



1980 - 1994

ALBANIAN CATHOLIC BULLETIN

Vol. XV 1994

It is indeed painful for me to announce that our journal, after fifteen years of fruitful and dedicated service to the Albanian people and all those interested in Albanian affairs, will be suspended with this Volume XV. The serious illness of our editor makes it impossible to continue our publication. In the meantime, we have approached the Albanian Catholic parishes in the United States offering them our experience and support if they are willing to continue publishing the Albanian Catholic Bulletin. Unfortunately the response has been unsatisfactory. These parishes are unable to add another burden to their pastors' already heavy schedule of spiritual and social duties. Our Board thus has had no other choice than to cease publication of the Bulletin, with much regret. But while the Albanian Catholic Bulletin will no longer be published, the Daniel Dajani Albanian Catholic Institute will continue its religious and educational work. In the future our Institute will again publish materials on Albania.

As a consolation our readers will find in this last Volume XV much that is interesting and enjoyable. Studies and articles treat a variety of Albania's present-day challenges and especially its struggle toward the democratic transformation of the nation. "The Current State of Religion" and "The Implementation of Religious Freedom" deal with the somewhat confusing religious atmosphere in the country with many foreign Christian and Islamic missions active today in Albania. The "Jesuit Mission in Albania" and "The Seventieth Anniversary of Fr. Ják Gardin" (a Jesuit missionary imprisoned in the early stages of the communist dictatorship) are an inspiring witness and example of Catholic missionary contributions to the Albanian Church.

This year's issue also discusses at length the Greek minority question in Albania, in light of the currently tense diplomatic relationship between Greece and Albania. We also present an article on the seventieth anniversary of the Albanian Autocephalous Orthodox Church written by a scholar in Orthodox and Byzantine studies.

As in previous issues we continue to monitor the tragic plight of the Albanian people in Kosova. There is also an inspiring article on Adem Demaçi, a Nobel Peace Prize Candidate in 1994, who as we have reported many times in the past, was the longest held political prisoner. Demaçi spent more than twenty-eight years in the Yugoslav gulag, becoming a symbol of Gandhian peaceful resistance for all oppressed Albanians.

The Opinion Forum again this year focuses on the literary figure Ismail Kadare. The Albanian dissident writer Amik Kasoruho together with San Francisco Chronicle journalist Stephen Schwartz discuss Kadare's controversial "change of heart", which took place just months before the fall of the communist dictatorship.

The Albanian Catholic Bulletin spotlights the profound literary legacy of Martin Camaj in an article on his poetry by Ardian Klosi and a report on a recent symposium on Camaj held in Shkodër.

Readers will enjoy selections of uplifting poetry as well as two suspenseful short stories. Historians will find a valuable contribution to Albanian Catholic and national history in the study published on the missionary activity of the Franciscans from Dubrovnik among the Albanians living under the Ottoman Turkish occupation. This concluding issue addresses many other topics which have an important bearing on present-day Albanian life.

Finally, on behalf of our Daniel Dajani Albanian Catholic Institute I wish to express our gratitude to all who have helped us, with their prayers and financial support to publish the *Albanian Catholic Bulletin* through these fifteen years.

Zoti Ju shperbleftë! God reward You!

Paul Bernadicou, S.J.

BULETINI KATOLIK SHQIPTAR

Vjeti XV 1994

The Daniel Dajani, S.J. Albanian Catholic Institute

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AGAINST THE STREAM:

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE ALBANIAN CATHOLIC INSTITUTE, 1966-1994

The year 1966 was filled with significant events throughout the world. In the United States a narcissistic youth rebellion was on the rise, with demonstrations against the Vietnam war increasing, drug use proliferating and popular music assuming the fantasy tones of the "love generation". Civil rights demonstrations continued to shake the southern United States and ghetto insurrections repeatedly broke out in the northern and western cities of the country. In the then-Soviet Union, the writers Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuli Danyel emerged as the first open literary dissidents in many decades, and were charged with treason. China saw the "Cultural Revolution" begin with the purge of Peng Zhen and Lo Juiching, and Mao Zedong's swim in the Yangtze River. An outbreak of student and labor rioting in the Netherlands, leading to the emergence of the anarchistic Provo movement, briefly fascinated Europe and the world. The French poet André Breton, founder of the surrealist movement and long-time anti-Stalinist, died at age seventy. And in Detroit, Michigan, an Albanian immigrant auto-worker and former Jesuit seminarian, Gjon Sinishta, established the Albanian Catholic Information Center, the predecessor of the Daniel Dajani, S.J. Albanian Catholic Institute.

