

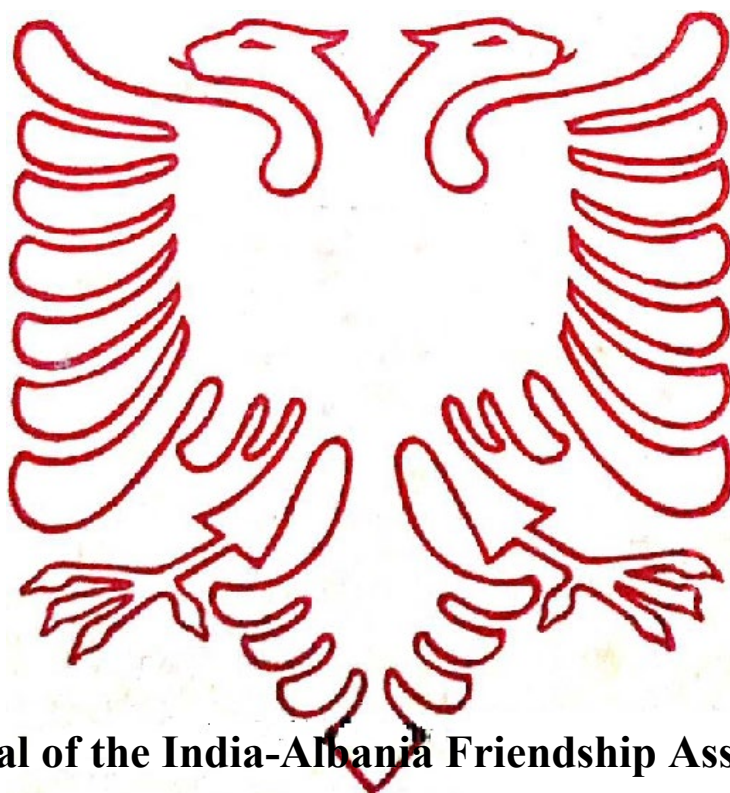
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Reflections on China

—by Enver Hoxha
Thursday, October 14, 1971

The Communist Party of China is not sending a delegation to the 6th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania

The Chinese ambassador in Tirana communicated this news to us and Keng Biao communicated it to our ambassador in Peking. We did not expect such a thing. It never crossed our minds that the Communist Party of China would make such a public 'challenge' to our Party.

What are the reasons they gave?

1) That at their last congress they decided not to invite delegations of sister parties to their congresses and not to send delegations of the Communist Party of China to the congresses of sister parties.

2) That the international communist movement at present is not as it was before many Marxist-Leninist parties and groups, which have not yet confirmed themselves and appear to be divided, have been formed and indeed in various countries there are two or three such parties, etc., etc.

3) That the comrades of the leadership are very occupied with state and internal party affairs at present and are unable to leave their country, etc.

However, the Chinese ambassador added, "The Communist Party of China will send a message of greetings to the 6th Congress of the PLA and good wishes for the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Party of labour of Albania, articles will be published in our newspapers and mass meetings will be held in work centres", etc.

These are the famous reasons which they give for not coming to the 6th Congress of our Party. All these reasons are without foundation, and some of them are lies. Let us analyse them one by one.

The congress of the Communist Party of China has not taken such a decision as they claim. It is logical that the Central Committee or the Political Bureau should make such a decision. Such a decision could be taken, but at definite moments and in specific instances and should not become a principle as it is put to us by the Chinese comrades. They decided not to invite delegations to the 9th Congress of their Party. This is normal and no one could oppose it. They could also have taken a decision, as they did, not to come to the 6th Congress of our Party. From the formal aspect this is a right they have, but it is not permissible for them to lie about it. The Central Committee, the Political Bureau, or certain leaders may have taken the decision not to send a delegation to the congress of our Party but not the 9th Congress of the Communist Party of China. With this uncouth manoeuvre they want to cover up the action of the leadership by calling it the implementation of the decision of the 9th Congress of their Party, that is "cutting off one's nose to spite one's face". This decision was taken recently, in the middle of

September. Two events prove this :

a) In June, they told a comrade of the Communist Party of Poland who was in China and wanted to come to Albania: "Stay until October and go to the Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania".

b) An Indonesian comrade asked us two or three days ago: With what airline can I come to Tirana to take part in the 6th Congress of the PLA, because the Chinese comrades told me previously that I could come together with the Chinese delegation which was to be headed by Li Hsien-nien, but now they have informed me that they are not going to send a delegation.

Thus, these facts prove that this is not a decision of the congress, that a decision to send a delegation to the 6th Congress of our Party has been taken and was retracted following the letter which we sent to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in which we expressed our opinion in connection with Nixon's going to Peking. It also turns out that this decision was taken after September 1, when the manifestations and parades in Tien An Men were stopped and cancelled, when an aircraft crashed deep in Mongolian territory, when military and civil flights were banned in China, the airports closed etc....

Tuesday, March 21st, 1972

Nixon's Journey to China, the Sino-American talks, the final communique

The Chinese press had ceased its propaganda against American imperialism, but while waiting for Nixon, it was obliged to write several times "in defence" of Vietnam, which at these particular moments was being heavily bombed by the Americans. Hence, precisely at this time, when the Chinese were awaiting Nixon, the Vietnamese stepped up their attacks, Nixon stepped up the bombing, while the Soviet revisionists came out as 'the only sincere friends of the Vietnamese', as "rabid anti-American", and accused China of "forming an alliance with the United States of America against Vietnam". During this time, the Chinese kept their mouths shut and did not reply to the Soviet propaganda, and it is easily understood why they were obliged to do this. The reason is that they found themselves in a weak position in regard to Vietnam and wanted to avoid making it appear that talks with Nixon would be against the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile, the other side, American imperialism and the whole capitalist world, gave this journey very great publicity and dug up everything they could find to say or guess about it. In other words, they beat the drum so loudly that to a certain degree they managed to create the impression in the world that this journey 'would change the course of history', that the rabid anti-communist Nixon would achieve that rapprochement with China which no other president of the United States of America had managed to achieve. The bourgeoisie put Nixon down in history as the "man of peace" and the fact is that during all this time its propaganda became so deafening in this direction, that his terrible work as a war criminal who is slaughtering the peoples of Indochina, etc., was obscured,

China has great responsibility in the matter of accepting Nixon in Peking without laying down the slightest condition. But not only China is responsible for this propaganda victory of Nixon. The Vietnamese themselves, who are allegedly "angry" with the Chinese over Nixon's going to Peking, have long been engaged in secret talks with the murderers of their people, And that is not to mention the Soviet revisionists.

who are up to their necks in filth through their contacts and collaboration with America.

