers, express their warm and enthusiastic support for the advocates of non-alignment. This shows that their slogans and initiatives are advantageous to and in the service of world imperialism to maintain its hated domination over the peoples, in the service of the various reactionary pro-imperialist oppressor cliques which are ruling over these peoples.

All the hollowness, demagogy and falsity of the defenders of the theories of the «non-aligned world» and the «three worlds», is immediately apparent when they come up against concrete events such as those in Africa. On every occasion, they have always taken the side of the imperialists and neo-colonialists, have supported their intervention and have become apologists for reaction. Let us take the events in Zaire.

It is difficult to determine exactly what occurred in Shabab, who are these Katangese gendarmes and those who caused the disturbance, where did they come from and where did they go? The imperialists of the West and the East are making mutual ac-

cusations, while trying to cover up the truth. Others, who pose as the greatest friends of Africa, came out openly on the side of American imperialism, took Mobutu under their protection and hastened to support the dispatch of foreign military expeditions to intervene in Shabab. But the question arises, does the whole of Zaire constitute one state, as Belgian imperialism decided and as American, French and other imperialists have accepted? Are there ethnical, nationality, and other problems of this nature there? Have these problems been properly settled? According to the «theory of three worlds» these problems are to be settled not by the people of Zaire, to whom they belong, but by the Foreign Legionnaires and African Spahis.

The theories of the «non-aligned world», the «three worlds», the «free world» and all the other bourgeois and revisionist «worlds» have the one aim - not to assist the peoples to find the road of genuine anti-imperialist, revolutionary struggle, but to set them on a false trail, harmless to imperialist domination. They are intended to preserve the present status quo, the troubled situation of oppression, created by the old and new colonialists, by deceiving the peoples that they are allegedly non-aligned, free, and so on.

However, the peoples of Africa and the sound revolutionary forces cannot believe in the theories of the non-aligned world or the three worlds, which day by day are demonstrating in practice whom they serve. The peoples cannot trust those reactionary cliques who are in the service of foreigners. At the head of various African states there are people who are really concerned about the good of their peoples, who are sincerely trying to set their countries on the road of progress. But various pressures are being exerted on them, from within and without, especially by the zealous supporters of «non-alignment» and

the «theory of three worlds», who are trying to impose on them the views and ideology of submission to imperialism and to lead them into the many traps which the old and new colonialists are setting for them.

There are also realistic leaders of a number of African states who are striving to strengthen the unity of the African peoples and states against imperialism and neo-colonialism and against any interference in their internal affairs. These leaders cannot fail to enjoy the support of all the freedom-loving and progressive forces of the world. But such leaders are opposed, both by the imperialists and by the advocates of the «non-aligned world» and the «theory of three worlds», who describe them as radicals and consider them undesirable. However, the African peoples already have long experience of struggle

against foreign oppressors and their various lackeys and know how to discriminate between those who truly defend them and those who betray them. It is not for us to say how such statesmen should act, but their good intentions must be defended. Every people knows how to make its own judgement of the good and the bad intentions of its own leaders, and they have always defended the good aims, just as they have fought the bad ones.

The present day developments on the African continent, says the article in «Zëri i Popullit» in conclusion, prove that, if there is not resolute struggle against all the imperialists, old and new, the American imperialists, the Soviet socialimperialists and the others, if there is not consistent struggle against the local reactionary cliques in the service of imperialism and neo-colonialism, if the different opportu-

nist theories, such as that of the «non-aligned world» and the theory of «three worlds» are not unmasked, there can be no genuine sovereignty and independence, no correct economic and social development and no democracy and progress. The right road, which the situation requires, for the peoples of Africa and other zones, where imperialism and neo-colonialism prevail, is that of resolute, organized resistance against the political, economic and military interference of the imperialists, against their dangerous plots and intrigues and against the deceptive ideologies and the demagoguery which the foreign powers spread. The fate of the African peoples is in their own hands. The whole of progressive world opinion is with them. The Albanian people have been and will always be resolutely in support of the fraternal African peoples.

PEOPLES ASPIRE TO A REAL DISARMAMENT

THE TENTH SPECIAL SESSION IS CONVENED AT A TIME WHEN INTERNATIONAL SITUATION IS CHARACTERIZED BY MANY CONTRADICTIONS AND GREAT CONFRONTATIONS, AT A TIME WHEN GRAVE AND TURBULENT SITUATIONS EXIST IN THE WORLD, AND WHEN NEW EXPLOSIVE ELEMENTS ARE GATHERING.

THE LARGE ARSENALS OF ALL KIND OF ARMS WHICH THE TWO SUPERPOWERS AND OTHER IMPERIALIST POWERS HAVE ACCUMULATED, THEIR HEADLONG ARMAMENT'S RACE, THE PERFECTING OF CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS AND THE PRODUCTION OF NEW WEAPONS, AS WELL AS ALL THEIR OTHER PREPARATIONS FOR WAR, ARE SOME OF THE MOST FLAGRANT MANIFESTATIONS OF THE GRAVE EXPLOSIVE SITUATION WHICH EXISTS TODAY IN THE WORLD AND CONSTITUTE A FACTOR FOR THE FURTHER AGGRAVATION OF THE SITUATION.