The establishment of the Albanian Catholic Information Center began with a modest aim: to record the martyrdom suffered by the Catholic Church in Albania under its dictator Enver Hoxha. By any account Albania under the communists was the most isolated and Stalinist, and by very far the most brutally antireligious of the European communist states.

It seems strange to recall, in the interest of future readers, that in 1966 the communist dictatorships ruling from the Adriatic to the Pacific were considered immutable powers, destined to last forever, or at least, into the far and unpredictable future. Yet more bizarre is the recollection of

the indifference, if not outright hostility, that greeted any campaign to educate the American intellectual public on the atrocities of Communism. Nearly all such attempts were rejected by the literary and political elite of the time as "cold war propaganda" associated with the unpopular war in Vietnam.

A handful of hardy individuals—perhaps best exemplified in the Communist world by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn and in the West by British poet and historian Robert Conquest—dedicated themselves to an accounting of the deadly perversities of Marxist rule. Although much less known than that of Solzhenitsyn and Conquest, Sinishta's effort—the commitment of a single exiled speaker of an obscure foreign language seemingly lost in the vastness of the American landscape—would prove extraordinarily fruitful. Not only did Sinishta and his friends at the Albanian Catholic Information Center memorialize the sacrifice for Albania of their religious brethren, they also established a beacon of hope for the cause of Catholic Albanians whose religious and literary traditions were the particular object of Hoxha's attempt at extermination.

In addition, the Albanian Catholic Information Center was destined to make a major contribution to the defense of the oppressed Albanians of Kosovë, a part of the former Yugoslavia, and to the study of the Arbëresh culture of Southern Italy and the United States. Finally, after a quarter century of work for the cause of religious freedom in Albania, Sinishta and his collaborators would, triumphantly, see the liberation of Albania from communism, and the restoration of religious liberty to Catholics in 1991.

Sacrifice for Albania was the title of a 52-page multi-lingual magazine issued by the newly founded Albanian Catholic Information Center in Detroit, a city with a significant Albanian-Ameri-

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can population, to mark the twentieth anniversary of the communist assault on the Albanian clergy. Bringing together reports, poetry, memorials and other documentation, the magazine was elegantly printed in 3,000 copies by a Franciscan press in Detroit under the direction of Fr. Leo G. Neal O.F.M. Conv. A beautiful, if grim, colored cover depicted uniformed communist soldiers herding chained priests into trucks.

Support for the printing of the magazine came from Richard Cardinal Cushing of Boston, a city with a notable colony of Albanian-Americans, and the commemoration organized in conjunction with its launching was the first politically and religiously ecumenical meeting to address the issue of religious persecution in Albania. It was supported also by Albanian Muslims living in the United States, Canada, Australia, and Argentina. Sacrifice for Albania, distributed throughout the world, introduced the English speaking public to the "calvary" of Albania's most famous recent religious martyrs, killed by Hoxha's cohort beginning in earnest in 1946. First the leading clerics: Msgr. Vinçenc Prennushi, Archbishop of Durrës, imprisoned and tortured to death; Msgr. Gjergj Volaj, Bishop of Sappa, arrested and executed; Msgr. Frano Gjini, Bishop of Lezha, shot; Msgr. Gasper Thaçi, Archbishop of Shkodër, died while in police custody. Then the scholars, poets and writers: Fr. Anton Harapi, Fr. Bernardin Palaj, Fr. Gjon Shllaku, Dom Lazer Shantoja, Fr. Donat Kurti, Dom Ndre Zadeja, Dom Ndoc Nikaj, octogenarian father of modern Albanian letters, and others.

Christianity in Albania dates back to apostolic times, even before its illustrious son St. Jerome. Since the Turkish conquest of the country in the fifteenth century and subsequent mass Islamization, Albania's majority has been Muslim (70 percent), with about 20 percent Orthodox Christian (in the south) and 10 percent Catholic (concentrated in the Gheg-speaking area in the north of the country). The Catholic Church has made immense contributions to the preservation and dissemination of Albanian culture, and above all, has stood as the bulwark of Gheg local identity in Northern Albania.

