

## ABOUT THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION IN THE LIGHT OF CURRENT EVENTS

Extracts from the political diary [The Superpowers](#), Naim Frashëri Publishing House, Tirana, Albania, 1986.

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SUNDAY DECEMBER 31, 1961

### PANORAMA OF THE YEAR 1961

The year 1961 has been a year of struggle and efforts for the strengthening and defence of our Party, for the defence of the People's Republic of Albania, for the defence of Marxism-Leninism, for the fulfilment of the economic plan and the improvement of the life of our people. I can say that we achieved all these objectives successfully...

The Party of Labour of Albania remains as strong as steel. Not the slightest wavering among its members. The correct line and stand of the Central Committee were, unanimously endorsed and embraced by all the Party members and non-members alike. The struggle of the Party in defence of the unity of its ranks, in defence of Marxism-Leninism, in defence of the Soviet Union of Lenin-Stalin, and the socialist camp was splendid. The diabolical plans, all the conspiratorial actions to repress, to strangle us, to stir up the counter-revolution in our country, all the attempts at economic, political and military blockades, the law of silence, etc., established by Nikita Khrushchev and the members of his counter-revolutionary group, were unmasked and thwarted. Thus, Nikita Khrushchev was unable to achieve his vile purpose. He has been discredited in the communist movement and among world opinion as a traitor to Marxism-Leninism, the Soviet Union and the socialist camp.

Nikita Khrushchev went so far as to break off diplomatic relations with Albania. This discredited him more than anything. For nearly two years the traitor group of Nikita Khrushchev has been fighting us with all its means and power, but the result it has achieved is zero. The Party of Labour of Albania and our People's Republic stand proudly, unbowed and admired by all, because they are on the right Toad, because they are defending a just cause, because they are defending Marxism-Leninism, socialism, communism, freedom and peace in the world.

Nikita Khrushchev poses as a pacifist and a pacifist with a communist disguise, but he is a counter-revolutionary, a Trotskyite revisionist who serves imperialism and the bourgeoisie. The plan which he is trying to apply is intended to transform the Soviet Union into a revisionist state, to cause the

degeneration of the Soviet state and Communist Party, to corrupt the youth and to demoralize the working class. If this traitor is not stopped on his course, the Soviet Union will be turned into a fascist police state. Khrushchev hides all his hostile activities under the great prestige of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet socialist state. He relies also on the great economic potential which the Soviet Union has created.

Nikita Khrushchev is a revisionist coward. He is trying to reach a revisionist agreement with the American imperialists, wants reconciliation with them. Instead of resisting them with determination, he prefers to make them all sorts of concessions. Through the course on which he has set out he is weakening the economic, political, ideological and military strength of our camp, Khrushchev is preparing for even more open struggle against communism, if he is not stopped on his road.

In his relations with us Nikita Khrushchev revealed his real features as a traitor and an international bandit. He employed all kinds of counter-revolutionary tactics against us, from blandishments to the breaking-off of diplomatic relations. But in the Party of Labour of Albania he found an insurmountable obstacle, his calculations turned out wrong. He thought he would deceive us, or he would liquidate us. But he was able to do neither the one nor the other. In this situation, when we were uncovering his betrayal and his aims as a traitor to Marxism-Leninism, he mobilized all his forces, all his cronies and fellow travellers in order to slander us, allegedly to unmask us. But as a result of the course of betrayal which he is pursuing, his actions and those of his associates and followers simply unmask him and, contrary to his wishes, confirm the correctness of our line, which has been expressed clearly in all the documents and in the daily struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania and our state.

In the attacks which he made on us at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, Nikita Khrushchev emerged as a splitter of the socialist camp, as a violator of the Moscow Declarations. In fact, a great many other parties did not attack us, or did not speak about us, and by not speaking they defended us. A considerable number of those who danced to the Khrushchevites' tune did this under the pressure and even open blackmail of Khrushchev. At the 22nd Congress their unprincipled attacks on us were among the main issues for the Khrushchevite gang. This exposed the gang. After the congress the Soviet propaganda and Soviet Rubles were mobilized totally against us. Many party leaders were compelled to say something, even half a word against our Party. All these things were immediately reproduced in the newspaper Pravda, but this exposed them and not us. Now people are asking, why is this happening? Is this Party of Labour of Albania, that all are attacking, so powerful?

This is the first flare-up. All Khrushchev's friends have had their turn, now tempers will cool. people will think and, indeed, they have begun to think seriously about the things they have done and they are gradually abandoning the sinking ship.

The countries of people's democracy in Europe did not follow Nikita Khrushchev in breaking off diplomatic relations with Albania. Czechoslovakia, Hungary and East Germany withdrew only their ambassadors, but left all the rest of the staff and their charges d'affaires, while Bulgaria, Rumania and Poland have not even withdrawn their ambassadors up till now. Hence, here there is a differentiation, even if only temporary. With the exception of the Soviet Union, all these states are concluding trade contracts with us for the year 1962. That is another differentiation. We are convinced that time will work for us. Within their parties and states there is great confusion, discontent and splits, there is no unity and there can be no unity in them.

The leaderships of the communist and workers' parties of the countries of people's democracy are in an impasse, they are in opposition to the masses of their party members, and contradictions will increase. Each day and each year that passes the traitor course of Nikita Khrushchev will get them

into deeper trouble.

The French Communist Party has taken this course, too, and so has that of Italy, the leadership of which has betrayed completely.

Albania is a bone which has stuck in Nikita Khrushchev's throat and is choking him so that he can hardly breathe, therefore Nikita Khrushchev is fighting us furiously. He thinks that the struggle against us will serve to intimidate his satellites, because he knows or guesses that sooner or later many of his present friends will turn their coats.

Nikita Khrushchev's traitor tactic at the moment consists of compromising his present friends as much as he can against us, to build up hostility against the genuine communists in their parties, to subordinate the economies of those countries to the Soviet economy so that at the first movement "out of line", pressure will be exerted on them either to stay "in line" or leave their place for other Khrushchevites. Of course, the process of division will take place and clashes will develop over this. But Nikita Khrushchev and the other revisionists do not take account of the strength of their peoples. They rely on deception and on the strength of the army and the security forces (which they have fought under the mask of the fight against the cult of the individual and allegedly from the positions of the dictatorship of the proletariat which, according to them, is no longer necessary). The lying propaganda and the real application of terror and reprisals, which have begun on a large scale, will undoubtedly bring them terrible and insoluble contradictions. This will be their undoing.

The revisionist line that they are applying can bring them no benefits at all, in either their internal or their external policies. On the contrary, they will suffer defeat I both at home and abroad, will be unmasked, isolated and destroyed, and although the struggle will be long, difficult and dangerous, we will triumph. Time is working for us. We are the majority. We have not lost our confidence in the Bolsheviks of the Soviet Union. How is it possible for all those thousands of revolutionaries and fighters imbued with the teachings of Lenin and Stalin to fall asleep? We have hopes in their strength, we like them, and we are sorry for them, because they are experiencing difficult moments. The Party of Labour of Albania will struggle with all its might to show them the disaster to which the revisionist group of Khrushchev is leading them.

The relentless struggle against the Yugoslav and Soviet revisionists, the struggle against the traitor groups of Tito and Khrushchev, will be continued very sternly. We must and will fight the main enemies, the imperialists and modern revisionists, until they are completely destroyed. We are prepared and armed to accomplish the tasks of the new year 1962. As always, we shall safeguard the Party from any enemy. As always, we shall fight with the greatest severity to expose the traitors Tito and Khrushchev and their associates. We shall be more vigilant than ever to protect our borders and our dear socialist Homeland, shall fight unflinchingly to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the unity of the socialist camp on the Marxist-Leninist road and not on a revisionist basis, as Khrushchev and his gang of lackeys want.

The American imperialists will strive to damage us, in particular. To this end they will be assisted by the modern revisionists, will incite the Greek monarcho-fascists the Yugoslav revisionists and others against us, but we shall foil all their diabolical plans. Socialist Albania will live and flourish because the heroic Party of Labour of Albania is leading and defending it gloriously.

SATURDAY JUNE 12, 1965

ABOUT THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION IN THE LIGHT OF CURRENT EVENTS

The positions of American imperialism are being weakened. The Americans are suffering political-military defeats everywhere and, in the first place, in South Vietnam.