The President of the United States of America had hardly rested after his journey, when he was received by Mao Tsetung and in his working office at that. As far as we know, this had never occurred before. Mao Tsetung has always received other friends and guests, even the closest friends and guests of China, at the end of their visit. He has always received our delegations, too, at the end. The American journalists did not know that Mao would receive Nixon immediately he arrived and apparently neither did the American delegation, therefore they described it as a "bombshell". And in fact this reception was a bombshell. In this way Mao wanted to display his special warmth and gratitude to Nixon for these contacts and talks, wanted to display intimacy, because he received him in his studio and on the table where the President leaned his elbows, there was a pile of books, in order to let Nixon know that he was dealing with a 'groat thinker'. Mao Tsetung also wanted to show Nixon that it was he, Mao, who opened this "new era in the world", which is the "question of Sino-American relations" and on the other hand to tell the Chinese people that this "policy of friendship" with American imperialism "is my policy and not Chou En-lai's". If this policy does not turn out well, "we have experience and lay the blame on Chou".

The communique issued after the Mao-Nixon meeting, said only "the talks were sincere and frank hence, it was neither fish nor fowl, while the Chinese television spoke in another language. Mao and Nixon appeared on the small screen happy and laughing, clasping each other not by one but by both hands, Kissinger was lolling smiling and happy, in an arm-chair, as if in his own home, Chou En-lai was *aux anges*?¹ laughing and chuckling so loudly that he became embarrassed and covered his mouth with his hand. Hence the atmosphere was more than friendly, and this atmosphere only the Chinese television, that is a controlled television, had captured and then it was shown on the small screen and this was done by Chou not without a purpose, but so that history would fix this "historic moment", so that the Americans would see it and the Chinese people, too, would be orientated by this "brilliant proletarian strategy and tactics" of Mao Tsetung.

After this "very significant" act of Mao's, the atmosphere, which had appeared constrained, improved, the ice was broken, "a hundred flowers began to bloom" and "they set out on the long march".

The banquet put on by the Chinese was magnificent. What did Chou En-lai say at this banquet? All the good things, as if he were addressing not a new friend but an old one, because "the Chinese people and the American people are friends", etc. Hence, Chou said: We must seek the normalization of relations between our two countries and exchange opinions which are of interest to the two sides. In the end, said Chou, the doors to friendly contacts have been opened.

This means, in other words, that Nixon is a friend of China and the peoples, because it is he who opened these doors of friendship. For Chou and those who think like him, Nixon ceased to be an imperialist, a fascist, an executioner of peoples. This means to go over to the road of lackeys of imperialism...

The Sino-American communique is the most disgraceful document conceivable. In this communique the "beautiful" views of the two sides are set out equally, side by side. The Chinese "feed us large helpings" of general phrases. "The people want freedom;

¹ In the seventh heaven (French in the original).

where there is oppression there is resistance; the nations, big and small must be equal; all troops must be withdrawn from countries", etc. Thus the Chinese side continues a long tirade without any address or concrete allusion to anyone. Only Japan and Bangladesh are mentioned by name, while everything else has been eliminated. Does the famous politeness of the Chinese (?!) require this since "the guest is in their house"?! Why did you invite him? However, it would be better to say that the new line you are following and not good behaviour towards the "guest" you have invited, requires this stand.

The American side indulges in an even longer tirade in the communique referred to. It does not make any commitment, but on the contrary, according to what the communique says "beautiful America" is the "most peaceful and democratic country", the Americans are against aggression, are in favour of self-determination for the countries of Indochina (!). The United States is ready to do this and that whatever you want and whatever you think (plenty of beautiful phrases), but, with other words, says that it is going to maintain its friendship with Chiang Kai-shek, with the cliques of the countries of Indochina and the Republic of South Korea, that it will withdraw its troops from different regions (only in words, of course) "when tension has been reduced", etc., etc. This is the tenor of the American refrain in the joint communique.

What turned out of all this? Nothing! Almost no opposition, although they stress that "major contradictions exist" between them. Not the slightest sign of the polemic appears; but on the contrary, after they performed this "idyllic tableau" before the waiting public, they came out with what they had in their hearts. And the conclusion is this; peaceful coexistence typical of Khrushchev, indeed more perfect than his because according to the Sino-American communique, everything will be settled without conflicts, in order words, "without weapons, without wars", will be settled with rose petals! Truly the tiger turned out to be a "paper tiger". But one cannot work out who is the paper tiger.

Durres, Saturday, July 22, 1972

The "Lin Piao Plot"

At last, after nearly eleven months, the Chinese comrades, through our ambassador in Peking as well as the Chinese ambassador in Tirana, have given us some official information about the "ultra-leftists" or the "Lin Piao plot".

The Chinese comrades tell us approximately this:

Now we (the Chinese) say that the ultra-leftists have been completely unmasked and the main one, the root of them, was Lin Piao. He raised the banner of Chairman Mao against Chairman Mao. During the Cultural Revolution he created a line left in form but right in essence, wanted to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism in China. Liu also had the same aim but he, as it seems, had the party in his grip and was restoring capitalism (the Chinese comrades describe the manner of action as rightist!), while Lin Piao wanted to take power and establish capitalism through the Cultural Revolution (the Chinese comrades describe this manner of action as ultra-leftist).

Lin Piao, said the Chinese comrades, was a typical two-faced element. Earlier, in the time of Wang Ming, Lin supported him, but at that time he was young. This was

considered a mistake due to immaturity. Later he united with Mao, took part in the Long March, indeed did some good things, but also made mistakes during his work, which he corrected. Lin Piao was against the Korean War and the sending of the Chinese volunteers there. He appeared to have admitted his mistakes, but on the other hand, he had undermined everything which was in the interest of the party. When Chairman Mao launched the Cultural Revolution he took up the banner of Chairman Mao, but in fact he was working for himself.

They also told us: Chairman Mao was not in agreement with the assessments and glorification Lin made of Mao's ideas and work. All that glorification which built up Mao to the skies. Was anti-Marxist, because it put him above Marxism-Leninism, because the Chinese soldiers and officers hung portraits of Mao round their necks, because they bowed before the portrait of Mao every morning and made self-criticism before this same portrait (as before icons of Christ).

We Albanians condemned all these things as anti-Marxist and idealist craziness when we heard of them while the Chinese leadership tolerated them to the extent that it even wanted to impose them abroad. We not only never accepted these actions, but condemned them with disgust from the time they first appeared in the Cultural Revolution.

The assessment that "Mao Tsetung thought is the highest peak of Marxism-Leninism" or that "Mao is the greatest Marxist- Leninist of our days", etc , which Lin Piao made (and the others swallowed) was idealist. The Chinese said that Mao had allegedly criticized Lin Piao for this long ago and he had allegedly accepted the criticism, but in fact had continued his work in order to present himself as Mao's loyalest supporter.