The communist assault on Catholicism, following World War II, represented not only the gruesome fulfillment of the atheist claims of Marxism, but also an attempt to cut off Albanians from the traditional fountainhead of their literacy, and to obliterate Gheg and Scutarine (Shkodër-based) regionalism. In addition the Orthodox background held in common by Soviet Russia, the Serbian-dominated Yugoslav communists who assisted Hoxha in his rise to power, and the Greek communists who carried out a brutal terror war in their own country using Albania as a safe haven, all bred an especially ferocious hatred of Catholicism among Albanian communist cadres.

The Albanian Catholic Information Center soon enjoyed the authorization of John Cardinal Dearden, Archbishop of Detroit. The Center worked with the Arbëresh Bishop of Piana degli Albanesi, near Palermo in Sicily, to resettle some five hundred Albanians from refugee camps in Italy. With the help of Franciscan Conventuals and Jesuits these Albanians were brought to the Detroit and Cleveland area and became productive members of American society. The Center also appealed unsuccessfully to the Vatican to name an Albanian Cardinal.

The inauguration of the Albanian Catholic Information Center and publication of Sacrifice for Albania, both in 1966, were to prove depressingly apt, for the worst was about to come. A new and unsurpassed explosion of Hoxhaite fury broke out the following year. In 1967, the darkest moment for the believers of Albania, the Hoxha regime, seemingly inspired by the wholesale terrorism of the so-called "cultural revolution" in China, its powerful ally and mentor, officially abolished the practice of all religion in Albania, declaring it "the world's first atheist state". So-called "red guards" were organized among the young, again in emulation of Maoist China, and set about the total destruction or transformation for secular use of 2,169 churches, mosques, monasteries and other religious structures. The Catholic and Orthodox Churches, the Sunni Muslims and Bektashi (Dervish) sects, saw their legal status revoked.

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United States Assistant Secretary of State Dixon Donnelley wrote to Sinishta on August 17, 1967, "the Albanian people are living through a difficult period at present and are subjected to many hardships. There have been some reports of a recent step-up in the regime's drive against religion and religious practice among Albanian people." However, the United States had no diplomatic relations with Albania at that time and therefore had no regular means for reporting on the situation there. That same year Fr. Pedro Arrupe, Superior General of the Society of Jesus, noted in a letter to the Albanian Catholic Information Center that Fr. Pietro Palladini, S.J. (former missionary in Albania) had turned down the suggestion that he head a special deputation in Rome to coordinate and assist the activity of the Albanian Center in Europe, because he had previously been labelled a spy by the Hoxha government.

But the work of the Albanian Catholic Information Center continued, with slender resources, following valiantly in the footsteps of so many ethnic advocates before, who founded "marginal" but unique and necessary cultural enterprises in America. At the same time it entered into the country's long-established and rich tradition of small press publishing. As a recognition of their apostolate a delegation from the Albanian Catholic Information Center had its first audience with the Holy Father, Pope Paul VI in 1968. That year the pontiff issued a special document on the 500th anniversary of the death of Gjergj Kastrioti Skanderbeg, Albania's defender and national hero, whom Paul VI's predecessors had acclaimed as "Savior of Christendom" and "Athlete of Christ".

In 1971 a happier chapter opened. The Albanian Catholic Information Center moved its operations to the University of Santa Clara in California. Moral support began to be received by the Center, from Catholic Bishops' Conferences from around the world—even from as far away as Japan. A significant moment for Albanian-Americans and their cultural aspirations came in 1974 with the visit to the United States of poet and scholar Ernest Koliqi. Koliqi was a member of the faculty of the University of Rome, publisher of the literary

journal *Shejzat* (The Pleiades) and at that time the world's leading Albanologist.

Koliqi's visit produced important contributions to the study of the Arbëresh culture in America, among other materials. The Albanian Catholic Information Center sponsored Koliqi's tour of San Francisco and Santa Clara. He spoke to Albanian and Arbëresh-Americans at the Universities of San Francisco and Santa Clara, where receptions were held in his honor. At these receptions he personally met many Arbëresh from the Bay Area and beyond.

The year 1976 was a crucial one for the Center and its work, as it was for the world in general. The mass revolutionary hysteria of the 1960's had ended, although occasional crises in such countries as Germany, Italy and Argentina saw increased terrorism, and new wars and revolutions were on the horizon. Exaggerated secular hopes were waning, but a new spiritual rebirth had yet to take place. Throughout the world people began to redefine themselves in terms of personal responsibility and fulfillment.