Their bombardment of the DR of Vietnam did not bring them any political or military advantage. On the contrary, they suffered utter fiasco. Their blackmail was to no avail. They were unable to bring Vietnam to its knees or to help the Soviet revisionists in their constant pressure on Vietnam to bring them to the negotiation table with the Americans. The opposite occurred, the bombardments have exposed the Americans, have increased the hatred of the Vietnamese, have strengthened them and made them strengthen their defence, their resistance, their training and their war. Furthermore, these savage but fruitless bombardments have shaken the allies of the United States who have begun to speak out to criticize, to reproach it and give it advice. Within the United States of America Johnson's policy has created discontent among the public and his defeats have caused forthright bitter comments about the aggressive policy of the American President. Naturally the peoples' hatred of American imperialism has increased and those who put their trust in its "great might" have lost all hope. The Americans' brutal intervention in Santo-Domingo, their vile manoeuvres have increased the suspicions and hatred of the peoples, and especially of the peoples of South America. With all complexes of barbarous actions the Americans have bitten off more than they can chew and the lump in their throat is choking them.

The main difficulty for the Americans at present is the war in South Vietnam. There they have completely lost face, let alone their mask which was torn from them long ago. No longer can they hide behind the Vietnamese puppets, since in practice they no longer exist, neither the so-called south Vietnamese government, nor the military command or the army exist. All these have been liquidated politically, liquidated by the partisan war.

They have been reduced to mere mercenaries, so much so that even the United States of America itself no longer puts any trust in them, no longer counts on them, and keeps changing them every week. The puppet army does not exist as an army, or even as a detachment of mercenaries. It has lost any will to resist and the Americans have lost any trust they had in it and are using it only as cannon fodder, to make up numbers. So, the Americans are fighting alone in Vietnam, as aggressors, as colonizers. This is the catastrophic situation they have reached. The whole world sees this. No amount of their demagogy can deceive anyone Others who had pinned their hopes on the Americans have begun to think deeply about what is in store for them. This is a great political loss for the Americans who are taking terrible punishment in the fighting with the Vietcong. They have no victories at all, nothing but defeats. They have shut themselves up in fortified centres and bases, and there they await the attacks which Vietcong is striking at them successfully, throwing them into indescribable panic. The Americans find themselves in a totally hostile country, besieged on a few fortified islands without any way of escape or rear area into which to withdraw, or rather, their only remaining escape routes are by air, and sea and their fleet is their rear-guard. Of course, the air force can do little against partisans, either in good or in bad weather. It is ineffective. At present, in the monsoon period, the Americans are in great panic and constantly on the defensive because the Vietcong forces are attacking them relentlessly.

American imperialism, its allies and the modern revisionists are experiencing moments of great anxiety. Any diplomatic activity has been toned down, the war in Vietnam and the defeats of the Americans have stifled them. All their attempts, individual or combined, accompanied with blackmail and intimidation are no longer of any value. Thanks to the war of the Vietcong all these attempts have failed, American imperialism has lost the war, the revisionists have been exposed, world capitalism has been weakened and the American strength shaken, its policy of blackmail has been discredited and the contradictions within world capitalism have become deeper, hence, our correct positions have been strengthened.

In this situation of failures for them, the modern revisionists, headed by the Soviet revisionists, have suffered a colossal defeat, especially in regard to their "peaceful coexistence", the world without arms etc., friendship with "the peace-loving and wise American leaders".

They have helped and are helping the United States of America with all their might, and time and again Johnson thanks them, smiles at them, rounds them up and makes proposals to them about the extension of the collaboration between them, and never "gets angry" but adopts a stand of "Olympian" indifference or even benevolence when Pravda prints some "rude words" about "American madmen". Johnson knows very well that the Soviet revisionists do this not from choice but from necessity, indeed they undoubtedly have an agreement with the Americans about this, since it is not in the interest of either side to expose themselves totally and simultaneously. It is necessary to both that one should attack from outside while the other undermines from within, through demagoguery, to achieve the same result. The two sides, the American imperialists and the Soviet revisionists, are agreed on this.

Thus, in all the fields of diplomacy the Soviet revisionists have kept quiet in order to avoid causing embarrassment for their American partners; they do not raise any problems and when they do say a few words on some issue they do this to serve their one-sided intensive demagoguery about "the war for the defence of Vietnam".

Wherever the peoples are fighting for the consolidation of the struggle against American imperialism, for its exposure, for the strengthening of the anti-imperialist alliance, the Soviet revisionists and their friends are there to fight against them, to sabotage them, to present their revisionist, pro-imperialist theses. The Soviet, the Titoite and other modern revisionists, together with the reactionaries, have become the cutting edge of the sword of American imperialism, they are the fifth column, its most qualified secret agency.

In this direction and in this context a fierce struggle is being waged with the Soviet revisionists and the reactionaries over the 2nd Afro-Asian Conference, which is to be held at the end of this month in Algiers. The aim of the Soviets and the Americans is to sabotage it. They have set all the wheels in motion to ensure that the Soviets take part in it, are admitted as observers. and to prevent many of those who have the right to take part from participating in this conference.

All those who side with the Americans are trying to take part and, if possible, to issue revisionist declarations.

The countries that are under the influence of France say that they will not take part in it, and are allegedly staying neutral, neither on one side nor on the other. De Gaulle is pursuing the policy of intermediary between the United States of America and China. All the allegedly neutral states of these two continents are using this meeting to obtain credits and immediate political advantages, therefore, they swing sometimes in one direction and sometimes in another. We shall see how the situation develops, but we shall fight.

The policy of French capital is, so to say, more active. In these circumstances, De Gaulle continues to create embarrassments for the Americans, to oppose them, to attack them, sometimes politically sometimes economically, and in particular is making efforts to wean Bonn away from them. But here, of course, France meets great resistance, because Bonn itself wants to dominate in Europe, indeed to dominate France, and is still greatly interested in remaining, even if temporarily, on the side of the United States of America. De Gaulle, naturally, is trying to mirror Bonn's desires, by exerting pressure on the Soviets so that they give way over the German Democratic Republic, extract concessions from it for the Federal Republic of Germany in order to wean it away more easily from the United States of America. De Gaulle is making many attempts to link up with the

revisionist countries of Europe and extend the economic and political influence of French capital there with a number of objectives in view: to strengthen the influence of France, to weaken the influence of the United States of America, to weaken the links of the latter with the Soviet Union, to encircle the German Democratic Republic and force it to capitulate in favour of Bonn and the French hegemony in Europe.

The Soviet revisionists are flirting in several directions: they are with the United States of America, and mainly with it, and at the same time they are smiling at De Gaulle and are also trying to make deals with the Germans. Apart from sensational political acts, which for the time being they have toned down, the Soviets and all their comrades and friends in Europe have plunged up to their waists into trade deals, "cultural exchanges," credits, degeneration, etc., etc. Everything is moving towards close, all-round alliances with world capitalism. This seems to be a quiet phase on the surface, but it is full of hidden contradictions and terrible fights among various capitalists (the revisionists are capitalists), which will erupt in open conflicts and wars between them. The political and ideological stand and the military-economic preparation of the socialist countries are an insurmountable obstacle for them, and their heroic, unflinching, dauntless, resolute and consistent struggle will cause the capitalist states great defeats, expose them, and finally destroy them.

The revisionist countries are experiencing a very grave ideological, political, economic and military crisis; likewise, the revisionist parties of the capitalist countries. The Italian Communist Party is degenerating completely, the French Communist Party is decomposing, the others are following the same course. Meanwhile the Marxist-Leninist parties are growing stronger and are in complete unity. We have economic successes and complete unity within the Party and between the Party and the people. This shows that we are on the correct course and will defeat our enemies, no matter how great their number, however they present themselves and whatever weapons they possess. Our strength is unconquerable. Everything is proceeding in favour of Marxism-Leninism, in favour of the revolution, socialism and communism.

THURSDAY JANUARY 4, 1968

#### THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

Notes (These notes, some of them updated, were used for all article in the newspaper Zeri i Popullit under the title "A deep and all-round crisis is shaking the capitalist world" on March 31 1968)

The general political and economic crisis of the world capitalist system is getting deeper. This is due to the revolutionary impetus of the peoples, the revolutionary struggle, armed or in other forms, which has broken out everywhere, to the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people. to the national liberation armed struggle of the peoples against American imperialism and its lackey allies, etc. The principled, revolutionary stand of our Party and the Marxist-Leninist parties against imperialism and revisionism has played a major role in making this crisis ever deeper, so that it is becoming more severe and will assume catastrophic proportions for American imperialism and the other capitalist states. All this will cause even graver crises in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries, too.

As it presents itself today, this crisis is many-sided and caused by profoundly antagonistic political, economic, social and military contradictions. The symptoms of it have long been apparent in the main capitalist and revisionist countries.