Today the two imperialist superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, are the greatest and most savage enemies of the peoples, peace and real security. They are the biggest militarist powers of all time, the main forces of world reaction, and the principle source of war and aggression. Both when the two imperialist superpowers rival and when they collaborate, they are equally dangerous, to the same degree and the same extent.

War is in the very nature of imperialism and social-imperialism, and in order to carry out war and aggression, they invent and produce colossal amounts of arms of all kinds, they maintain large standing armies, build up huge naval and air forces; they make ceaseless efforts for the consolidation and perfecting of their military complexes as well as the NATO and Warsaw Treaty military

blocs. We think that in these conditions, it is important that the peoples should be told the truth as it stands, that the problems of disarmament should be presented as they stand, viewed from the angle of the defence of the interests of the peoples and the freedom-loving sovereign countries, to stop the imperialist powers and the other opponents to real disarmament from continuing their speculation with the aspirations of the peoples and from lowering the vigilance of the peoples before they bring their weapons into action. Although it is several decades since the end of the Second World War, wars and aggression in the world have not ceased, and ever larger amounts of weapons have been used against the peoples.

Never before have the efforts of the imperialists and the socialimperialists to transform our planet into a depot of destructive weapons and into a base of war been so great as today. The American and Soviet oc-

cupation troops are still stationed in a number of European countries and they have no intention of withdrawing. On the contrary, in the talks which have been going on in Vienna for many years now, the two superpowers are continuing their bargaining to legalize the stationing of their troops in Europe. At a time when so much clamour is being raised about «disarmament» and «detente», the European peoples have the right to pose the question: why do they speak only of the reduction of American or Soviet armed forces in Europe and not of their leaving Europe altogether? Why are the two imperialist superpowers and their aggressive blocs organizing and intensifying their military manoeuvres of an offensive character? Any attempt at justifying these manoeuvres is superfluous and can deceive no one. These manoeuvres have always been the prelude to war and aggression. They are organized to prepare war, to launch aggression even when, for the sake of form and ceremony, observers are invited from the opposing side to follow them.

The imperialists and socialimperialists speak a great deal about the horrors of nuclear war in order to intimidate the peoples, to break their will to fight and resist. They use nuclear blackmail so as to lead the attention of the peoples away from the danger posed by conventional weapons, to make them accept the existence of these weapons as the least evil which can be tolerated in the present cir-

From the speech of ABDI BALETA, Albania's representative, at the 10th extraordinary session of the UNO's General Assembly.

cumstances, as well as to stop them from rising against aggressive wars which are fought with conventional weapons. If so far the imperialist superpowers have not used nuclear weapons, this does not mean that they will not use them some day.

Atomic bombs are not produced for decorative purposes, but conventional weapons should not be neglected and forgot, either.

It is precisely by using such weapons that the imperialist powers have been fighting barbarous and destructive wars today. Indeed, they prefer these arms to use them in local wars and aggressions.

...When it comes to the question of the preservation of the nuclear monopoly or their superiority in other kind of armament, when it comes to misleading and frightening the peoples, the USA and the Soviet Union find their common language and declare that the talks are advancing.

When it is to their interest to justify the increase of their arsenals of war, they do not hesitate to accuse one another of obstructionist attitude, of sabotaging the process of disarmament, and each declares loudly that it cannot permit its interests to be damaged and the balance of arms to be tipped to its detriment.

We see these double tactics also here in the proceedings of this session.

The imperialist superpowers and the reactionary forces, which carry on with their game, are feverishly seeking to create the psychosis of fatality. They pretend that every nation, every country, especially the small ones, have no other alternative except that of going under the «defence» umbrella of one or the other superpower, or relying on one imperialism in order to oppose the other, of linking themselves to one military aggressive bloc in order to escape falling in the hands of the other. The imperialist superpowers avail them-

selves also of some ideas, which are being widespread today, in order to weaken the struggle of the peoples. The propagators of these ideas want to convince the peoples of the sovereign countries that it is not to their interests to irritate the superpowers, but to pursue a policy of balance between them, to suit their actions to the junctures created by the imperialist superpowers, to adapt themselves to the political and diplomatic game which the superpowers are playing. But one cannot fail to forget that the history of Europe and of the other regions of the world is full of examples which bear testimony to the fate that awaits all those who pin their hopes on such policy. The aggressors have often unleashed their wars of aggression under the pretext of the preservation of «balance» or the «re-establishment of balance».

The aggressive military blocs of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty are the two chief pillars on which the strategy of the two imperialist superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, has its base for the extension of their domination and hegemony over the whole world and for their preparations for a new world war. Today they constitute the same great danger to the freedom and independence of the peoples. It is a very significant fact that precisely when the session of disarmament of the UNO is holding its proceedings, the aggressive blocs of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty meet to discuss armament, preparations for war.

Is this not an open challenge to this very session and to the idea of disarmament? In our opinion, any illusion connected with the character and the activity of these aggressive blocs is fraught with very dangerous consequences.

We hold that all efforts at masking or prettifying the aggressive nature of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, to justify and encourage the strengthening of the military potential of

one or the other bloc and their preparations for war against the peoples, must be rejected.