It was a time for grand projects. That year the Center had its first direct contact with Nenë Teresa, Mother Teresa of Calcutta, the Albanian woman born in Macedonia with the name Ganxhe Bojaxhiu, who exemplified the authentic spirit of human solidarity that had been traduced by the radicalism of the 1960's. Also in 1976, the Center published a kind of masterpiece, the collection of documents entitled The Fulfilled Promise—A Documentary Account of Religious Persecution in Albania. A handsome volume of 250 pages, The Fulfilled Promise presented to the English speaking world many dramatic, heartbreaking and outrageous testimonies, photographs, poems and related texts on the martyrdom of Albanian Catholics. It was a singular and irreplaceable chronicle, and copies penetrated everywhere it was neededand, of course, into the secret archives of the Albanian communist state.

The title referred to the promise Sinishta had made to himself and God during the early torment of the Albanian Catholics, which he had me the

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personally witnessed in 1946. At that time Sinishta had vowed to thoroughly record the sufferings of his mentors, friends, teachers, peers, spiritual leaders and brethren. Professor James Torrens, S.J. of the University of Santa Clara's English Department and the translator from Italian into English of several of the book's piercing poems wrote that the book "is an important one and the quality is good . . . one of the books from which the history of Albania will be written."

The Fulfilled Promise was printed in 3,500 copies and brought about an outpouring of supportive letters from around the world, from religious and civic leaders alike, as well as from ordinary people concerned about the plight of the people of Albania. In the following year, 1977, the Center initiated a petition for beatification of Albania's modern Catholic martyrs. The Center also collaborated with Humberto Cardinal Medeiros of Boston and the Albanian Orthodox Bishop of Boston, Mark Lipa, on an appeal for religious freedom in Albania. In addition, in 1977 the Albanian Catholic Information Center established relations with the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva, which was sent much information on the suppression of religious faith in Albania. An important relationship was also begun with Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, through their Albanian commentator, Louis Zanga. During Vice-President Walter Mondale's visit in 1977 to the University of Santa Clara, the Center's representatives briefed the Vice-President on the situation in Albania and presented him with a copy of The Fulfilled Prom-

The first slivers of a radiant dawn came in 1979—the year of greatest significance for all those concerned with the struggle against the communist dictatorships. Karol Wojtyla, a Polish Cardinal who understood first hand and in the deepest parts of his being the criminality of marxist pretensions, was elected the Holy Father, Pope John Paul II. It was the beginning of the end for communism. Pope John Paul II, in his inaugural speech, spoke in Albanian for the first time ever, along with the other languages of the presentation. It was clear that the Illyrian land, so long in the

history of the faith, so terribly tormented by atheism, was very dear to his heart.

One year later, in 1980, among the first fruits of the new epoch symbolized by John Paul II, the Albanian Catholic Information Center produced the inaugural number of the Albanian Catholic Bulletin from Santa Clara. The Bulletin's first issue was fifty pages in all, but over the years it would expand to become a thick annual journal. In fifteen years of publication over 2000 pages of documentation were presented to the consciousness of the world. Similar to other publications associated with the churches of silence, including the underground, small Samizdat organs in the former Soviet Union such as The Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church and The Herald of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, it was a small voice with a powerful range.

Indeed, the Albanian Catholic Bulletin quickly became known as a leading intellectual medium of the Albanian exiles, a kind of "Encyclopedia Albanica" including countless documents on the plight of Kosovë under Yugoslav (i.e. Serbian) domination, the Arbëresh, the Gheg dialect and achievements of such notable intellectuals as Ernest Koliqi, Martin Camaj, Arshi Pipa and others. Nevertheless, the main focus of the Bulletin was on the religious situation inside Albania, which throughout the 1980's saw "a continual Good Friday".

The *Bulletin* saw as part of its mission the revival, for new generations, of such classic northern Albanian, Catholic-inspired literary works as the epic poetry of Fr. Gjergj Fishta, Albania's national poet. Fishta's works, along with most of Albania's outstanding literary figures, had been mercilessly suppressed by Hoxha's regime. Finally, ecumenical concerns continued to be visible in its documentation mirroring the traditional cooperation between all believers in Albania.