The hegemonic and aggressive aims of American imperialism in the political, economic and military fields constitute one of the main causes of the grave crisis which has beset the capitalist world. The pact-making mania of Dulles. reinforced by that of Kennedy and now by that of Johnson and supported by the betrayal of the Khrushchevite revisionists, could not withstand the

revolutionary impetus of the peoples and their struggle for liberation. American imperialism set up military bases and deployed, its forces in all corners of the world. This not only aroused a legitimate hatred for this aggressive gendarme and savage enemy of the freedom of the peoples, but also became a staggering burden on the American budget, loaded the American people with taxes, increased the balance of payments deficit, and caused a big inflation of the dollar, the value of which cannot be covered by gold and is being maintained with difficulty, by means of threats and political and military blackmail.

American imperialism also had to finance supplies of arms and credits, of course on savagely exploiting terms, for other cliques and hangmen of the peoples, who, with the help of the Americans, are trying to intimidate their peoples and plunder them in the interest of their boss. American imperialism grabbed the markets of the British Empire, made it economically, politically and military dependent on US imperialism. At the same time, however, it inherited the difficulties which had long been eroding that decaying empire, and this will lead to the decay of the new world empire of the Yankee fascists. All over the world, wherever the capitalists are in power, and especially where American influence and domination make themselves felt directly or indirectly, there are movements. insecurity, great instability, crises of all kinds, ranging from hunger and unemployment to open armed conflict. The peoples are rising in struggle against tyrants. The so-called allied capitalist countries clash with one another over political-economic interests. Cliques carry out putsches against cliques in order to establish fascist dictatorship, to suppress movement, strikes, democratic freedom, etc.

In the grave circumstance of the existing situation this crisis of capitalism is developing furiously. Naturally the first to be hit hard by this crisis was Britain, the weakest link in the chain of the so-called great imperialist powers. It was obliged to devalue the pound sterling and now is allegedly restraining its decline with expedient provided by other imperialist, who, in order to ease the crisis in their own countries, are hastening to dig its grave even deeper. Although it is suffering losses as a result of this British defeat, the American patron is unable to finance the pound sterling, which will fall even further in value, and British imperialism is falling and will continued to fall into the abyss of John Bull.

French capital, which pulled its horns in time and freed itself of some American obligations and shackles (political, economic and military), fait le craneur (display pride (French in the original)) and is "stubbornly" closing the door of the European Common market to Britain and, indirectly, to the United State of America, too. For its on hegemonic interests, France is raising obstacle United State of America, Great Britain Canada and their partner in NATO. It is trying to get out of this crisis without much pain, but it seems to meet it will not achieve this. Sooner or later capitalist France, too, will be writing in this "vicious circle" of the crisis which as the capitalist country in its grip.

What are the characteristics of this crisis?

In order to lighten the heavy burden of its colossal expenditure of financial means, material and loss of human lives, which the war against peoples, and especially the Vietnam war, is causing it, American imperialist tried without much success to draw its NATO partners and all the clique in its service, into its adventure. While staining on in NATO, the overwhelming majority of its member countries evaded the American pressure and make only and partial contribution to the NATO military expenditure, with the exception of West Germany, whose contribution is second only to that of the United State. It is true that their military budgets gobble up colossal sums which enrich the arms magnate the United State of America, first of all, but that country is interested above all, in keeping its partner obedient to it and completely under its dictate. This is this also the source of the profound contradictions within NATO, which give rise to "revolts" and splits.

France was the first to "revolt", and practically left NATO. This disease was a contagious disease for the other partner, who although not yet moving as France is doing, are squirming like fish in a net, striving to escape, in one way or another, from the enslaving American net. Anti-American political currents are being created below the surface, if not openly, and they are manifested in various ways by demanding supplementary economics and military credits from the all-powerful Uncle Sam, by exerting political and economic pressure on it, by exporting their capital to the "underdeveloped" countries, by investing capital in the countries where the revisionist are in power and where capitalism is being fully restored. Thus, United State of America is seeing with concern that those whom it as nurtured and raised are kicking out against it.

The collapse of the pound sterling has begun and we shall see how far it will fall. In the first days and weeks the capitalist world tried to present this monetary crisis, i.e., this economic and political crisis, as an isolated phenomenon of Britain and the sterling zone. Of course, this is a bluff to conceal the fever which had gripped them all, because the sterling crisis could not be isolated from that of the dollar and other currencies which are weaker and, moreover, greatly dependent on the former two. In these conditions the gold fever began, along with the crisis of the dollar, which will cause a chain reaction of the crisis.

American imperialism was the first to sound the alarm. The bugle was blown! In order to protect the dollar, it began to make efforts to cut expenditure, to increase taxes, to reduce investments abroad, to restrict American tourism, etc. It was officially declared that there would be a cut of as much as 3 billion dollars in the aid of American imperialism for its partners all over the world and especially those in Europe.

These measures of the Lyndon Johnson administration caused alarm in the finances and budgets of Italy, Great Britain, Spain, France, the Benelux countries, the Scandinavian countries, Yugoslavia and Greece as well as in the revisionist countries, which thought that, through their treachery, they had "discovered America"! This is only the first tremor of the earthquake.

Let us take the question of American tourism. The European capitalist countries secure considerable income from this and have built up a big industry in this direction. Restriction of this source will mean crisis and unemployment, not only in this branch, but also in those branches and sectors of industry and agriculture which are closely connected with tourism. The Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries were licking their lips in anticipation of this income on the strength of which they built castles on sand with the "generous" aid of their Uncle Sam. Now they are left biting their knuckles. Hence, the economic disturbances and disappointments will increase in those countries, too.

But the crisis of tourism from the United States, the richest capitalist country, will certainly aggravate the general crisis, and will aggravate it badly, because it will reduce the number of tourists from the other capitalist countries, too. If we look at the situation in Great Britain we shall see that the belt is being tightened more and more on the people, that efforts are being made to stop the fall in the value of the pound by raising the cost of living of the masses, and there can be no thought of encouraging the development of British tourism abroad. Then imagine what will happen in Yugoslavia and elsewhere, in the countries where the revisionists are in power. where the currency brought in by tourists from capitalist countries is welcomed as something which can work miracles. Of course, the wealthy will continue to enjoy their pleasures at the cost of the poor. This will result in intensified oppression and the further development of banditry and robbery in the capitalist and revisionist countries.

Now let us take the question of the reduction of the economic investments of American capital in

the various countries of the world. This will have major consequences for American capital itself, which is forced to restrict the broad pasture on which it has browsed, but especially for those countries which allegedly benefited from these investments. Then what about the revisionist countries which are hungrily seeking American credits? A "beautiful" prospect is opening up for them! Their difficulties, unemployment, impoverishment and discontent will increase.

But the decrease of American investments will not be the end of the matter it will cause a chain reaction in all the capitalist and revisionist countries. The crisis will shake the world market, imports and exports and all fields of production. Great upheavals in the capitalist and revisionist countries, upheavals in the economy and in policy, with the prospect of new tensions and conflicts which may and will develop into armed clashes. New hotbeds of aggressive wars and other hotbeds of revolutionary struggles will emerge.

The USA will become a greater menace to its capitalist and revisionist partners, the contradictions between them will become even deeper, the decay of the capitalist and revisionist regimes will become even more apparent and their hegemonic, predatory, war-mongering policy will be further exposed.

For their part, the Soviet revisionists will try in their propaganda to present this as a crisis of capitalism and not of their country, as though it has escaped the crisis, etc. This is a fraud. The crisis has had them by the throat for a long time, ever since they betrayed communism and have been proceeding with big strides towards the complete restoration of the bourgeois capitalist political and economic regime. They have long been in crisis in every sector of their economy and in order to cover up their great ulcers to some extent, they are selling off the assets of the country and the toil of their people to foreign capitalists.

Because of their internal crisis, the Soviet revisionists have been unable to invest in the economies of their satellite countries. The savage squabbles within Comecon and the efforts of the former countries of people's democracy to slip from their grip confirm this. But the crisis which is threatening the capitalist world today will drive them even further down the road on which they have set out and will create great problems for them, because their regime, which has been put back on the rails of capitalism, cannot but be affected by and suffer as a result of the general crisis which has gripped the whole rotten system of world capitalism.

The leader of world capitalism, American imperialism, together with its main partner, the revisionist Soviet state, is certainly heading for deeper crises and greater upheavals. The contradictions between them are inevitable and with the exacerbation of these contradictions the revolutionary struggle of the peoples will be further stepped up and our enemies of all hues will be weakened.