...The initiatives taken to create the so-called peaceful zones or zones free of nuclear weapons in various parts of the globe, or the ideas about the transformation of the Balkans into such a zone, do not avert the danger threatened by wars and weapons. The very fact that the imperialist superpowers support and encourage the creation of such zones, as islands of peace in the midst of the large ocean of armaments, testifies to the fact that their ultimate aim is to lull the vigilance of the peoples into sleep.

The imperialists, socialimperialists try to present as inconceivable the idea that the small peoples and countries can live free and independent without the economic and military support of a great state. Such concepts must be refuted with resoluteness. History has clear testimony that when the peoples are determined to rely on their own forces and on the militant solidarity among themselves they can succeed to face up to and even to inflict defeats on their enemies, however great they be, however powerful they seem. In order to cope with success with the aggressive policy and imperialist and neo-colonialist interference, sound unity and real solidarity of the freedom-loving peoples and countries, and not false solidarity, are needed.

The preachings of the theoreticians of «three worlds» about indiscriminate unity of the real anti-imperialist forces with the pro-imperialist, reactionary and fascist forces, indeed even with American imperialism, sabotage the struggle of the peoples against their enemies, the two imperialist superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union. When disarmament comes up for discussion, the question is raised: Who impedes real disarmament? Do conditions exist today to solve the problem of disarmament, and what should be done to create them? It is a fact that dis-

armament seems to be an unrealizable dream.

We think that armaments and the armament's race is on the constant increase, not because principles are lacking, not that insufficient documents and resolutions on disarmament are drafted, not because mankind has been lacking in wisdom to understand the danger of weapons.

The real causes are quite different. Arms, the armament's race, the preparations for war are the product of the policy of the imperialist powers, they are the concrete expression of the intentions of imperialism and socialimperialism for the extension of their domination all over the world.

Therefore, in our opinion, it would be utopian to think that the imperialist powers, in the first place the USA and the Soviet Union, can take any real step towards disarmament. Even if they accept, demagogically, some small limitation of armaments or reduction of the armed forces, or the suspension of the production of some new weapon, this does not affect their military arsenal, does not lessen their dangerous nature.

Peoples aspire to a real disarmament. The interests of the peoples require that the reactionary theories and slogans, that the imperialist and reactionary powers of any stamp are spreading in order to justify their wars of aggression and their preparations for a new world war as well as their intentions to stir up or to unleash this war, should be rejected.

The leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, has stressed: «When you are determined to live free and stand ready to fight, then the blackmail is knocked back, strength is revived, the people's courage mounts, and it is difficult for the aggressor to

attack you... The important thing is that the peoples should not fall into fatalism, become passive observers and be caught unawares; they must be prepared for the worst and fight to prevent it from occurring».

The PSR of Albania is determinedly against the armament of the imperialist powers. According to our opinion, before thinking of the possibility of taking real and serious steps towards real disarmament, it is necessary to create a minimum of indispensable conditions.

In the first place it is important to liquidate the military blocs of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, to have the Americans and Soviets withdraw their troops from Europe and from the other continents, to put an end to the military manoeuvres of the two imperialist superpowers and their blocs, to destroy all the military bases of American imperialism and Soviet socialimperialism in the world and to drive their naval fleets from the Mediterranean, from the other seas and oceans.

It is in the interests of peace and security in the Mediterranean that the countries of the Mediterranean basin, which have foreign military bases in their own territories, should liquidate them and give no port facilities to the naval fleets of the two superpowers which touch their ports for repose, supplies or for so-called friendly visits.

Concession of air corridors and port facilities to the air and naval forces of one or the other superpower is the cause of danger to the freedom and independence of the people of that country as well as to the peoples of the neighbouring countries...

The Soviet socialimperialists dream of transforming Albania into a

naval base and our ports into centres of their warships against our neighbours and the other friendly peoples of the Mediterranean. But the Albanian government, standing firm in the face of blackmail and threats, rejected with determination all these attempts and did not permit the foreigners to establish themselves on the Albanian land. The Constitution of the PSR of Albania clearly and explicitly consecrates that «the establishment of military bases and the stationing of foreign troops in the territory of the PSRA is prohibited».

This vital principle expresses the complete sovereignty of the country over its own territory.

This constitutional norm is also an expression of the principled and friendly internationalist policy followed by Albania with the objective that its territory should never under any circumstances be utilized for aggressions against the neighbouring peoples and countries.

With this action, it has given and gives its modest contribution to the defence of peace and security in the Balkans, the Mediterranean and Europe. The PSR of Albania has taken measures for the defence of its own freedom and independence.

The Albanian people are determined to face up to the enemies, who have aggressive intentions against their country, with courage and with all means.

The steel-like unity of the people around the PLA, a real Marxist-Leninist Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at its head, is strengthened day by day and constitutes the guarantee for the defence of the victories achieved, for the advance towards the construction of socialism.

press review

THE BROAD WORKING MASSES OF LATIN AMERICA OPPOSE THEIR EXPLOITATION BY THE LOCAL CAPITALISTS AND THE FOREIGN MONOPOLIES

— «PUNA», organ of the Central Council of the TUA —

The class struggle against the savage capitalist oppression and exploitation in the countries of Latin America is assuming ever broader proportions. The broad working masses of these countries are raising their voice of protest with ever growing strength against the savage exploitation to which the local capitalists subject them, against the plundering of the national assets by the foreign monopolies, and in the first place, by the American ones. This finds its clear expression in the constant growth of the number and proportions of the strikes, the demonstrations and protest manifestations in which an ever larger number of working people of these countries is taking part. They opposed not only the oppression by the local capitalists but also by the foreign monopolies which make fabulous profits from the toil and sweat of the workers and from the exploitation of the natural wealth of these countries. A characteristic of the stern class struggle is the fact that it is going beyond the limits of economic claims, a thing which has aroused the worries of the officials of the various reactionary regimes, who have sold the interests

of their own countries to foreign capital. Powerful strikes and demonstrations have been organized in the recent times in Colombia, Brasil, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Salvador and other countries.