The Center was especially successful in promoting the cause of Albanian believers in Europe. At the urging of the Center the German Bishops' Conference organized a Day of Prayer for Albania in 1984. Basil Cardinal Hume of England in a

public statement of April 1985, on behalf of the European Bishops' Conferences decried the religious oppression in Albania and asked the faithful throughout Europe to pray for their persecuted Albanian brothers and sisters. In the same year and in 1985 the International Association for the Defense of Religious Liberty, whose past presidents included Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Dr. Albert Schweitzer and Belgian statesman Paul-Henri Spaak, presented a resolution in the United Nations to censure Albania. Only Cuba voted against the 1985 resolution.

On April 13, 1985 the Albanian Catholic Information Center sponsored a major commemoration of the forty year martyrdom of Albanian believers. The commemoration was held at the University of San Francisco with the participation of representatives from Albanian Muslims and Orthodox congregations as well as Jews, Protestants, and even nonbelievers and human rights advocates. Fr. Ják Gardin, an Italian Jesuit missionary who had been imprisoned by Hoxha delivered the main address. Two days before the event Enver Hoxha, the enemy of God, died; so that the day of remembrance in San Francisco coincided, remarkably, with his funeral. The commemoration included a civil ceremony, an ecumenical service and concluded with a Solemn Mass of Peace. Greetings were sent to the gathering by President Ronald Reagan and Undersecretary of State Elliot Abrams while California Governor George Deukmejian sent a personal representative.

Soon after that commemoration, a delegation consisting of Sinishta, Fathers Neal and Gardin, and Albanian Sister Lucia Lazza of Vatican Radio, was honored with a special private papal Mass and audience. During the audience Pope John Paul II commended the work of the Albanian Catholic Information Center.

The Center produced a videotape of the 1985 commemoration at the University of San Francisco which was distributed around the world, in over one hundred copies. In 1987 members of the Center began a major collaboration with the Minnesota Lawyers' International Human Rights

Committee, resulting in publication of their report, Human Rights in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, issued in 1990. Former Vice-President Walter Mondale, who had previously been briefed by the Center on religious oppression in Albania, wrote the introduction to this report. Another documentary report on the religious situation, Albania: Religion in a Fortress State by Janice Broun, was published in 1989 by the Puebla Institute, with the Albanian Catholic Information Center's cooperation and assistance. In 1988 the Center translated from the original Italian the prison memoirs of Fr. Jak Gardin, Banishing God in Albania, published by Ignatius Press. In 1992 translation and support were provided by the Center for the Albanian language edition of Fr. Gardin's memoirs. Both the English and Albanian editions of the book were made possible by the generous contribution of one of the members of the Center.

To celebrate the seventy-fifth anniversary of Albanian independence in 1987 a festive gathering was held at the University of San Francisco, attended by Albanians and Arbëresh from all over Northern California, with some from other parts of the United States. The cultural and religious heritage of Albania was celebrated by all present. The director of the Albanian Catholic Information Center, Fr. Leo G. Neal, O.F.M. Conv., was the principal celebrant of a Mass of Peace and preached the homily during which he commended the Albanian believers and encouraged them in their belief in Faith, Fatherland and Progress (Fé, Atdhe, Perperim). California Governor George Deukmejian officially proclaimed November 28, 1987 Albanian Independence Day in California.

In 1989 the Berlin Wall was dismantled and the Communist system collapsed in Eastern Europe. The Albanian Catholic Information Center moved to the campus of the University of San Francisco. Albania was late in throwing off the Marxist yoke, but in November 1990 the Center received electrifying news: an immense crowd had attended the first open Mass in Shkodër in decades, celebrated by a formerly-imprisoned priest, Dom Simon Jubani. The promise—the promise of God's grace and of the liberation of humanity

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through faith—had been again fulfilled. Albania was free.

Five months later, on May 4, 1991, the University of San Francisco honored Fr. Simon Jubani with an honorary doctoral degree which, in being conferred upon him, also paid tribute to the whole Catholic Church and other believers in Albania. The Albanian Catholic Information Center sponsored on that same day, in conjunction with the University of San Francisco, a Day of Solidarity and Prayer for Albanian Believers which was attended by Albanians, Arbëresh and Americans from all over the United States. A Mass of Thanksgiving for Religious Freedom was celebrated in St. Ignatius Church.

As a flood of news from Albania arrived it became known that *The Fulfilled Promise* and all issues of the Albanian Catholic Bulletin had been kept under lock and key in a closed section of the Albanian National Library in Tirana. Ardian Klosi, whose father was a high functionary of the government, had discovered them there, translated a selection of the texts, and circulated them clandestinely, at enormous personal risk.