The revisionist countries of Europe, also, will be in a grave crisis. The traitors in those countries will vacillate at the mercy and under the terrible pressure of the Soviet revisionists and world capitalism. They will continue to crawl on their knees to whomsoever pays them most handsomely for their betrayal. In those countries the political and ideological degeneration will increase, the corruption, poverty, exploitation, unemployment, etc., will increase, and their transformation into capitalist countries will be deepened and completed if the peoples of those countries, and first of all the working class, do not rise in struggle and revolution in order to take power into their own hands again, to re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and to put down the betrayal.

Thus, the situation in the world is developing in favour of the world revolution, of national liberation wars. This is in our favour. The predictions of our Party, based on objective Marxist-Leninist analyses, are being proved correct...

Our Party will always march forward boldly, with heroism and maturity on its clear and enlightened revolutionary course, determined to make its contribution to this great revolutionary struggle. We shall follow the development of the crisis, the forms and directions it will take with great attention so that nothing will take us by surprise. We must try to foresee everything and always be well prepared to act in both the internal and the international planes.

THURSDAY JANUARY 25, 1973

## PANORAMA OF THE CURRENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPE

I talked with the Foreign Minister about the events which are taking place in our old Europe and about the many intrigues and deals which are being hatched up by the American imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists and the other capitalist states of this continent.

Two events dominate the political scene at present in this part of the world, events accompanied by a deaf deafening racket of American jazz and the alluring sounds of the Russian balalaika. These two kinds of music are being played in Helsinki and in Vienna. In the former capital city they are prattling about "European security", while in the latter there is palaver about the "balanced reduction of armed forces" in Central Europe. The performances are being staged in those two cities, but the numbers are prepared and the star performers and the extras are coached and rehearsed in their roles in Washington and Moscow. As is known, we did not and could not take part in this dirty farce, not because we are afraid of fighting, but because we prefer to fight with drawn swords outside vicious circles. We state and will always state our opinion openly, fearlessly and without running any risk of getting "our clothes" torn in the brambles or stained in the mud of Vienna and Helsinki. All those who took part in these conferences eagerly desired us to go there so that they could compromise us in their rounds of talks. But these desires were not fulfilled. At these meetings they discuss the hegemonic interests of the two big powers and those of the capitalist cliques and not the interests of the peoples of Europe and the world. That is why we do not take part in these meetings but expose and fight them more effectively from outside. When the meetings are truly of the peoples, against their rulers, then Albania will always take part in them.

At these meetings the Rumanians pretend they are fighting on both fronts. What a disgusting farce!...

I instructed the minister that he and his staff must closely follow the proceedings of the conferences, draw conclusions and write articles. They must keep in mind the following questions:

Faced with the great crisis which has beset the capitalist world and America itself, American imperialism wants to free itself of its great military expenditure, but at the same time does not want to withdraw its armed forces from Europe. The United States of America wants to keep NATO on its feet, not only to oppose the Warsaw Treaty, but also to keep its own allies under pressure. It is trying to make these allied states pay more, both for the maintenance of the armies the United States has there, and to finance the dollar in other ways, i.e., wants them to export less and import more and thus eliminate the huge deficit in the American balance.

NATO asked Russia for a meeting at which they could talk about the "balanced reduction of armed forces in Europe". The Warsaw Treaty countries gave them a positive reply that "this reduction must affect only the foreign forces which are deployed in Europe". This was done to open the way for the meeting on "European security". Nixon and Brezhnev took the decisive step in this deal in Moscow, so that both meetings would be held at the same time.

The endless talks over procedure began in Helsinki at a time which was not favourable to the

Soviets because not only Rumania was backing away from them, but Poland, too, had begun to move. Then meeting after meeting, pressure after pressure, the Rumanians tried to nuzzle up to France, but it had its own plans and advised them not to get too "skittish" with the Soviets. The crestfallen Rumanians became somewhat more amenable. The Soviets wanted to end this conference, which they themselves had sought, as quickly as possible, with a general declaration to keep up appearances. They foresee many difficulties.

The Americans and the Westerners want to carry the question of weakening the Soviet Union through to the end, and not just to weaken it economically, by investing their capital in the Soviet Union and its satellite countries, not just to weaken it militarily, by demanding the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Europe, but also by demanding that it open its borders to their ideas, their press, propaganda, tourists, etc. The picture is clear. They want to wean the satellite countries away from the Soviet Union and its influence (they themselves are ready for this) and harness them to their chariot.

In this way the hinterland of the West is extended and the borders of the Soviet Union are pushed back to where they were before the Second World War. This is not in the interests of Soviet social-imperialism, which wants to keep its satellites under its domination. That is why the Soviet Union proposed that the talks in Vienna should be about the reduction of national forces and armaments, while the reduction of foreign forces should be relegated to second place. Of course, the Soviets made this proposal with the aim that the talks would be dragged on endlessly and to give the impression that they were "democratic", talks and not talks between two blocs or between the United States of America and the Soviet Union only, as was the case with SALT, but talks in which other countries, from each bloc would take part. This, of course, will give rise to another question, to the demand that "neutral" states, i.e., Austria, should participate and the Vienna meeting will become like that of Helsinki, if not broader, and any decision will be postponed indefinitely. The palaver must go on while matters proceed as the United States of America and the Soviet Union decide behind the scenes.

Thus, it is clear that all these questions are being manipulated by the two superpowers in order to balance their economic and military potentials in Europe, to preserve and consolidate their positions in the spheres of influence and, at the same time, to give the impression that they are fighting for "European security".

It is clear that by raising the question of the reduction of forces, they want to achieve the disarmament of the peoples, to weaken their defence potential and to impose the dictate of the superpowers easily on the countries of Europe so as to keep them under the blackmail and threat of nuclear missiles. The two superpowers will do nothing to reduce their forces or potential. On the contrary, everything is intended to conceal this while the disarmament is to be carried out to the detriment of others.

Even if these two superpowers make some small symbolic concession in this direction, it is known that their mechanized means, their paratroop detachments, their naval missile forces, etc., have a wide range of rapid action from one country to another. Therefore, this small symbolic gesture does not in any way affect the American-Soviet capacity to strike in all regions of Europe.

In these conferences everything is centred on these principal aims. Of course, as the situation evolves there will be problems and each side will have its own tactics. And there will be a reason and aim behind each of these, tactics. Therefore, without losing our bearings, we must follow the events, must analyse and explain them to our people in the first place, and as far as we can, also to those who listen to us or are interested in knowing our opinion. And this interest is by no means small in the world. Likewise, with the passage of time our political stands are being confirmed and

approved.

MONDAY APRIL 21, 1975

## AN ANALYSIS OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION IN THE LIGHT OF DRAMATIC EVENTS FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The United States of America has received a sound thrashing, has suffered an irreparable defeat in Cambodia. First, the whole world has seen very clearly that despite its military and economic potential, American imperialism cannot impose its will even on a very small people who are determined to resist and fight it with weapons. The United States of America threw its modern weapons, advisers, generals, armies, and incalculable economic supplies, on the balance of Cambodia, brought a handful of traitors headed by Lon Nol, on the scene, organized mercenary armies and staked its "prestige" as a great superpower, but despite this the balance tipped to the side of the Cambodian people.

What lessons do the peoples draw from this colossal defeat of the United States of America? They learn that imperialism is in decay, that the empire of the United States of America is cracking in its foundations, its organization and in the policy on which it is built. It has to use wars, weapons, puppets, military bases, credits, exploitation and blackmail to keep the peoples under domination. But everybody knows the blood-stained character of the dollar. The puppets are used to the last to support their patron, they shed the blood of their own peoples, but in the end, they are smashed to smithereens by the people's war. A most recent example are Lon Nol and Van Thieu who are at their last gasp. Therefore, the demagogy that the "democratic" United States of America is fighting together with its "democratic" friends, Lon Nol and Van Thieu, for the "freedom and democracy" of the peoples, has no basis on which it can stand.

That means all-round political, military and economic defeats for the United States of America. Understandably the "confidence", of the allies in the United States of America is at a very low ebb. The former confidence of the cliques and puppets in their "powerful", patron has vanished. In fact, now more than ever before, the cliques and puppets think that their patron has become dangerous, is working only for itself, uses them as murderers of their peoples and leaves them in the lurch whenever it is defeated in battles against the peoples of the world. It is not only the cliques and puppets like Lon Nol and Van Thieu or the Chilean fascists who think like that, there are even officially declared "major allies", who have long been having doubts about this rotten alliance, which is dominated by an imperialist superpower which, despite the treaties, has the same aims towards them and is acting and will act with them in the same manner it is acting with the cliques and puppets.

This real distrust in their perfidious ally is becoming evident from the forms of blackmail they are exerting on it "national" feelings and "national" defence have begun to appear in the "alliances". Even if they don't say so, the "allies", have begun to think and move: "How are we going to defend ourselves? Nothing is certain with the United States of America: it leaves you in the lurch for its own interests".