A stern class struggle directed against the savage capitalist oppression and exploitation has flared up in Colombia. Among the numerous strikes and demonstrations organized in the various cities of this Latin-American country, is included also a general strike in which 500,000 people took part.

Ever stronger grows also the class struggle of the broad working masses of Brasil, which oppose the efforts of the capitalist owners at saddling them with the heavy burden of the crisis. Although the military clique there has declared the strike to be against the law and liable to condemnation, the revolt of the Brazilian working people has burst out with renewed strength. It is directed against the savage capitalist oppression and exploitation, against foreign capital, in particular, which has the main branches of the economy of this country under its own control. In the recent times, more than 45,000 workers of the different machine building com-

panies, which are controlled by foreigners, have gone on strike. They protest against the savage exploitation to which they are subject in the branches of foreign companies. At first, the strike involved only the workers of the Swedish machine building company, only to take on larger proportions with the participation in the strike of the workers of the other great companies such as «Ford», «Chreysler», «Volkswagen» and «Mercedez Benz». This is one of the largest strikes ever organized in Brasil during the last ten years.

Broad were the proportions of the strike movement also in Guatemala where the working masses have become the object of intolerable oppression and exploitation. More than 3,000 workers of the electrical services went on strike recently, leaving the capital of this country and the region about without power supply. They were protesting against the laying off of many of their fellow workers as well as against the efforts of the capitalist owners at imposing on them a number of humiliating conditions through the new contracts.

The extension of the class struggle in Latin America

clearly indicates the increase in the consciousness of the broad working masses of these countries, which have been and are actually the object of the greed of capitalists. But the Latin-American working people are becoming ever clearer about the fact that in order to win their rights they must never cease their struggle, on the contrary they must escalate it further against the reactionary anti-popular regimes and against the penetration of foreign monopolies. Facts have shown and continue to show

that the reactionary regimes are tools in the service of the local bourgeoisie and the foreign capital, and that nobody among them ever worries about the living conditions of the broad masses of working people, on the contrary, they resort to all available means, be it even violence, in order to hold them under check. This helps to fan the hatred of the broad masses of working people against these reactionary regimes, and boosts the determination and courage of these masses to carry the struggle

for their rights through to the end. With the demands of the working people of Latin America where reactionary cliques hold sway, going beyond economic limits, the direction of their struggle against the system of oppression and exploitation, the class contradictions between labour and capital has become sharper. In this determined and uncompromised struggle against the bourgeoisie and its oppressor police apparatus the proletariat is further tempered for the future class battles.

THE TWO SUPERPOWERS — CHIEF SUPPORTERS OF REACTIONARY REGIMES

Commentary by the Albanian Telegraphic Agency —

The American imperialists and the Soviet socialimperialists are the chief supporters of reactionary regimes. They provide these regimes with large military and economic «aid», with the objective of propping up these regimes, and together with them of realizing the neo-colonialist oppression and exploitation.

The amount of this aid varies according to the degree of the loyalty of one reactionary clique or the other with regard to the superpowers. By strengthening the

reactionary regimes militarily, they secure not only the continuation of the all-round plunder and robbing of the countries where these regimes are in power, but, on the other hand, they use them also to aggravate the situation in the surrounding regions, in order to create turbulent situations and to stir up conflicts in these regions, which serve as pretexts for the open interference of the USA and the Soviet Union. This is clearly evident also from the recent

conflicts in the various zones of Africa, where the interference of the superpowers and of the other imperialist powers, as well as the role of the reactionary regimes which play the game of the superpowers, have aggravated the situation.

One of the chiefs means of «aid» of the US imperialists and the Soviet socialimperialists to the reactionary regimes is given in arms. By supplying various armaments to these cliques, they instigate them into massacring the peo-

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ples on which they rule, into putting down the national liberation wars, as well as into urging them against the other neighbouring countries. Seen in this aspect, both the American imperialists and the Soviet socialimperialists have become the biggest arms dealers. The American imperialists alone envisage to sell 13.2 billion dollars worth of armaments this year. Inside a period of the last ten years, the Soviet socialimperialists have sold armaments amounting to a value of 20.6 billion dollars. This amount of armaments is on the constant increase and this year it will reach record figures.