In fact, he conspired to kill Mao on three occasions, say the Chinese, but they told us only of one occasion, the one in which Lin Piao's son, Deputy-Commander of the Air-Force, had formed a group of a hundred people, with which he was to kill Mao and Chou En-lai, to capture the premises of the Central Committee, and overthrow the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lin Piao is accused of inciting enemy elements to carry out sabotage against the party and to spark off clashes within the army during the Cultural Revolution. He had created a group of loyal followers around himself, whose members tried to build him up through flattery.

The Chinese comrades said that Mao saw through Lin's words right at the start, but did not see his schemes. These conspiratorial activities came to light gradually, especially after the 9th Congress of the Communist Party of China, As is known, the decision that Lin Piao was to be the successor to Chairman Mao was approved at this congress. (This thing, too, just as all the other things, we Albanians condemned long ago.) Lin Piao, seeing that Mao Tsetung was in good health, was afraid that the torch would never be handed on to him and that was why he hatched up the plot in order to seize power as rapidly as possible".

Lin Piao, the Chinese told us, felt that Mao would understand these things, therefore at the 2nd Plenum of the CC in 1970 he assembled his group to carry out a coup d'état. At that time Soviets committed the provocation on the Ussuri and brought 300,000 soldiers into Mongolia, on the border with China. That is, these were co-ordinated actions. Chen Po-ta was also part of this group, but Mao uncovered him and held up the plot. Chen Po-ta was unmasked (the Chinese comrades themselves told us this). No

measures were taken against Lin Piao. They say that Mao worked to save Lin. However, from the facts it turns out that he was not detected, but was criticized for a number of mistakes, while continuing to gather his men to stage an uprising.

When the plot was discovered, on the morning of the 13th of September 1971, he fled by aircraft in the direction of the Soviet Union, but the plane crashed and burned in Mongolia. Five hours before the plane took off, Lin Piao's daughter informed Chou En-lai that her father was fleeing. Mao allegedly said: "Let him flee". In order to cover his own tracks, the conspirator Huang Yung-sheng proposed that they should shoot down the aircraft with rockets, but Mao stopped this, because they would be accused of murdering him, and they had no facts with which to accuse him. Abroad the aircraft were Lin Piao his wife and his son, the pilot, with no navigator or radio operator, and some other persons of no importance, eight or nine people all told.

Hence, according to the Chinese comrades immediately after the plot was discovered, Lin Piao wanted to go to the Soviet Union, and thus unmasked himself. The aircraft crashed and burned on the ground, because it ran out of fuel. "It was proved that the ultra-left trend had been hatched up and encouraged by Lin Piao and that the slogans to overthrow Chou En-lai, Chen Yi, and Yeh Chien-yi had been issued by him".

This means, said the Chinese comrades, "with the exposure of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and other conspirators by the Cultural Revolution, the party has been purged, has emerged stronger and with a higher level of consciousness in the struggle between the two lines and in the class struggle".

Huang Yung-sheng, Li Huo-feng, Wu Fan-hsien, Tsin Hui-teh, who have been arrested, took part in Lin Piao's group of trusted followers. The Chinese told us . "We have said nothing publicly on this matter, as to other matters, we are waiting to see what the Soviets will say", It stands to reason that the Soviets will say nothing, because they do not want to compromise themselves, and neither do they want to compromise Lin Piao. The Chinese can wait if they like, "Meanwhile, everybody in our country knows about this and is clear on it", said the Chinese comrades. "We have not said anything outside. Dangerous situations in the struggle between the two lines have occurred on ten occasions in our Party, but this was the most dangerous and most serious. Now the ultra-left trend has been thoroughly exposed. The Cultural Revolution was protracted, because of the sabotage of Lin Piao," they continue and then add: "Nr. 516 Organization was described as counterrevolutionary because on the 18th of May 1966 the Central Committee issued a document drafted by Mao about the Cultural Revolution, which was a call for the overthrow of Liu Shao-chi. Besides aiming the arrows at the overthrow of Liu, Lin Piao also aimed them against the Central Committee in order to overthrow it and then take power". The Chinese comrades said that during the Cultural Revolution there were things which even they themselves did not understand. The teachings of Mao were not applied, because Nr. 516 Organisation was counterrevolutionary. The document of 16th of May 1966 was discussed within the party, while on the 10th of May 1966 it was published for the masses to study it thoroughly (after a year ?!).

The Chinese comrades said that Lin Piao was exposed little by little, that he worked behind the scenes. "We have had a great deal of sabotage in our external relations, and in the Foreign Ministry there were groups which were guided by the ideas of Nr. 516 Organization. Both we and Mao Tsetung," said the Chinese comrades, "had understood

Lin Piao's aims, but we did not think that he would engage in an open plot. Lin did not say much, but worked in secret".

"The Report to the 9th Congress was only read by Lin Piao" (Astonishing! The Vice-Chairman of the party was allegedly a gramophone record!)

This was the whole history of the Lin Piao Plot, which the Chinese comrades reluctantly told us of, nearly a year later. What secret, mysterious thing was there that our Party, which they consider very close, should not be told at least the main facts of the event and be told the other things later, after they had analysed them? Let it be, this passed like the rest. We have no reason not to believe this version which the Chinese comrades give us. We consider that such a thing is very likely to occur, indeed, even more dangerous plots can be hatched up, which may end up in catastrophe for the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism. This can occur if revolutionary vigilance is lost, if the party is not on the rails of Marxism-Leninism, if it is educated in the idealist spirit of cull of the individual and not on the basis of materialist dialectics and historical materialism.

The "Lin Piao plot" was truly dangerous and rather frightening, because as it turns out from what the Chinese comrades tell us, "Lin was closely linked with the Soviets". Hence, Lin, "together with the wife and his collaborators, was their agent".

But again the question arises : How was Lin Piao allowed to do all these things?! How was this man, who had made mistakes placed at the head of the party and boosted so much?! How was it allowed that Chen Po-ta, the person they told us what he was, should be placed at the head of the Cultural Revolution?! How did it come about that "all those great mistakes", which were made during the Cultural Revolution, were not prevented in time?! They say that they did not understand! But those things were sticking out a mile, even we understood them from away over here, though we did not know many things and had no knowledge of the directives issued, so they should have understood them.