For its part, Soviet social-imperialism is experiencing a similar major crisis. Nobody believes its demagogy, because every action it takes shows the peoples that its policy, objectives and ambitions are identical with those of American imperialism: world hegemony, division of markets, while doing its utmost to avoid confrontation with the other superpowers. But the struggle for markets does not prevent these two superpowers from having cliques and puppets, from playing them one against the other in order to draw the chestnuts out of the fire for them. The "allies" of Soviet social-imperialism are extremely dissatisfied with their patron: their countries are occupied and cannot be

liberated without war. But this they cannot undertake. Up to a certain point, they can do some trade with the capitalist countries and obtain some credits from them to the extent the patron finds it advantageous to allow them. But if they pull too hard at the leash the patron jerks them back into line with stern brutality.

Rumania is an exception to this state of affairs, but apparently the Soviets have allotted it special tasks, so that it can kick out a bit against the patron, but in the long run it has to be completely in its service. All the activity of the Ceausescu group allows one to suspect this, because while it shouts that it is being threatened by the Soviets, it makes no move to withdraw from the Warsaw Treaty. This means to be inside while posing as if you have one foot outside.

In the patron-satellite relations, the satellites of the United States of America have greater freedom to manoeuvre and resort to blackmail, whereas the satellites of the Soviets are kept under a tight rein. The United States of America threatens its allies with the Soviet menace, whereas the Soviets cannot threaten their satellites with the American menace, because they beg for ties with the USA and want the American "freedom". But both superpowers speculate with the threat of a world war. Meanwhile the so-called non-aligned countries are under a double threat - of a general war and a partial war.

Nevertheless, in this general framework, the myth of the big powers which can do what they want without being punished or suffering defeats, is steadily waning. The Americans are suffering such political, economic, military and other defeats. The Soviet Union has not yet suffered military defeats. It suffered a major political defeat in Czechoslovakia from which it still has not recovered. So far it has guarded against committing aggression where it foresees it might encounter armed resistance, because it will certainly suffer political and military defeats. It is taking great pains to keep up a certain reputation through demagogy, but if this veil is torn from it, then it is finished from every standpoint. With this tactic the Soviet Union wants to preserve the "myth" that the Soviet army is an "Invincible monster". It needs this myth and doesn't want to shatter it, because that would bring its terrible slide to disaster. The Soviet strategy is to preserve this myth and continue the hegemonic policy of social-imperialism.

American imperialism has suffered defeats, but the Russians do not appear to have done so. This is an illusion, because both of them have suffered defeats and both are manoeuvring for a new strategy and new tactics. Ford issued a blunt warning, "let nobody try to fish in troubled waters against the United States of America". The "troubled waters" are Cambodia, Vietnam, the Middle East. This "nobody" is the Soviet Union, in the first place.

Faced with defeats, the United States of America is not failing to consider and prepare a kick for the Russians if they dare make a move. What form could this kick take? Suppositions: first, it refuses to grant credits which they need go badly; second, it drives Russia completely from the Middle East, the Persian Gulf and Africa. The latter measure involves vital economic and strategic issues.

He who has influence in the Arab and African countries shuts Russia up in a cage. The United States of America will try to do this; it will defend Israel but it will not sacrifice its "friendship" with the Arab countries...

The Soviet Union is left only with the positions it has in Europe. Some are spreading the rumour that the United States of America will proceed in its policy according to the "Monroe Doctrine". No, it will not withdraw into complete isolationism, but may adopt semi-isolationism, if it is unable to establish its complete hegemony over its NATO allies. The United States of America has interests in Europe which it will continue to defend. Hence, in principle, it is the "shield" of Western Europe against the "Soviet danger". However, "American isolationism" may be expressed as: "I will help

you but you must help me out of these two colossal crises, because in this way you are helping yourselves".

We see that France is moving in this direction, giving the impression that it is becoming a world power whose opinion must be sought. Tomorrow Federal Germany, which is not being heard much at present, will take this course. Brandt's policy was a failure. Its main aim was "to bring about the unification of the two German states". This he failed to achieve, but this does not mean that German imperialism has laid down its arms. One morning it will wake up and its main aim will be against the Soviets. Britain will follow this same course. Hence, a new strategy should be given consideration: the Soviet Union should be isolated in Europe and its advance halted everywhere, the United States of America should remain the main gendarme, but other gendarmes who have been treated with contempt, should be revived, thus Tamerlaine and his allies will defeat Bayazit Yalderem - the Soviet Union, shut it up in a cage and drag it around to exhibit it like the bear in a fair.

We don't know how true it is that the Westerners have "agreed", that the first stage of the meeting on "European security" should be ended and that they "do not insist strongly on the free circulation of ideas and people". Apparently, both sides want to sign a worthless scrap of paper. Why? Do they want to give a "satisfaction", to the pro-American group of Brezhnev, in order to gain time until the United States of America can recover from its defeats, mend its broken vases, regain its lost credibility and prepare for the coming presidential elections while its western allies assist it and assist themselves to consolidate a certain independence and greater power in the alliance with the United States of America? We must watch this development. because it is taking place, although in what forms and directions is not yet clearly defined. It is important that the decline of the two superpowers should continue, that their hegemony and arrogance should be undermined, their intrigues stopped and combated, that the psychosis of fear which the two superpowers are keeping alive should be combated, that the sentiment for the defence and the national dignity of the peoples and independent states should be strengthened and the revolutionary spirit and international unity of the proletariat and the people all over the world should be enhanced and tempered.

The defeats of the superpowers must be exploited to the maximum and in all possible ways. We must make our contribution to this struggle as we have always done and more than ever before.

FRIDAY DECEMBER 9, 1977

#### THINGS THAT WE MUST KEEP THOROUGHLY IN MIND IN THE FIELD OF THE ECONOMY IN THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Today I spoke with the comrade secretaries of the Central Committee of the Party about how I see some very important current economic problems of our country. They were:

1. The fulfilment of plans, especially export plans.
2. The world monetary crisis.
3. Why the Chinese want to use the Swiss franc in their transactions with us.

We must devote even greater attention to the development of the economy of our country and the fulfilment of plans. We must stress this with special force at present, because the whole of our economic and cultural development is being accomplished with our own forces. But it is important that everybody understands clearly that self-reliance does not mean autarky. By pursuing the course of self-reliance in the development of the economy, we have reached that situation in which we

have greater possibilities to export goods and product to other countries in such quantities that we secure more and more income in foreign currency with which we buy goods, machinery and equipment which we need but still do not produce ourselves. Autarkic development of the economy is completely different. Autarky means that you neither sell nor buy. But to develop the economy without selling things abroad you have to produce everything within the country, which would be pure fantasy. Foreign trade through self-reliance, with our exports, is essential...

Another problem is that of the real meaning which must be given to the isolation, which the imperialists and revisionists try to impose on us. In my opinion, we should not fear a political and ideological isolation on the part of our enemies, the imperialists and revisionists. Our enemies are not in a position to impose such an isolation on us and cannot do so. If they impose or try to impose isolation on us, this they will do in the field of the economy, and precisely in the field I mentioned earlier, to hinder our import-export trade. But today we have all the possibilities to overcome this type of isolation and we must overcome it. How?

First, through the fulfilment and over fulfilment of plans, and through the production of commodities and other articles for exchange with foreign countries.

Second, we must produce, as we have always said, goods of those types and that quality which are in demand in the world abroad. The better our goods are, the more the possibilities of our country to conduct exchanges with the other countries will increase and the more widely the good name of our products will be spread.

Third, while taking account of the real pressure of the capitalist-revisionist countries, we must always bear in mind the fact that between those countries there are contradictions that we know about. Besides this, there are also contradictions between them over the question of Albania, and this is in our favour...

We must pay close attention to the present international political situation so that we are thoroughly acquainted with it. This must help us to forge ahead also in increasing trade exchanges with other countries...

Although I have read the report which the leading comrades of the Ministry of Foreign Trade have made on the insistence of the Chinese that our side agree to use Swiss currency in our transactions with them, to tell the truth, I am still unable to understand this despite the discussions we have held on it. The Chinese are not raising the question of the currency for nothing. Therefore, it seems to me we must delve more deeply into this matter. If we think that this is being done by the Chinese simply for ease of accounting, since they have all their accounting in Swiss francs, this is not right. It is not simply a question of ease of accounting for the reason that in its current and future trade China cannot limit its accounting to Swiss francs alone.