There where rivalry for hegemony between the two superpowers is fiercer, the efforts for economic and military penetration are on the constant rise. In the zone of the Middle East, for instance, the superpowers have increased their arms trade with the reactionary regimes and with the Zionist Israeli aggressors to broader proportions. The American imperialists have supplied Israel with most modern means of war of American make. Similarly, increasingly larger supplies are given to Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and other countries. In the recent times, the American Congress approved the

proposition by Carter for the sale of new modern means of war to Israeli, among which ultramodern American aircraft F-16, F-15 telecommanded missiles, and other arms are included. According to the affirmations of the American press, the Americans have sent and continue to send the bulk of the stock of arms, which they sell abroad, to the Middle East. During the last 15 years, the American military aid to Israel amounts to a value of more than 9 billion 500 million dollars and is foreseen to further increase. Proceeding from the same expansionist aims and ambitions, the Soviet socialimperialists are also endeavouring to preserve and even extend their positions in the Middle East. They offer large military aids to the reactionary regimes. Meanwhile, the Soviet socialimperialists have given military «aid», reaching the 3 billion 500 million dollars to African countries in the recent times. On their part, the American imperialists, provide the racist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia, where they have great economic and strategic interests, with large military aid.

Through the military aid, the American imperialists use the racist clique of Foster and Smith to further their im-

perialist intensions. On the other hand, these regimes serve also as means of pressure on the neighbouring African countries, which are determined to develop their national economy and to strengthen their independence.

In their rivalry, the American imperialists and the Soviet socialimperialists endeavour to extend their influence also over other zones. This creates grave situations, which weigh heavy on the peoples. Therefore, the various peoples of the world are ever more clearly seeing into the fiendish and anti-national character of these «aids», which are nothing else but new shackles which tie them hand and foot. In many countries, the broad working masses have stood on their feet to oppose and turn down the «aids» offered by the imperialist superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union. On the other hand, they are building up their faith and strengthening their determination to organize their armed struggle against the reactionary anti-popular cliques and the interference by the imperialist superpowers. It has already burst out in a series of countries in which reactionary regimes are in power, such as in South Africa, Rhodesia, Thailand, the Philippines, East Timor, and other countries.

**press
review****«ENRICHMENT» OF THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE
OF «LIMITED SOVEREIGNTY»***«ZËRI I POPULLIT»*

There is no region and country of the world where troubles, conflicts and intrigues are stired up, and where misery and ignorance, which are cultivated by neo-colonialism, prevail, in which the presence of the Soviet social-imperialism, alongside American imperialism, in rivalry with the latter for domination and hegemony, is not noticed. Many are the doctrines which the ideologists of US imperialism, the presidents of the USA, have created in the years, in order to sanction this savage activity against mankind. For many years now, these doctrines have been borrowed also by the ideologists and chiefs of Soviet socialimperialism. Meanwhile, these doctrines, dug out of the files of the darkest forces of history, are being «enriched» and are being adapted to the ever-growing appetite of both Washington and Moscow.

In this same manner, the doctrine of «limited sovereignty», which with its birth sanctioned the ignominious fascist-type aggression against Czechoslovakia by Soviet socialimperialism, has now more than its original «values». The ideologists and chiefs of Kremlin are ever more openly spreading it beyond the borders of the countries of Eastern Europe,

giving it planetary proportions. Just as the American imperialists, who endeavour to sanction their presence and expansion in the various countries and zones of the world under the label of «the defence» of the so-called «free world», the socialimperialists of Moscow, also, on their part, seek to justify their expansionist policy and their hegemonic intentions. In this manner, next to «socialist community», the Soviet socialimperialists are extending «limited sovereignty» over the regions which they describe as «close» or «closer» to them, from the territorial standpoint. On the basis of this division, they endeavour, for example, to justify their interferences and rivalries with American imperialism for the domination of the Middle East. On this occasion, they mention the «interests» of the Soviet Union and connect them with the «present and future development of events in this region, which is» much closer to the Soviet Union than to the United States of America. «This,» say they, with the cynicism and overbearing of the big state, «must not be ignored by anyone.» We see the same imperialist policy pursued ever more blatantly also with regard to the countries and regions of the Gulf. The Mos-

cow propaganda trumpets overtly that «the Soviet Union cannot remain indifferent to the situation that develops in this region, which is situated so very close to its Southern borders». The right of the sovereign countries, the freedom and independence of the peoples, their will and right to resolve their problems themselves, without foreign interference, to chose the road of their development and to determine their own destinies, carry no value at all for the Soviet socialimperialists, just as for the American imperialists. They reduce everything into «geographical expressions» related to the state borders of the Soviet Union, placing everything to the dependence of the geographical distance from the Soviet Union and the United States of America, which, in turn, is interpreted according to the Great Russian interests. On the basis of these criteria, which find their only parallel in the norms of fascists «rights» of relations among states, the Soviet socialimperialists officially declare the limited state sovereignty of the countries and peoples of various regions, describing them as mere tokens to be bartered in their dealings and rivalry with American imperialism. This course of action is adopted not only with a

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view to occupying military, economic and political positions in certain territories, but also with a view to getting control and occupying the oceanic and maritime areas, regardless of the fact that these areas may lie thousands of miles away from the Soviet Union and have no connection whatsoever with its land.