Meanwhile the Albanian people faced a new, yet ancient danger in the form of Serbian imperialism, which, exploding in 1991, pursued war first in Slovenia and Croatia and then in Bosnia-Hercegovina, where the criminality of Serbian aggression, written in grotesque and horrific bloodshed and torture, stunned the globe. In the same year, at the dawn of religious freedom in Albania, a delegation from the Albanian Catholic Information Center was received for the third time at the Vatican. The Holy Father John Paul II spoke warmly to the delegation about the miracle of religious freedom and asked the members of the Center to give thanks and to continue to implore Our Lady of Shkodër for the full re-establishment of the Albanian Catholic community, its churches, monasteries, press, schools and charitable institutions, but above all for the renewal of the flame of devotion in Albania's consciousness.

To that end, the Albanian Catholic Information Center was reorganized as the Daniel Dajani, S.J. Albanian Catholic Institute. In his office in St. Ignatius Church on the University of San Francisco campus Gjon Sinishta, the moving force behind the new Institute and the *Albanian Catholic Bulletin*, could now sit beneath a pennant from the Kosovë Democratic Movement and a picture of Nenë Teresa and read the revived Gheg-language Catholic periodicals published in Shkodër. Indeed he could now depend on the Catholics of Shkodër themselves to carry on the work of preserving and promoting the Albanian Catholic religious and literary heritage.

Such a work of cultural reconstruction, maintained by religious believers, is of the greatest importance for all the countries formerly ruled by Marxism—from Nicaragua to (soon, we pray) Vietnam.

In 1992 a delegation of the Albanian Catholic Institute paid a visit to Albania. It was Sinishta's first time there in forty-six years! Following the visit, the delegation traveled to Rome and were received in a private audience at Castel Gandolfo by Pope John Paul II. The next year two Institute members, Fr. Michael Walsh and Gjon Sinishta, were invited to join the Pontiff during the Pope's tumultuous visit to Albania, the first papal visit ever to the country. Gjon Sinishta and his associates from the Albanian Catholic Institute—together with all the believers of Albania-Catholic, Muslim, Orthodox, Bektashi, Jewish-truly swam against the stream, for many hard years, until the tide reversed, and they were lifted onto the mighty current of God's glory. The gentle humility of truth had overcome the arrogance of Marxist power.

We need not embellish this remarkable and magnificent experience. It truly speaks for itself. While the heartless, smug, pseudo-liberal intelligentsia turned its back, supported by a corrupt Western academic establishment, Sinishta and his associates patiently assembled every scrap, every trace, of truth about Albania's religious martyrdom.

There is no room in this outcome for triumphalism, for gloating, for revenge. We now face a new world, no less filled with danger for

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those who believe in and keep God's laws. The sharp knife of the Serbian extremists, threatening Albanians in Kosovë and elsewhere, is no less a terrible threat than was the cruel dictatorship of Hoxha.

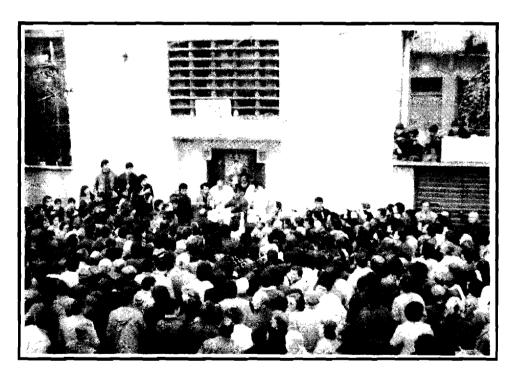
We may be certain that soon the evil reality of Communism which the Albanian Catholic Institute, and its predecessor the Albanian Catholic Information Center sought to record for the world, will be taken for granted by many who once

> denied or ignored it, and may even fade from the collective historical memory. Sinishta and his friends committed themselves to a long and lonely struggle to which many may become, sooner than we wish to imagine, once again indifferent.

> But the record remains, now permanent, as God's power remains, unchallengeable. The work of Gjon Sinishta and the Albanian Catholic Institute at the University of San Francisco, in the interest of faith, of the Albanian national cause, of civility between differing human communities, will prove a bright example for those who follow after, in the same spirit and with the same goals, however few or many they may prove to be.

> > Stephen SCHWARTZ
> > Raymond FROST





First public Mass in Tiranë, December 25, 1990. Officiating priests Ndoc Sahatçija and Zef Pllumi, spent decades in Albanian gulags for their faith