The fact is that the Communist Party of China was not "on its feet", if it was not liquidated, it was paralysed and the Chinese comrades say that Mao's directives were not implemented. Who was to implement them? The conspirators? It is self-evident that they would not implement them, but on the contrary, would sabotage them. If the Chinese comrades do not take these analyses through to the end in order to disclose the true causes and find the true Marxist-Leninist cure nothing will go right in China; other, even more serious things will occur there. They say that such events have occurred ten times. This means that they have become a tradition, a line there. They can occur, it is a big country, a big party! However, the Chinese comrades have not drawn the real lessons from all these bad things. Groups in the leadership are quarrelling, attacking being overthrown, one after the other. As soon as one is overthrown a second one rises, this falls and another rises. Explanations are made in the party, Mao alone remains the banner. All of them fight under the banner of Mao, but this banner of his is not identified with that of the party so that this can wave. Idealism may be combated in words, but the cult of Mao is nothing other than idealism. Instead of strengthening the party, making it self-acting a leading force, it paralyses it, makes it an automaton. Decisions are made only when Mao is asked to say the word, but how he will say this word, depends on those who dictate it to him.

Apparently, as far as it is possible for us to judge from the facts available, Mao and

the Chinese comrades thought that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution should have been over within the year, without strife or struggle. The Liu Shao-chi clique, which had a firm grip on the reins (and Mao himself told our comrades : "We do not who will win"), would surrender immediately, without resistance. An astounding concept of the revolution and the class struggle!!

The enemy seizes power from you and is establishing capitalism and you think you are going to wipe out the enemy while excluding any violent method, Then, when these things, which are entirely possible, occur, you call them "ultra-left", irrespective of who Lin Piao was. But the revolution was guided by Mao and on the staff of the revolution here were also Chou En-lai, Kang Sheng, Chiang Ching, etc. What did they do ? Were they in agreement with these things that were done, or not? If not, why did they not prevent them? If they were unable to stop them, because Lin was all-powerful, then they cannot say: "We did not understand at all what Lin Piao was up to". To understand what Lin Piao was up to at last minute when his daughter comes and tells you that her father is about to flee, shows great ideological and political blindness.

Then to fail to prevent Lin Piao from fleeing, means to have astounding ideas about the class enemy and the class struggle. This speaks of the megalomaniac idea of the great state which says: "Let this enemy get away, even if he is Lin Piao; he will expose himself". This is true, but it is not right to think that he can do no harm.

The Chinese comrades present Lin Piao as very "cunning", but he did not show himself at all cunning in his plot and his treachery. His plans to kill Mao and Chou En-lai do not seem to be all that refined; on the contrary they are clumsy: a coup d'état with a hundred men, as in Latin America.

According to what the Chinese say, Lin Piao emerges as a simple agent of the Soviets whom they have put in a tight corner and told: Act at all costs, kill Mao, seize power, because "China has joined the United States of America". However, the Ussuri incident occurred before Nixon's visit to Peking, about which the Chinese comrades told us not a word. Was Lin Piao in agreement over the talks with Kissinger and the decisions which were taken? On this, they are silent, saying not a word. Why?! Can it be because we were against Nixon's going to Peking, for totally different reasons. We base our stand on correct aims and principles. If they are not telling us anything in connection with this problem in order to avoid offending us, thinking that allegedly on this point we were in agreement with the Soviets and Lin Piao, so much the worse for them! In this case they, the Soviets and Lin Piao are in ultra-right, revisionist positions, in accord with American imperialism and in strife with one another to win a powerful imperialist partner. Hence, this very important point remained unexplained to us by the Chinese comrades. But this does not surprise us, because this is neither the first nor the last unexplained point.

The policy of opening doors to the United States of America in these forms and ways in which it was done by the Chinese, marked a great about-face. It is not possible that Lin Piao did not have and express his own opinion on this policy. He has expressed his opinion. At least as far as we know officially, Lin Piao was against both the Soviets and the Americans to the end. Kang Sheng was in those positions, too. Was he a conspirator as well? Or was he ultra-left and blind and did not see what was going on around him? In the explanations which the Chinese have given us all this remains obscure.

The other question, again somewhat obscure to us, is the attempt by Lin Piao to flee by aircraft. It seems a very careless flight, completely unorganized. How was it possible that Lin Piao, the Minister of Defence of China, Vice-Chairman of the party, on whom "they have no facts", did not know that his daughter had denounced him five hours before he was to flee?! How is it possible that "the secret agent of the Soviets", as he has been described, who entrusted the arrangements for his flight to his son, a conspirator, the Deputy-Commander of the whole Chinese Air Force, should select an aircraft without a crew, without sufficient fuel, without a radio, which would crash in Mongolia and be burned up like a child's toy?! Such actions do not seem in the least like those of the putschist plotters who, as they told us, were going to kill Mao and Chou En-lai and take everything in hand with a hundred men. It seems surprising that Lin Piao took off so precipitately, while his main collaborators and pezzi grossi stayed behind and did not move at all. Astonishing!! However such amazing things occur in China, therefore they should not surprise us this time, either. We have believed them a thousand times before, so why not now!

However there are surprising things which amaze one and make one think. What is not being said about Lin Piao now, even by the Chinese themselves. Apparently, even our various specialists who go to China are told about it by the organizations which meet them. The back-ground is the same but the fioriture² differ. What are they not saying now about the past of Lin Piao!! Then the question arises even more forcefully: How was it possible that this person reached the posts which he occupied? Moreover, it is said that Mao knew of Lin's mistakes, had criticised him and wanted to correct him!! The to correct this person, was it necessary to make him Vice-Chairman of the Party and Minister of Defence?!! This is too much to swallow!

The Chinese are saying now, "he cleared out in such haste that he forgot to take his cap and at the aircraft he couldn't wait for the steps to be brought up, but he scrambled in with help from inside"!! Of course, the fact that Lin Piao left with such haste, "from fear that he would be captures", has ben brought up as an argument to justify the version that the aircraft had insufficient fuel. The haste was also the reason that the aircraft did not have a radio-operator or a navigator!! These things are hard to swallow! "Lin Piao fled", they say, "because he realized the plot has been discovered from the time Chen Po-ta was exposed". However, his "get-away" occurred months and months after the exposure of Chen Po-ta and Lin Piao had the possibility "to get away" not once but twenty times.

On the other hand, how is it possible that the Vice-Chairman of the Party and Minister of Defence of such a great country as China, "such a dangerous conspirator", should so lose his head as to forgot his cap, that the stops to board the aircraft were missing and the plane had insufficient fuel for the flight? Then how did this "dangerous conspirator" get away and leave his associates, the other conspirators, in the lurch? Did they not have the possibility to seize aircraft from other points and make their escape? Of course they had. Why did they not do this, but only Lin Piao?

What about the other version: Could they have forced Lin Piao to flee and liquidated him on the way? Kamikaze!

Let us suppose the version according to which Lin Piao had expressed opposition to the line which was being followed, we do not know in what directions, but we must

² Embellishments (Italian in the original.)

assume on the policy which began to be followed towards the United States of America, His opponents taxed him with being pro-Soviet and dangerous. Then it was decided to liquidate him. They had no facts and in this way a plot was hatched up against him. He was summoned urgently to Peking, boarded an aircraft and when he saw that he was not landing in Peking, asked : Where are we going ? When later they saw they were in Mongolia, he and his people brought out their revolvers and killed themselves. What went on inside ? The aircraft came down and was burned out. Nothing was learned.