The question of currencies seems to me rather complicated. I have done some study on this problem, especially since the severe monetary crisis, which has engulfed the whole capitalist-revisionist world today, began. It is known that in recent years there has been a gold standard and a hard currency standard. As a rule, the gold standard means that you can have a volume of paper money equal to your fund of gold. The Central Banks, which are national banks and have other private banks under their dependence, issue reserve currencies. They have an external exchange rate and an internal value. However, the Bank of France, for example, has cancelled the right to exchange paper money for gold. Thus, if, say, a Frenchman takes the notion to exchange the paper money he possesses for gold, as was practised in the 18th century by those who possessed money, today the big banks do not permit such a thing. Other countries have taken a similar action. The Central Bank of France maintains the parity on the foreign market, that is, it has to place in.

circulation a volume of francs equal to the gold it possesses. However, it happens that this Central Bank, compelled by the crisis, issues more paper francs than the quantity of gold it possesses. Then, what occurs in this case? Within the country prices begin to rise and, likewise, the attack from abroad begins, the exchange rate of the franc falls because a parity has long been established in relation to the other currencies.

Now the countries of the European Common Market are trying to create a common monetary unit. These efforts began and are continuing, following the grave crisis which affected the American dollar. Nevertheless, this cannot stabilize the problem of the currency and its many fluctuations in the capitalist world. In this field there will still be attacks and counterattacks. Thus, for example, with the devaluation of the franc, from the sale of a commodity in France a West-German, instead of getting three francs, gets seven francs and with them buys there the goods which are advantageous to him. The Frenchman can raise his prices if he likes, but in this way the established balance is further disturbed and endless difficulties are created. Therefore, the currencies in the capitalist-revisionist countries must not be regarded simply as a means of circulation in the internal or the external market. They have links with the prices in the countries which have issued them, and also with the prices of other countries with which the issuing country maintains commercial and economic links. In the capitalist-revisionist countries money plays a very important role in the exploitation and robbery of the broad working masses by the bourgeoisie of a particular country and of other countries.

Before the Second World War, a super-bank was created and imposed because the national bank of one country could not be allowed to emerge as superior to the national banks of other countries. For instance, the national Bank of France could not emerge as superior to the Bank of Germany or Bank of England. They had reached a certain agreement with one another and exchanged the paper money of each of them for gold. During the Second World War, the bulk of the gold was transferred to the United States of America because the combatant countries of Western Europe were obliged to pay the United States for the armaments they received. However, matters reached the point that the banks of Europe and other countries had extremely great payment difficulties. In order to overcome this situation, in July 1944, a meeting was held at Bretton-Woods in the United States in the time of Roosevelt and an international agreement, which was called the "Bretton-Woods international monetary system" was reached, on the basis of which the gold standard was replaced with the paper dollar. This meeting set the exchange rate of 35 dollars for one ounce of gold. As a result, the other currencies, such as the pound sterling, the franc, the mark, the lira, were left behind. The United States of America benefited from this agreement, because it not only accumulated even more considerable reserves of gold from the other countries but it also bought from them many shares in industrial monopolies and obtained all sorts of concessions in Europe and other countries thanks to the issuing of large quantities of paper dollars.

When the other countries gradually grew stronger and began to recover from the economic standpoint, they could no longer reconcile themselves to this situation. Stop, they said, where are we going? Thus, they demanded that the United States of America return to them the gold which it had taken, in exchange for dollar notes. The United States refused, saying that it did not have the gold. This conflict caused a fall in the value of the dollar so that the official price of one ounce of gold was set at 42,2 dollars instead of the previous 35 dollars. However, the devaluation of the dollar proceeded rapidly from the time when the United States of America was relieved of the obligation to convert dollars to gold. Today the dollar has no fixed gold basis, because the price of gold on the free market has risen to 70, 810, 90, 100, 110, 120 up to 170 dollars for the ounce. This is an indication of the heavy devaluation of the dollar on the free market of currency exchanges, while between banks, the value of the dollar did not show any great decline. The "allies" of the Americans were not obliged to revalue one or more times their currencies in relation to the dollar, that is, to always set new Parities which they were committed in advance to respect on the exchange

markets. On the free market, however, the law of competition did its work.

Following the devaluation of the dollar, there were falls also in the currencies of other countries, such as the French franc, the Italian lira, the German mark, etc. In fact, as a result of the crisis, the "Bretton-Woods system", with its exchange rate for the dollar, has collapsed.

But can it be said that the reign of the dollar as a reserve currency has ended? And will this role pass to another reserve currency? For this to occur all the central national banks of states must leave the parity of currencies completely free to float. But, if the dollar continues to fall, in order to avoid a major revaluation of currency, it will be necessary to intervene again to defend the American currency, and then the risk will be greater.

The United States of America has no obligation in regard to the parity of the dollar. In March 1973, the "allies" demanded that the United States of America take part in the defence of the dollar, but it replied "with what?", because the links between the dollar as a reserve currency and the gold standard had been severed earlier. Thus the "allies" would in no way agree that these links should be re-established.

Then, what will happen with the other currencies?

The Americans will say to the Europeans and the Japanese: if you want us (the Americans) to take part in the defence of the dollar, then you must give us credits in your currencies. This, of course, is a loss for the Europeans and the Japanese, although the more serious newspapers are shouting that the Europeans scored a "victory" over the Americans. In the final analysis, the dollar is still the only currency which can permit major manoeuvres at the level of international trade, but its reign cannot last forever. Why? Because the United States' balance of payments may continue to go further into deficit if the central banks of other countries do not withdraw more dollars from the quantities which the United States of America leaves. Because of this deficit, the value of the American currency will suffer further falls on the international exchanges, and this means that the other currencies will be stronger rivals with the dollar.

Likewise, it is known that the fluctuations in the value of the paper currencies of various capitalist countries are important not only for the bourse d'échange (Stock exchange (French in the original)), but they are linked closely with credits, the sale of commodities, and many other factors, and are accompanied with grave consequences, both internally and abroad, for every capitalist-revisionist country.

Thus, at present, the "socialist" countries in general have great shortages and are in conditions that they absorb a large part, but not all, of the global overproduction of the capitalist countries. On the other hand, what is called aid to the "third world", and the credits which are provided for the revisionist states by the countries of the West are precisely for the aim of financing this absorption of the capitalist overproduction. But this absorption is partial. The remainder of this capitalist overproduction is so large that it causes unbalance and disorganization in the plans and prospects which each capitalist state seeks to achieve. For this reason, although compromises are very possible, when the so-called United Europe and the Asiatic empire dominated by Japan or by China become entitles powerful enough to balance North America, these compromises may no longer be possible and the final fracture of the capitalist world will be caused.

Of course, these are some incomplete, simple, general notions which I have in connection with the question of money, its role and fluctuations in the national and international market, and of the banking manoeuvres of the capitalist states. But the comrades of our bank who are engaged with the financial aspect, with the questions of the Bourse, the comrades of the foreign trade organizations

who are engaged with the problems of international prices of various commodities, must go into them more thoroughly, must delve deeply into these problems, have a thorough understanding of their movement and the aims which the various capitalist and revisionist states with which we have trade relations are pursuing in connection with these movements...

At present the Chinese have begun to cheat, to blackmail us and are trying to impose their financial and commercial views on us. We must watch these things with great care and have no illusions. Naturally we must keep cool heads, but we must be able to understand their aims, to combat them, to state and defend our views in order to checkmate them, or to find a middle way, a way of economic and financial benefit both for us and for them, because one-sidedness in commercial relations cannot be permitted either by them or by us.

As to the question of why the Chinese want to go over to the use of the Swiss franc in transactions with us, it seems to me that this matter should be studied carefully and the reasons found for why they are insisting on this. It is known that in the trade that others will do with China they will say that we want to buy this and that commodity and sell this or that commodity. Now let us reckon both your goods and ours at international prices.

The question arises: at the concrete present juncture which currency is falling and which is rising? If, for example, the French franc is falling, then prices in France go up. To recover dollars France sells goods to China which, for its part, can sell them to whoever it likes, including Albania. If it buys them cheaply, China will do this and will try to sell them to us more dearly, while for our part, we must try to get them as cheaply as possible.

In this case then it is important for us to carefully determine the average of international prices and which prices we can accept. China, which plays this game, is fully informed about prices because of its large-scale trade. It knows more or less the level and stability of the prices of goods, that is, more or less recognized international prices, such as for chromium, copper, bitumen, oil and other raw materials which we export, but for many other goods which we import from China, the international prices are very variable, have no stability, especially at this moment of the crisis of overproduction. Having trade relations with many states of the world which, to avoid increasing inflation or devaluating their currencies, produce great surpluses and dump goods on the markets at cheap prices, I am speaking of bulk goods and not retail goods, China buys these. These states may sell the Chinese these large quantities of goods even more cheaply than at international prices and China, for its part, tries to trick us to make more profits and at the same time to obtain from us allegedly at international prices those goods which it needs and are valuable to it. Therefore, there must be vigilance in this direction because now China is in a hostile position towards our country.