Just as the Hitlerites in the days gone by and as American imperialism today, Soviet socialimperialism accompanies this hegemonic and expansionist policy with all sorts of theories, essentially racist and wholly imperialist, on «its role and mission in the world». Now, it divides the peoples into «big» and «small», which consequently entails unequal roles in the development of society and the history of mankind, the former are supposed to lead, and the latter are supposed to have been borne only to be led by, the former are presented as «creators» and superior, the latter as being unable of creating, and so on. These theories are extended also over the political field as well as in the spiritual and economic field. Thus, for example, according to the Great Russian revisionist theoreticians, it is the duty

of the «great peoples, creators... to guarantee the happiness and flowering of all the countries of the planet, to improve life in the world». If we add to these the declarations of the chiefs of socialimperialists, according to which «the destinies of the peoples depend on the perspectives of the Soviet-US relations», it grows clear who are those «great peoples» and what it hidden behind the nice words attributed to them. According to the doctrinarians of the Kremlin, it is they who now give «the only possible direction through which progress and the conditions of work for every single state and for the whole community of the world can be guaranteed». In this discriminating logic, the world, the states, the peoples are left with no alternative other than that of blindly following the Soviet socialimperialists, of obeying them and of submitting to them with slave-like gratitude.

The peoples cannot fail to see and assess the danger threatening them both on the part of American imperialism and Soviet socialimperialism. They can no longer remain passive or fall into fatality in the face of the treats and blackmail by these «young masters» of the world. The

peoples are growing ever more conscious of it that the two imperialist superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, are equally dangerous to their freedom and independence, to the revolution and socialism, therefore they refute also the anti-Marxist preachings of the new opportunists of the theory of «three worlds» who advocate reliance on US imperialism, on the aggressive NATO bloc and on the reactionary and fascist regimes. Everyday facts testify to the growing opposition which American imperialism and Soviet socialimperialism and the aggressive blocs of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty are coming up against everywhere in the world, regardless of the fact whether they are presented as the saviours of «western civilization», or go under the pseudo-Marxist cloak of «internationalism». They are increasing their vigilance in the face of the schemes and plots of these arch-enemies of mankind, these «modern» criminals, who show their rotten atomic teeth; they are joining forces to put them to the straight-jacket, in order to impose their own will, the only sovereignty, the only supreme law they obey, on the enemies.

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ANZUS — MILITARY PACT WHICH OPPOSES THE INTERESTS OF THE ASIAN PEOPLES

«LUFTËTARI», organ of the Ministry of People's Defence of the PSR of Albania

Numerous facts increasingly testify to it that, in its rivalry with Soviet socialimperialism, American imperialism is exerting all its forces with a view to strengthening its military, political and economic presence in Asia to the detriment of the freedom, national independence and sovereignty of the countries and peoples of this continent. It is common knowledge that, just as in any other region of the world which has great riches and strategic importance, in Asia too, this rivalry for spheres of influence and hegemony between the two imperialist superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, which are also the two greatest exploiters and international gendarmes, the most dangerous enemies of all the peoples of the world, is on the ascendant. With all the blows it has been dealt at, the USA is continuing to maintain its very strong positions in this region, and seek with every means to strengthen them. Not without definite intentions, the American Secretary of State, Vens, declared that the interests of the USA in Asia are important and of long duration. Similarly, Soviet socialimperialism, on its part, is trying to increase its penetration and

to extend its influence on this continent. To carry into effect these expansionist and aggressive intentions, both the USA and the Soviet Union have long since gone headlong on an all-round onslaught against this region. Their naval fleets are prowling the waters of the Indian Ocean, they are setting up new military bases, and are enlarging and consolidating the existing ones. Through its envoys, Vens, Brown, Mondale, the USA has begun to intensify the activity of the military alliances such as SENTO, ASEAN, and ANZUS, whereas the Soviet Union, under the high-sounding name of «collective security in Asia», is endeavouring to create other military pacts, as instruments of their policy on this continent. The uninterrupted reciprocal visits to and from Moscow and Dehli are clear testimony to this.

It is a known fact that the military pact of ANZUS, just as those of NATO, SENTO, SEATO, was created at the instigation of American imperialism many years ago as a military instrument in the hands of Washington for the realization of its imperialist intentions towards the Pacific Ocean and the Far East. With the SEATO growing

bankrupt and the strong blows it was dealt at in Southeast Asia, American imperialism began to extend the sphere of the activity of this military pact not only to the Pacific and Oceania, but also to the Indian Ocean. In the course of his visit in Australia, the Vice-President of the USA, Mondale, expressed it openly, declaring that «the sphere of the activity of ANZUS does not end within the Indian Ocean». These intentions are clearly expressed in two directions: on the one hand, in the military strengthening of ANZUS through the supply of modern means of warfare to the members countries of this bloc, through the setting up of military bases in them, and through their ever growing involvement in various military manoeuvres, such as was the case of the naval manoeuvres carried out a month ago in the Pacific Ocean with the participation of Canada, Australia and New Zealand, on top of the United States; on the other hand, in the intentions of Washington to consolidate the ties of military collaboration between ANZUS and ASEAN, which is another pact in Southeast Asia, which under the mask of economic purposes, links

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up Indonesia, Thailand, the Philippines, Malay and Singapore with a view to oppressing the revolutionary and liberation movements of the peoples of this zone.

The activation of the Asian policy of Washington demonstrates that American imperialism, in its fierce rivalry with Soviet socialimperialism, needs an ever more complete involvement on the part of the reactionary regimes of this continent in the aggressive plans of the Pentagon, plans which are directed against the freedom and independences of the peoples.