A Canadian newspaper reported that Kissinger had told the Canadian Prime Minister that expertise had proved that bullet marks were found in the wreckage of the aircraft". How true is this? Are the Soviets telling the truth or telling lies? It could be true. It could be a lie. The Soviets have the key to this mystery ! But it is advantageous to them to give such a version, which makes what we supposed above more plausible Why ? - comes the question. Why was there shooting within the aircraft?! Who opened fire and why?! Did only Lin Piao fire?! And if we accept this version, he started shooting because he saw that they were taking him outside China, to Mongolia (and not to the Soviet Union, as the Chinese say), against his will.

All these versions are suppositions dictated by the unclarity of the facts which the Chinese themselves provide. Officially we accept all that the Chinese say, but time will explain everything.

With this issue ends the serialisation of portions of the first volume of "Reflections on China" by Enver Hoxha.

Review Article

Enver Hoxha and Ramiz Alia : On the Liberation of Women in Albania; Norman Bethune Institute, Toronto, 1976. 77 pp. Price \$ 1.00.

The work under review deals with the objectives, methods and general perspectives of the women's movement in Albania, following the proletarian revolution. ^ Deprived of the opportunities of social and political association and economic independence, it was not until the 20th century that Albanian women began widely and collectively to protest against their social isolation and claim equality in all spheres of social, political and economic life. Running through the entire work is the idea that the oppression of women is class oppression. Hence the movement for women's liberation cannot be separated from the liberation of the proletariat. Rather, It is a component part of the proletarian revolution. In Albania two forces have worked towards the emancipation of women—the actions of the feminist organisations themselves and the revolutionary ideology. Not only do the roots of the women's movement coincide with those of the revolution, but each revolutionary phase has had great repercussion in the location, structure and fortunes of the movement for women's rights.

This booklet is divided into two sections, the first being a speech by Enver Hoxha underlining the PLA's perspective of the struggle for women's rights. The second half comprises of a report by Ramiz Alia, of the intensified campaign for the completion of this struggle during the phase of socialist reconstruction. In his speech Enver Hoxha underlines the fact that the women's movement was integral to the socialist revolution and therefore must necessarily be analysed from the standpoint of Marxist-Leninist theory. The breakup of the bourgeois and feudal system created the true groundwork and necessary conditions for the liberation of people from exploitation of man by man

and of woman by man. Medieval obscurantism as well as the bourgeois concept of private property had generated an ideology that held women in harsh bondage. But the proletarian revolution resulted in the uprooting of private property which no longer forms the material basis of the new regime; in its place developed the collective ownership of the means of production. The antagonism between the sexes, which, according to Engels, may be considered the first manifestation of the class struggle in the history of mankind, is done away with by the proletarian revolution, as is capitalism, the bourgeoisie and its ideology of exploitation. Yet the physical abolition of private property does not automatically wipe away its ideology from the consciousness of the people. In fact the task of carrying the revolution ahead through a constant dialectical process under the leadership of the party, would also involve the dissemination and practice of women's equality in accordance with the laws of proletarian ethics. Deliverance from capitalist exploitation and participation in production are, according to Enver Hoxha, two phases of the emancipation of women. While the first is achieved through war and revolution, the second needs to be intensified and carried ahead in the post-revolutionary period. Therefore the mass participation of women in production, running the economy and affairs of the state, in the process of education and above all in political life is of vital importance to their struggle for emancipation, a struggle which qualitatively differs from the anti-male feminism of capitalist countries through the common goal communism towards which it directs itself.

The second section of this book, a report by Ramiz Alia, addresses itself to the practical aspects of this question – it discusses concrete methods towards the enhancement of women's role in a socialist society and the achievement of complete emancipation from oppression, material and mental. One of the fundamental norms of communist ethics is the need to consider women as comrades and co-fighters in the building of socialism. The only way this principle can be concretised is through mass participation of women in social and productive labour and the entire political and social life of the country. According to the report women constitute 42% of the total number of urban and rural workers in Albania. Yet remnants of feudal, bourgeois and patriarchal ideology hinder the full participation of women in production due to the counter-productive attitudes towards work that they foster. In cities women are shy of productive work while in other cases their enslavement within the home is also detrimental to the tasks of socialist reconstruction and it is in this direction that the women's movement needs to be focussed. Increased participation in the political and economic life of the country can however be achieved through the uplift of the cultural, educational, technical and professional levels of women. In this sphere Ramiz Alia reports major changes under Party rule. Illiteracy amongst women has been wiped out by about 90% since liberation. Large numbers of women receive vocational technical training. Despite this, however, the educational level in totality remains low due to other limitations that retrogressive social attitudes impose on women. In the ultimate analysis these attitudes need to be combatted at the family level as well. The setting up of socialist relations within the family as a result of which household work and responsibilities are shared equally by all members will go a long way in collectivization of the domestic economy, turning it into a branch of social production will ultimately complete this deliverance. This, however, is a complicated process and would require, especially in the countryside, its own material and technical basis, in other words, the collectivization of

all service work in the family, liberating it from its functions as an economic unit. But before this can be achieved, a network of public services such as creches, kindergartens and more economic and efficient methods for cooking, cleaning and laundering would be necessary. One aspect however, does not seem to have been dealt with in depth – that relating to women's organisations, their structure, objectives and methods of functioning. A large number of questions can be raised about women's organisations during the phase of socialist reconstruction regarding their degree of autonomy, relationship with the party, attitude regarding membership of male comrades and their structural divisions.

On the whole, however, the two sections of this booklet are mutually complementary; together they provide us with a thumbnail sketch of the perspectives of women's liberation in Albania. While these perspectives may not seem directly relevant to Indian society today as they deal with the post-revolutionary situation, they do offer, in an indirect manner, insights into the problem of women here. Any movement towards the emancipation of women, it follows logically, must be dealt with as a problem of society as a whole. Feminism to be socialist in a genuine Marxist-Leninist sense would need to be a broad movement with a defined political goal and ideology and clear links with democratic struggles of other oppressed sections. Its role would necessarily be ancillary though nonetheless vital to the struggle of the working class for the overthrow of feudalism and capitalism. Issues such as the problem of violence against women, dowry, commercialisation and other forms of discrimination and oppression would therefore have to be analysed from a political perspective as ideological and cultural forms of feudal and capitalist exploitation with the ultimate objective of replacing the existing socio-political system with socialism. While women would need to set up autonomous organisations to spearhead their movement, these organisations would have to at some point be linked to a political party with a working-class base. Only an active politicization of woman's perspectives and practice will be an effective safeguard against the traps of "bourgeois feminism" with its anti-male thrust, an approach which camouflages the real targets of attack and in the ultimate analysis serves to buttress the existing system its exploitative ideology. *M.J.*

Compañera Albanesa

At crucial historical moments the Albanian women have displayed their strength and capability weathering all storms, side by side with their menfolk. They have always been inspired by the lofty ideals of freedom and progress. This narrative treats a theme from the Spanish people's war for freedom in which the Albanian women, too, fought shoulder to shoulder with their own comrades and brothers in the International Brigades.