For all these reasons we must insist that the buying and selling prices are set jointly, taking the international fluctuations into account. We must know these prices well both for the goods we want to buy and for those we want to sell. After this, before the contracts are signed, we must carefully calculate how much x or y commodity costs. X commodity costs, say 3 dollars, the other 5 dollars, a third costs 7 dollars, etc. At these prices our state buys 20 of x commodity, 10 of y commodity, 7 of z commodity, and so on. As to how you who agree to sell these goods want to make your calculations, that is your affair, do it in whatever currency you like, but these quantities of goods which I need at these average international prices come to so many thousand leks. If you want to convert them into dollars, for example, they are worth 2000 dollars all told. If you want to convert them into Swiss francs they amount to 6000 francs of that country. That is no concern of mine.

Why are the Chinese exerting this pressure? Can it be for ease of conversion?

It seems to me they are not doing this for this reason. They are not worried about making their

calculations more rapidly with the Swiss franc, on the contrary we have to do here with definite political and economic aims. It is clear that the Chinese want to make the maximum profits out of us, to sell to us dear and buy from us as cheaply as possible. Now they are operating like capitalists, and there can be no thought of an internationalist stand on their part in relations with us.

Therefore, the situation in our relations with China is not easy. On the contrary, it is very difficult, and we must go into this matter seriously because our sales and purchases with that country make-up an important part of our import-export trade. We have difficulties with the others, too, because they are all the same. The revisionists try to get the better of us either on prices or on the quality of goods, "to sell us soap for cheese" as the people say. Now China is doing the same thing as the others.

Hence, the imperialists and the revisionists are incapable of imposing isolation on our country from the ideological and political standpoint, while they have possibilities to damage and hinder us from the economic aspect. Therefore, we must try to cope with any difficulty they will raise for us. We must thoroughly understand the importance of the fulfilment of plans, especially in the existing conditions. There is no cut-and-dried recipe for this, but it requires deep thought, sweat, and the accomplishment of tasks in time, in quality and quantity, and we must make savings everywhere. We will never proceed towards autarky, it would be crazy of anyone to think of such a thing. We must work so that we can sell and create possibilities to buy, naturally to the extent that we have the possibilities. We see that the others all accept credits and are up to their necks in debt, binding their countries hand and foot to the creditors. No one buys stones because everybody has them, but they do buy chromium, refined copper etc., because they all need them. Therefore, the Party and all the cadres must be thoroughly acquainted with the situation through which we are passing and realize the tasks which emerge for each of us...

SUNDAY DECEMBER 31, 1978

#### ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION DURING 1978

Tomorrow begins the new year. This is the last day of 1978 so we can sum up the situation of world strategy in general and of the superpowers in particular.

The two major nuclear powers, American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, are continuing to arm themselves. Regardless of some agreements they have signed and some SALT projects which are not being realized, the fact is that these two superpowers are trying to consolidate their international positions and forestall the danger of a nuclear war. Naturally, neither the Soviet Union nor the United States of America wants this war, but the deepening of the crisis will bring about such a situation. The war could start with conventional weapons but turn into a nuclear war later.

Therefore, besides increasing its armaments, the Soviet Union is trying to consolidate its "alliances" with the countries of "people's democracy" through the Warsaw Treaty and COMECON. In fact, those countries are occupied by the Soviet Union which considers them as a glacis between it and Western Europe. Today the Soviet Union is a social-imperialist revisionist country. The laws of a socialist state do not operate there. Irrespective of what they say, the Russians, the "White Russian" dominate in the Soviet Union. Hence the consolidation of the Leninist-Stalinist Soviet Union, the unity and solidarity that existed in the war against the Hitlerites, cannot and do not exist any longer in that country in the face of a new world war. There is unrest in all the republics of the Soviet Union, indeed, in time of crisis they may not go to war against a possible invader in unity. It is revisionism which has caused this possibility of division. That is one aspect.

The other aspect is that the Soviet Union is facing many dangers today, but especially on two fronts:

on the front of Western Europe, NATO, in unity and military and economic alliance with the United States of America; and in the East, on the Sino-Japanese front behind which the United States of America is lurking again.

Thus, today the Soviet Union finds itself between two fires, especially in Asia. Now China is arming very rapidly, aiming to attack the Soviet Union, provided, of course, that the situation continues as it is, because we may also see a change in the Chinese policy towards the Soviet Union, that is, the creation of a situation in which the issues will not be presented as they are today.

Nevertheless, the signing of the Sino-Japanese Treaty and the close rapprochement of China with the United States of America, with the countries of the European Common Market and world capital make the threat of war against the Soviet Union on the Asiatic front more imminent. Therefore, the Soviet Union must smash this front now, while it is not yet consolidated and has not become dangerous for the outbreak of a frontal war. For this the Soviet Union may take advantage of the present weak state of China and the inability of the United States of America and the countries of Western Europe to make the law everywhere. It has begun to gather round itself a number of states linked with it in one form or another, with the view to extending its domination to other countries, just as its rivals want and are attempting to do.

We observe that the Soviet Union is trying to penetrate into Africa, the Middle East, Afghanistan, Pakistan and possibly also into India. Likewise, we see that it is strengthening its links with Vietnam and Laos at the moment. This constitutes another Soviet glacis, but also a point for an eventual attack against China from Southeast Asia.

Despite the words being said, if the situation is studied in detail, it emerges that neither the United States of America, the Soviet Union, nor the states of "United Europe" are able to make the necessary investments on the African continent. According to statistics, "United Europe" ought to invest at least 15 billion dollars a year in Africa as a whole, while it is able to invest no more than 3 billion dollars. France, which is pursuing a policy of closer links with Black Africa, invests most on that continent. This is because of its old colonial links with those countries, which are publicized as allegedly cultural, social, economic links and so on. And France tends to influence the European Common Market and together with it to create the Euro-African bloc since Africa is a continent of great importance, not only to them, with a sparse population and immense amounts of raw materials. In general Africa is little exploited, nevertheless Southern Africa supplies Europe with many materials, indeed with important strategic materials.

But the problem remains that the present level of investments by "United Europe" is very low, therefore the tendency of the states of "United Europe" is to establish links between Northern and Southern Africa and to prevent both the Soviet Union and the United States of America from getting their clutches on the African continent. This is causing contention between the two superpowers and the states of "United Europe", jointly and separately.

As regards the investments of the Soviet Union in Africa, they are minimal, but recently it has begun to get a military foothold there, is seeking naval bases, and has also intervened with its armed forces, as in Angola together with the Cubans, in Ethiopia and Eritrea, in Somalia, in Aden and elsewhere. Thus, the Soviet Union is acting in two directions: to create a Soviet glacis and breach the militant unity that is being forged and developing on both its flanks. The Soviet Union will do a similar thing both in Europe and in Asia Minor. And in fact, it has set about this task, although it has suffered some defeats. At present, however, the Mediterranean assumes great strategic importance for the Soviet Union because there it hampers NATO, could endanger the army of this pact in a conflict with it, and at the same time, bars the way for "United Europe" to bring about an eventual Euro-African unity.

Thus, by insinuating itself in many ways, with investments (but, as I pointed out, these are small), with propaganda or diversion, the Soviet Union, for its part, is striving to have Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan, if not completely, at least three quarters, on its side; the problem is that these countries should not be dangerous for it, but its allies in a war against the East, that is, in a war against the three: China, Japan, the United States of America, or to be able to create a great glacis in all this zone, including the Persian Gulf, Pakistan and India and weaken the encirclement around it.

Meanwhile the United States of America, for its part, is trying to finance and arm China in order to have it as a permanent threat to the Soviet Union, which will try, at least, to defend its empire, Siberia, Mongolia and Central Asia, or "to withstand" an attacker, of course, strengthened with great military and economic potential by having super-industrialized militarist Japan armed to the teeth, on its side.

In its conflicts with the Soviet Union, the United States of America will also try to protect the Indian Ocean, to have India and Burma on its side and prevent the infiltration of the Soviet Union either into Oceania or, by land, into all that belt which leads to the Persian Gulf and Central Asia.