With a view to covering up its aggressive intentions, Washington endeavours to justify and to present its increasing military presence in Asia as a factor of «peace» and «stability», as a factor of «balance» in this zone. Soviet socialimperialism makes the same demagogical statements, as well. However, both superpowers cannot cover up their fiendish schemes. The strengthening of military influence directly serves the plans of the two superpowers for hegemony and expansion, it serves their efforts to control the strategic routes and the natural assets situated in this region. It is enough to mention that almost one fourth of the export of the USA is earmarked for the

Asian markets, whereas the direct American investments made inside of one decade (1965-1975) have increased from one to five billion dollars.

The Soviet socialimperialists are also motivated by the same expansionist interests in their efforts to penetrate this zone. Through «aids» and «credits», they endeavour to win the support of these reactionary regimes, with the ulterior aim of helping them suppress the true national liberation movements and to create the conditions for the exploitation of the Asian peoples. Obviously, their intentions clash with the interests of the USA, which cannot make the slightest concession, and, on their part, resort to all means, even to force, in their efforts to preserve and consolidate their hegemonic positions in Asia. As well as this, the efforts for the strengthening of ANZUS are the direct result of this fierce American-Soviet rivalry, at a time when this bloc is literally in the hands of American imperialism. Therefore the peoples sharpen their vigilance, intensify their struggle to weaken and destroy the base of the aggressive forces. They are aware that they must link their struggle against the superpowers also with the strug-

gle against the lackeys of the superpowers till their final destruction, because only in this way can they cut the predatory claws of imperialism, socialimperialism and world capital. The very fact that in Thailand, Malay, the Philippines, Indonesia, Iran, India, Australia and elsewhere, the peoples are intensifying their struggle against their regimes in power shows that they do not discriminate between the internal enemy from the external enemy.

Speaking of this problem at the 7th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasizes: «The imperialists and socialimperialists have as their close allies the reactionary bourgeoisie of each country where they exercise their influence. They use these allies to do their dirty work and wield the whip on their behalf, so they feed and arm them to have them ready as a striking force in a world conflagration and against peoples who rise in revolution against their internal and external oppressors. Therefore, these forces cannot be separated from one another. Without combatting the one, you cannot combat the other, without combating the internal reactionary force until you have overthrown it, you cannot combat the external enemy, you cannot prevent war».

**press
review****THE CHILDREN — VICTIMS
OF SAVAGE CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION**

— «PUNA», organ of the Central Council of the TUA —

In the various bourgeois and revisionist countries even the children are subjected to savage capitalist exploitation. From their earliest years they become acquainted with the savage oppression and exploitation of the owners who employ their slender young arms, too, to increase profits, as well as with hunger and poverty. The graver the crisis grows, the more deeply these countries become bogged down in it, the more the savage capitalist exploitation is intensified, and the heavier the burden of oppression. Innumerable facts speak of the intolerable difficulties of life for millions of children in the USA, Italy, Spain, Portugal, India, the Soviet Union, Poland etc., for whom the bourgeoisie ensures a future of ignorance, poverty and suffering. Millions of children go hungry, are left in the darkness of ignorance and at the mercy of various diseases and epidemics, which take their lives at an early age. As a result of dire poverty, there are 600 million hungry children in the world today who are forced into the savage mechanism of capitalist exploitation, or to beg in the streets.

According to the western press, every day hundreds of

children become «professional» beggars in the streets. In many capitalist countries, 300 out of every 1,000 infants, die. The process of «selection» continues throughout the whole of their short lives, when they become victims of accidents at work, various diseases, and the intensification of the exploitation and starvation. According to UNO statements, 45 million children up to 14 years of age work in the same difficult conditions and under the same tension as adults in the capitalist countries. The owners of the various US industrial enterprises or the landowners aim to employ as many children of 10-12 years of age as possible in certain jobs. This is done for many reasons. The children are treated savagely, they are beaten, compelled to work long hours and are paid only a quarter of what adults get for the same work. If one of them dares open his mouth in protest, he is threatened with the «law» and is forthwith laid off and replaced with another, who is compelled to sacrifice himself in order to feed his family. In the USA, 25 per cent of the work force in agriculture is made up of children the majority of whom are coloured.

In Italy, apart from their very difficult living conditions, children find the doors of schools closed to them because of the high school fees, the high cost of school books and the lack of schools. More than 500,000 Italian children have no possibility at all to attend school and thus are not enrolled. They roam the streets of the various cities hunting for work or begging. Those who find jobs are paid only a quarter the wages of other workers. In the province of Milan, alone, the number of children, who are exploited in an unscrupulous manner in the agricultural zones, amounts to more than 100,000. Many among them become ill or suffer accidents at work. In Spain, too, hundreds of thousands of children aged under 14 years old are worked to the bone for their daily bread and live in dire poverty. Their pay is only one third to one fifth of the pay of other workers for the same work.