"Compañera, I have seen the lists of the wounded. There is an Albanian. Can it be your brother?"

"Where is he?"

"Here, this way!" Carmen said.

Kristina caught her by arm and they hurried out to the hallway of the hospital.

Every night fresh groups of wounded were brought in from the front. The girls hurried downstairs and ran past a wounded man plodding down the stairs and pounding the marble floor with his clutches. What a noise he made!

"Who can it be?" Every time she heard of her Albanian comrades, Dimo's face flashed before her eyes.

The dusk was falling.

The courtyard of the hospital was bustling with ambulance cars carrying the wounded to the station.

Feelings were running high in Murcia. Tranquillity was long lost and the city itself looked as if it was severely wounded, although it bore no scars in its face as yet. The Republicans held Franco's sister hostage there and this saved the Interbrigade hospitals from being bombed. But now they were heading north for Barcelona, on an open road, with the aircraft of Hitler's "Condor" legion and the Franco fascists constantly overhead.

Kristina's fingers went instinctively to Dimo's letter which she always carried about her. It was not only a letter from him alone. It was a letter he had written on behalf of all his Albanian comrades. Kristina had read it over and over again until she had learned it almost by heart: "And the day dawned on the height 196 on the Ebro banks revealing the corpses of the enemies, a dim gleam in their helmets. An airplane kept flying overhead and one hundred twenty pieces of various calibres kept us under hedgehog fire. One of our pillboxes was blown up. Communication with our staff was interrupted. Only two dug-outs were left untouched with nine men and one machine-gun each. Then all of us ventured out to try to re-establish the liaison with the staff. Just now we managed to pass and get away unharmed under the hail of bullets which kept showering over the whole zone, no one could tell. But anyhow the liaison was restored and two companies of our battalion mounted a counter-offensive. Within thirty-five minutes, the two battalions of the enemy were routed strewing the vineyards which were razed to the ground with their corpses. Not a single pine-tree was left standing and everything was toppled over and altered. If you could but only see how our comrades attacked under fascist bullets shouting "Viva la vida!"

Kristina fondled the letter with her small slender fingers and felt wonderfully strong. Now she realized where its charm lay. It ended with, "viva la vida!". That is why compañera Albanesa never got tired. She never gave up even when she had to face the hardest of tasks, even at the most critical moments. She stood by the bedside of the wounded and never tired of cleansing swollen wounds, wounds caused by fascist bullets. She recognized all kinds of bullets by the wounds she cleansed...

"Here, this is the Albanian," Carmen said.

Kristina grew suddenly pale, because she recognized at once the dense dark hair of Dimo Orhani. She had always been proud of her fortitude. No one could read in her face the beating and trembling of her heart. War is a stern school. And in spite of this, she could now hardly move her hands when she bent to feel his pulse; they suddenly failed her.

"He lives! he is alive!" she shouted with relief which was more of an attempt to convince herself. "He lives, he is alive, Carmen!"

"Your brother?" Carmen asked, because she could not understand what the Albanesa said in her mother tongue.

"Yes!" Kristina said "He is my brother. Help me to prop him up!" Carmen knew that her compañera Albanesa was never perturbed so easily. And she was surprised when she saw hurry and impatience in her movements.

"Quick, quick!" Kristina said, this time greatly alarmed.

They carried Dimo directly to the operation hall.

Kristina had no time to wait for the result of the operation. She asked Carmen to please look after him and got into an ambulance car which was to take the wounded to the station.

Twilight was falling quite slowly this evening. Twilight was grey and wandered reluctantly over the troubled city. It was penetrating Kristina's heart together with the thought of the last night at Casa Roja. She had a light dress on. Her hands shook and she shivered time and again. But Kristina never gave herself up. The road from the hospital to the railway station was constantly busy. Ambulance cars raced in and out with medical orderlies and doctors. Dimo was the last to be operated on in Casa Roja.

When she returned to fetch another group of wounded, she found Carmen at the landing. The young girl whispered almost inaudibly:

"The Albanesa has not yet been driven out of the operation hall".

"I know it. Carmen, I know it," Kristina said.

Dimo was brought in from the Ebro, from the former riverbed, carrying with him the longing and sorrow of his fallen comrades.

In that night's hustling traffic from the hospital to the railway station, in that constant movement and hooting of ambulance cars, feverish agitation of doctors and sanitary workers, time seemed to have lost something, that it was in persistent search of something. Looking at Carmen's pretty face, Krishna's thoughts turned to the paths of peoples, apparently far apart but which suddenly cross as though out of predestination. And now Kristina could not imagine herself to be out of this turmoil, away from this hospital, this war. True, she had had to go through so many tests and trials until she came here on a passport procured by her comrades, but this had no special importance now. All those days she had walked the streets of Paris from one address to another breathlessly pushing her way through crowds of demonstrators, in search of Halim Xhelo and Gaston Bronn. But she had met Dimo Orhani instead. Dimo was one of the first volunteers from Albania to hurry to Spain. Kristina had expected to find him in Madrid but there he was in Paris, close to her again as if they had never separated! Dimo introduced her to the doctors and nurses who would set out for Spain in a small boat and disappeared, leaving no trace behind as if the earth had gulped him up. But no sooner had she landed at Port-Boué than she was told that an Albanian had been looking for her. This time she was certain that it was Dimo. They set out at once for Albacete where they met a number of Albanians of the International Brigades. And in no time they found themselves at Casa Roja.

During those years the threads of Kristina's life were entangled with the events on all the fronts where the Albanians fought.

Kristina smiled. In her waggon, Waggon No. 21 of the freight train, the Albanian volunteer would be looking after twenty-two heavily wounded fighters. No one of them could move. While Dimo! ... This time, at the last shift, she would learn whether Dimo would be with her.

The big square in front of the railway station, which had been filled with wounded, was almost empty now. The hospital train, which would set out for Barcelona, was so crowded that one could hardly believe it could carry this cargo, that it would be ever able to move on its rails.

Kristina looked smaller and slenderer than usual. But she had enough courage as to

serve the wounded without betraying her feelings on account of Dimo. She spoke to them in a calm voice. She told them she had come from far away, from Albania, to attend those sturdy boys from the five continents, from fifty-three countries of the world to help them return to the front healed.

It was a long night. Kristina carried all of them to the waggon, most of them on her shoulders. Dimo, uncle Fernandez too. Dimo was unconscious. His life hung by a thread. Kristina shivered at the thought of it. She walked to and fro taking care of the wounded like a good mother and seeing to it that her patients felt no cold, hunger or hurt. She realized that the wounded and the sick ate like real children who stand in need of good care, love and heart. She even tried a couple of jokes, in order to boost their morale during that tedious and risky travel. She herself had been brought up in poor circumstances. But the great hour of her life had come one day when she met the communists, her friends and comrades-in-arms.

"The hospital train bound for Barcelona!"

The speaker announced this in different languages in a plaintive voice, as if pronouncing the farewell from Murcia: "Till we see you again, comrades!" Kristina sat by Dimo, cutting the bandage with a small pair of scissors while watching his movements with her heart in her mouth.

She could hardly wait to hear a word in her mother tongue. Only one word: "Well". One who has been in foreign lands knows too well what it means to hear a word in one's mother tongue, a precious and extremely beloved word. "They are alive! They are very well Kristina ..." the words came to her mechanically ... "We wrote with our blood 'No pasaran!' on this land".... She would ask Dimo about all the Albanians fighting on the Ebro front. All had turned their eyes to the Ebro. The Ebro was the last stronghold.

"The train for Barcelona ready to start!"

The waggons started moving. And Kristina heard her comrades all striving with pain.

The train was racing into the night, with a protracted whistle through Valencia, between the Mediterranean and the Ebro, to Barcelona.

Kristina held Dimo's hand gently and watched with deep emotion his protruding cheek-bones, his face which gave no sign of life whatsoever. His pulse was feeble. He was still sleeping under the narcosis. It was a pallid face; all his hair had turned grey. It sent a pang, a sharp pain to her heart to see it so changed. Uncle Fernandez was opposite them and saw well into her heart, for she could hardly refrain from giving vent to her feelings.

"Compañera Albanesa, don't despair!" he butted in as if he had read all her worries on her forehead. "Genuine communists like this Albanian young man always shout 'Viva la vida!', won't they?"

"Yes, uncle Fernandez".

Except that Kristina wished to shout loud, at the top of her voice, so that all should hear: Why go to Barcelona in the night, uncle Fernandez? A lot of blood has been shed on this land. The departure is bitter, bitterer than the death itself...."

...The train panted through the night, winding its way towards the Ebro and the Mediterranean. The night was cloudy, but even clear nights filled with fluttering autumn leaves were similar on these hills. Carmen's gurgling voice was nowhere to be heard. The girl was in her waggon and all the rainy night passed under the distant burring of the fighter planes of the "Condor" legion.

Kristin felt tired. She had spent sleepless nights and days. Now she seemed to have been used to that state of drowsiness, more awake than asleep, characteristic of all mothers who watch over every breathing of their young children. She would at once hear even the most imperceptible movement of Uncle Fernandez or Dimo.

In waggon No. 22 of the freight train they were singing:

*"Soldados: la patria
Nos llama a lid
Juremos por ella
Vencer o morir!"*

It was a long night. Kristina could not tell whether all hope within her had vanished. No, nothing had died within her. Except that she felt that somewhere the reptiles were closing in on the bleeding land of Spain with their cold and sloth body in the darkness.

It was no longer an alien land.

"Soldados: la patria!"

The song was taken up by everybody in subdued voices. Comrades slept in the bosom of this land. In its warm bosom, near age-long olive-trees, evergreens, near the ruins of Bilbao and wounds of Guernica, which built up the confidence of the comrades from all the continents.

"Kristina!"

She bent over uncle Fernandez and adjusted the blankets over his shoulders.

"Kristina, do you hear it?" the old man asked under his breath; From quite a distance the gurgling noise of the Ebro reached them.

"Yes!" Kristina said.

Only then she noticed that uncle Fernandez was holding out a bouquet of flowers to her. She was delighted. She would offer them to Dimo as soon as he woke up. She would keep the bouquet of flowers, which an old man had offered to her hurried run on along the paths of the battles and show it to her comrades. Kristina felt in the bottom of her heart the moment was approaching. It seemed to her that all her life she had done nothing but bandage wounds, cure the wounded, holding white flowers in her hand while battles raged everywhere.

"Compañera Albanesa, these flowers ... the boys brought them for you", uncle Fernandez said.

She could hardly find a word to thank him. But she did not find the time, either. No sooner had they left Valencia than the fascist planes began to bomb the train.

Kristina remained standing in the middle of the freight waggon as if wishing to take all the wounds upon herself, as if she wished to carry all the weight of their sufferings on her tender body. She knew too well that none of the wounded could move out of the waggon and then, more than ever, she felt that one's life could be centred on one single movement, this occasion, when her life, too, could be worth something, no matter how little.

She stood there, smiling, as she looked at each one in turn.

Outside, it was a real slaughterhouse. But Kristina did not suppress her smile, She did not want the wounded, who had fixed all their eyes on her, to read the truth in her face.

She was slim and delicate, but she was the only person on her feet in waggon No. 22 of the train and she seemed to stand there like an oak tree, with deep roots and lofty branches, as if wanting to attract upon itself all the thunder from the black sky. And

then, all of a sudden, she was the first to take up the song: ' Soldados, la patria!'. The others joined in as if hypnotized. Had a shell not interrupted uncle Fernandez's word, everything would have looked like a dream.

But uncle Fernandez kept bleeding. And Kristina, who had often watched Dr. Norman Bethune during critical moments in the forefront of the battle, took hold of uncle Fernandez and began to transfuse blood from her own. Everything was done at lightning speed. Kristina saw the old man's eyes fixed on her, his bulging eyes and his fast breathing.

The bouquet of tender flowers with their fresh petals floated on his blood.

The wounded were tense and silent.

Kristina held uncle Fernandez tight by her side. The blood of the young Albanese oozed on and on in silence. The wounded followed that oozing as if hypnotized by it. Dimo Ornani, who had just come to his senses, also watched that transfusion. Amazed by all this, he looked at each one in succession as if wishing to fix this occurrence in his mind forever....

From: "The Albanian Women" A Great Force of the Revolution, Tirana. 1978.

Zeri-I Popullit

Aggressors Get out of Afghanistan !

The recent military occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet social-imperialists, writes *Zeri i Popullit*, has sparked off a wave of great anger amongst the progressive and freedom-loving people of the whole world. The present intervention is an act of aggression not only against Afghanistan but also against the neighbouring people, against all of the peoples of the region of the Middle East, against international peace and security.