Not only are children subjected to merciless exploitation but they are bought and sold like any other ordinary commodity in the capitalist market. This is going on in West Germany, Italy, South Korea and other countries. There are special agencies which are

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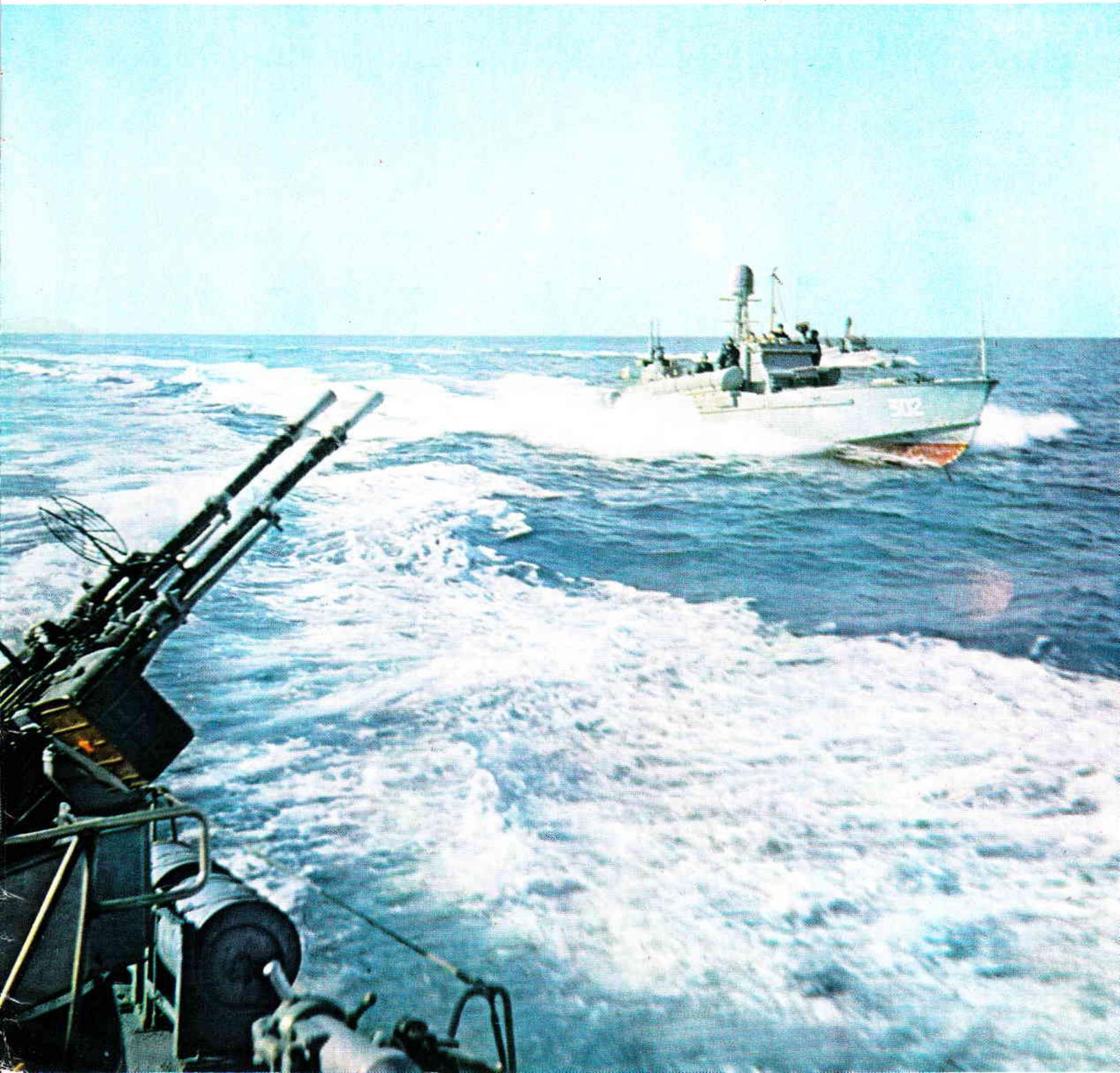
expert in «solving» the problem of buying and selling children, because they have links with the maternity homes. Frequently, young mothers are told that their child died at birth, whereas, in fact, their infants are sold in the child's market. Prices vary according to the colour of the skin, sex, etc. In the USA there is even an international agency for the sale and purchase of children. One such agency is that directed by Stanley Michelman. Recently this «honest» businessman has pocketed 173,000 dollars earned from the sale of children that he secured from the maternity homes. During the last ten years, the South Korean trade in child slaves has sold 31,000 children to the

USA, thus realizing profits that amounted to 72,900,000 dollars. The future of these children is clear. They end up as servants of the bourgeoisie, mercenaries, etc., thus, remaining despised all their life and slaves to the dissipated tastes and desires of the bourgeoisie. Through this despicable traffic, the international capitalists also ensure a supply of girls for their brothels.

These are only some aspects which reflect a part of that bitter capitalist reality of the life of the hundreds of millions of children. This illustrates the really inhuman nature of this rotten decaying system, which is utterly corrupted and unjust. The «humanism» talked about so

pompously by the bourgeois ideologists, that allegedly characterizes the capitalist way of life, is simply a fraud to hide the bitter truth. The reality is quite different. The struggle of the broad working masses against this deplorable and intolerable situation shows this. In the strikes, demonstrations and protest rallies and in all the activity of the struggle of the broad masses of working people against the bourgeoisie and its system of oppression and exploitation the consciousness of the working people and their determination to demolish this power of barbarous oppression and exploitation to its very foundations, is rising.

On Guard, in Defense of the Homeland



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