This is a fascist type of aggression, identical to the occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1968. It is a new edition, both from the point of view of the military action, as well as from the point of view of the arguments which were used to justify it. The Soviet social-imperialists are trying to present the occupation of Afghanistan as "legitimate", allegedly carried out according to a request for aid made by the Afghan government on the basis of the so-called "friendship" treaty which exists between the two countries and to defend Afghanistan from external intervention, etc.

All these so-called arguments are just as stale as they are confused. They have been used by all aggressors at all times.

The fact is that the Soviet social-imperialists had carefully prepared the ground for this occupation beforehand, intervening and aggravating the situation inside the country in their favour and binding Afghanistan with the chains of enslaving treaties which the Soviet social-imperialists use openly as instruments to occupy other peoples and countries or to keep them under their dependence and control. The fall of the monarchy and later on of Daoud was a cynical utilization by the Moscow rulers of the desires of the Afghan people for liberation because the people felt the heavy burden of the oppression and exploitation of the monarchy and feudalism and their Soviet allies and wanted to see their country free and sovereign,

To disguise their imperialist aims and to realise these aims as quickly as possible, the staff in the Kremlin brutally interfered in Afghanistan, bringing their own people to

power there and eliminating them one after another in their efforts to find the most suitable and obedient to Moscow. The Soviet Union is not interested in either the freedom or independence of Afghanistan as is claimed or in the liberation of the much-suffering people of that country. What interests Moscow the most is Afghanistan's strategic position in the Middle East, its proximity to the oil resources, its key position in a major region where the savage rivalry between the two superpowers is developing.

The occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union occurred at a time when the United States of America is carrying out broad scale activities to exert pressure and exercise blackmail against Iran, when it is carrying out full-scale economic and political aggression against that country accompanied with a demonstration of force and threats of military intervention. From this angle, the events in Iran and Afghanistan are closely linked and other events of this nature could occur in that region. This shows the intensity of the rivalry between the United States of America and the Soviet Union in the Middle East and the Indian Ocean, what a great and threatening danger the two superpowers pose to the countries of that region.

Their aim is to attack and suppress the revolutionary movements of the people, to stop them from breaking away from the hegemony of imperialism and social-imperialism, to obstruct the peoples from entering the road of independent national and democratic development. The barbarous aggression of the Soviet social-imperialists against Afghanistan, the ceaseless threats of aggression being made by the American imperialists and the intrigues of the Chinese social-imperialists in those regions are fraught with immense dangers for world peace and security. These acts refute all the deafening noise which the superpowers are making about the alleged preservation of peace and stability, their manoeuvres to lower the vigilance of the peoples and countries which are threatened by their hegemonic and expansionist policy.

The events in Iran and Afghanistan prove that precisely at a time when the imperialists and social-imperialist superpowers are screaming themselves hoarse about peace, lowering of tensions, disarmament, etc, they are preparing aggression against the freedom and independence of the peoples.

The occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union, continues *Zeri i Popullit*, is a product of the expansionist and aggressive strategy. It once more clearly today that aggression and the use of military force constitute the most typical feature of Soviet foreign policy. In rivalry with American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism has done its utmost, employing all manner of means to secure new strategic positions and extend its sphere of control and domination in Asia, Africa and Latin America and everywhere else. In these efforts they utilise every means, from diplomatic and political manoeuvres to military violence. But when the peoples take their fate into their own hands in the defence of their just cause and rise in revolution, such as occurred in Iran, the superpowers suffer heavy and irreparable defeat to their hegemonic positions. After occupying Afghanistan and putting it under their iron military heel, the Soviet social-imperialists are now trying to pacify public opinion that allegedly it only sent a few contingents there temporarily, for as long as is necessary, but in reality, there is no limit to their stay. They will act in exactly the same way in Afghanistan as they did in Czechoslovakia, where to this day after 12 years, their occupation troops are still in that country. No matter what promises or justifications the Soviet social-imperialists use, they can never be able to cover up the grave crime they have committed against the freedom, independence and national

sovereignty of Afghanistan. No one on no matter what pretext, has the right to intervene in the internal affairs and life of other peoples or countries. Only the peoples are-powerful and have the right to decide on the internal problems of their countries without any external interference.

On the other hand, the hypocritical demagoguery of the American imperialists and the Chinese social-imperialists, which are trying to present themselves as alleged defenders of Afghanistan and are shedding crocodile tears over its fate can fool no one. In these turbulent situations, the American imperialists are trying to profit for themselves, to justify their military threats against Iran and other countries of the Middle East. The peoples have not forgotten the criminal war of the American imperialists in Indochina and elsewhere; they have not forgotten the criminal fascist-type aggression of the Chinese social-imperialists against Vietnam, just as they can never forget Czechoslovakia, Afghanistan, etc.

They know only too well that the American imperialists, the Soviet and Chinese social-imperialists and all the imperialists and other reactionaries, are equally aggressive and blood-thirsty, that they are enemies until death of the freedom and independence of the peoples, that they strike and conclude all sorts of bargains and agreements to the detriment of the peoples. The events in Afghanistan and Iran, which affect all the peoples of the world, make the growth of their vigilance against the aggressive activity of imperialism and social-imperialism, their unity in the struggle against the aggressive expansionist and hegemonic policies of the superpowers, imperative. Now, the freedom loving fighters of Afghanistan have seized arms and are fighting courageously in the mountains and cities against the Soviet domination and its agents. They are setting lofty examples of courage and are everywhere proving their determination to always hold aloft the banner of freedom and national sovereignty, to fight through to the end to oust the occupiers. In this just and legitimate struggle, they are enjoying and will always enjoy the support of the freedom-loving people and other honest and progressive people everywhere in the world.

This struggle is being aided powerfully by the Iranian revolution and people. Besides that, the Afghan fighters would be supported by all the freedom-loving Moslem peoples wherever they are. In particular the Arab and African peoples who at present are under the greatest threat from American imperialism, must rise and powerfully express their fighting solidarity for the Iranian revolution and the Afghan uprising, for in this way they are fighting for their own freedom, independence and sovereignty. In this situation, with the stand they maintain, the leaders of these countries who truly defend the national interests and those of the people will be distinguished from those who sell out these interests to the foreigners.

The Arab people, who live in the rich oil-bearing region, but who are oppressed, poverty-stricken and exploited, concludes *Zeri i Popullit*, clearly witness the cruelty of the imperialists and neo-colonialists to their detriment. But we are convinced that the revolt which has commenced in those countries will never be extinguished. The modern armaments which the enemies may use. even the most sophisticated armaments, cannot operate without the oil which is the property of the peoples who are fighting for freedom and independence.

The Albanian people express the profound conviction that the courageous people of Afghanistan will deal crushing blows to the Soviet social-imperialist aggressors and will

oust them from their homeland.

Radio Tirana, January 5, 1980.