Hence the present situation looks like this: Feverish war preparations; the imperialist states, first of all, the United States of America, the Soviet Union and China, are continuing to arm themselves. The contradictions among them are becoming more acute and, in order to avoid a general nuclear war, they incite local wars. The Soviet Union is trying to reach a détente with the European Common Market and NATO, and also trying to tone down its contradictions with the United States of America and pursuing a policy of splitting fronts. Likewise, Europe, to which the Soviet Union poses a great danger, does not want to get burnt. It is ready to urge others, especially the Sino-Japanese eastern front, to clash with the Soviet Union and pull the chestnuts out of the fire for it. That is why we see that the investments and trade exchanges between the European Common Market and the Soviet Union are not hampered; they are developing, not only with the Soviet Union, but also with its allies, the eastern satellites, members of the Warsaw Treaty.

Meanwhile in Africa the situation is still unclear because the "free" and "independent" African states are ruled by the cliques of the big bourgeoisie, the big chieftains and feudal lords linked, naturally, with those who, give them most. And these, first of all, are the British, the French, the West Germans, the Americans, and then the others, while China gives them nothing at all. Hence it has scarcely gained a foothold there. It needs a long time, to penetrate into Africa. In that zone China plays the role: of the gramophone record for all. It supports the United States of America and "United Europe" and begs them to help it with whatever they can, and not to give the Soviet Union credits so that it is weakened. Indeed, the Chinese have declared this.

Thus, it seems to me that now, on the eve of the New Year 1979, the current situation is fraught with dangers, is turbulent, but at the same time it is revolutionary, that the policy of the big imperialist-revisionist powers is not acceptable to the peoples, who are kept under their bondage and dictate with force. The peoples understand their intrigues, manoeuvres, strategy and tactics and are not sitting idle. The people's liberation movements are building up and bursting out openly but are still weak. These outbursts may be momentary, may be short-lived, but still they are outbursts which serve to weaken the great powers and prevent the outbreak of a new world war.

We must work and struggle in this direction to extend our contacts with the broad masses of the peoples of the world as much as possible. By linking ourselves closely with the Marxist-Leninist parties, with progressive individuals and, through them, directly with those peoples, we will carry to them the opinion of socialist Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania.

WEDNESDAY FEBRUARY 13, 1980

## PANORAMA OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

...The situation was threatening even before, but now, following the events in Iran and after the Soviet aggression against Afghanistan, that is, after the occupation of that country by the Soviet Union with tanks and armed forces, the threats and preparations for local wars, or a general war, are assuming more definite form.

As I have said at other times, the Middle East, the great oil-bearing zone, has become a hot bed of war in the world today. It is that part of the globe where the political-economic-strategic predatory interests of the great powers, first of all, of the United States of America and the Soviet Union, and also, those of China, the capitalist countries of Western Europe, Japan, etc., are colliding and coming to grips with one another. Uprisings of those peoples who are living under the double oppression and exploitation of the big multinational oil companies and cliques, kings, sheiks, feudal lords, emirs and the local capitalist bourgeoisie are taking place in that region.

The energy problem in the world, which is linked with the production and distribution of oil which holds first place as a source of energy, has become very acute. This has brought about the further deepening of the world-wide general economic crisis.

The overthrow of the shah, naturally, created major problems inside Iran and abroad. The positive aspect of the uprising of the Iranian people, irrespective of who is leading it, is that it brought about the overthrow of the shah, a lackey of American imperialism, and further threatened the oil supplies of the United States of America. Besides this, the United States of America suffered another great political blow, because the Iranian people and students stormed and took the American embassy in Teheran, are still holding captive the entire personnel of this embassy and have seized all the documents of the embassy which are proof of the criminal actions of the CIA and the shah.

The United States of America tried to escape unscathed, politically and economically, from the events in Iran, therefore it threatened an armed attack, dispatched its naval fleet to the vicinity of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean and is keeping it there. President Carter proclaimed a number of economic and other sanctions against Iran. In fact, it proved impossible to apply these measures with the effect desired by their authors. Nevertheless, they provided the pretext for which the Soviet Union was waiting, and had long been preparing, to intervene in Afghanistan where the puppets it had brought to power were endangered by the Islamic "popular" I say "popular" because, in fact, the Afghan people have risen against the Soviet puppets, but the Chinese, the Americans and the Pakistani are trying to manipulate and exploit their struggle for their own ends. It was precisely this turbulent situation and the threats of Carter against Iran, as I said, which provided the Soviets with the opportunity to send their tanks into Afghanistan.

Naturally this aggression and occupation created a dangerous situation in the world and made the Middle East a very delicate zone where the superpowers are directly confronting each other in a state of cold war which threatens to turn into a hot war at any moment.

Nevertheless, following the open aggression of the Soviet Union against Afghanistan, American imperialism has somewhat lowered its bugles against Iran, but this does not mean that it has given up its manoeuvres and plots within the country, neither does this exclude efforts to reach certain compromises with the current Iranian leadership in order to avert the outbreak of war in the oil zone. Notwithstanding this, the United States of America is keeping its warships and has increased the number of detachments of marines in this region, is strengthening the military bases it has in the Persian Gulf such as those in Saudi Arabia, the United Emirates and Oman, and is trying to

establish other bases in Somalia and North Yemen in order to counterbalance the important strategic points which Soviet social-imperialism has occupied in South Yemen, Ethiopia and, especially, in Afghanistan.

In Afghanistan the Soviets encountered resistance. The men of the American government exploited this quite openly, came to terms with the reactionary leadership of Pakistan and declared that they would provide, and did in fact provide, economic and military aid to Pakistan so that it can defend itself against an eventual Soviet attack and the USA can make use of the Afghans' guerrilla war for their own interests.

As is known, the meeting of Moslem countries was held in Islamabad. There it was decided that all the Moslem countries should help the Afghan people and the so-called Committee which is directing the war against the Soviets inside Afghanistan. We see that China is active in these open actions and subversive manoeuvres, declaring that it is helping the Afghan refugees in Pakistan with arms and ammunition and also giving them economic aid. Hence, we can say that a new confrontation has emerged around the borders of Afghanistan, within which the Soviet troops are stationed, on the one side is the Soviet army which is fighting against the Afghan insurgents, and on the other side, Pakistan and China, and behind them the United States of America, which are trying to use the war of the insurgents to their own advantage. Thus, in this zone there is an open local conflict between the Soviets and the Afghans, and a disguised conflict between the Soviets and the Americans behind the scenes, and the present Afghan officials and the Chinese likewise behind the scenes.

In the other countries of the Middle East at present there is, so to say, a certain status quo in which, in fact, a shift can be seen in the positions of various countries of this basin in defence of the Iranian revolution and the Afghan people, and efforts of some to link up more openly with the Soviet Union and others with the United States of America.

In other words, the allies of Washington in this oil-bearing zone are trying to strengthen their friendship with the United States of America in the first place, and on the other hand, to bring the Iran of Khomeini to terms with American imperialism. For their part, the Soviets are trying to prevent Syria and Iraq slipping from their grasp and becoming friends of the USA and to keep them "friends and well-wishers" of the Soviet Union.

Thus, the situation in the Arab world remains as before, with the one difference that Egypt and Israel are continuing to strengthen their alliance and friendship under the American umbrella, to watch the development of the popular movement in Iran closely and with hostility, to barrack for and incite the United States of America to take measures towards the Soviet Union more coercive than those of boycotting the Olympic games, etc. We see also that Qadhafi's Libya has begun to intervene in Tunisia by sending its commandos to Gafsa and causing a riot which, naturally, was suppressed but brought another factor, the French factor, into the arena of this zone. France, in fact, sent military aid to Tunisia. Thus, it is becoming ever more clear that France is making military preparations to defend the so-called independent and sovereign Francophone states where French capital has major exploitative interests. This is precisely what impels France to avoid involvement in the American-Soviet conflict and to adopt political stands which are contrary to those proposed by Carter, as for example: the proposal for the boycott of the Olympic games and the other proposal for the summoning of a meeting of foreign ministers of the countries of Western Europe and the United States of America to discuss the Soviet aggression against Afghanistan and the measures proposed by Carter. West Germany, too, is not fully in unison with the United States of America over this question.

Thus, we see that contradictions exist between the United States of America, France and Germany

over major international problems. These contradictions stem from the fact that these two European developed capitalist countries with highly developed big industries need the oil of Iran and the oil of the OPEC member countries, that is, other countries of the Middle East, some African countries and Venezuela. Thus, they do not want to get involved in the infernal machinations of American interests, but want to stand aloof from the actions of the Carter administration, in other words, they are unwilling to play the game of the CIA. Hence, we see that in order to defend their vital interests on the question of oil, these two countries, France and West Germany, do not want the aggravation of the situation, but want continuation of the "détente" between the Soviet Union and the United States of America.

This is why both Paris and Bonn condemned the entry of the Soviet military forces into Afghanistan, though in a low voice, a thing which gave rise to a contradiction between the Policy of America and that of these two states. Of the countries of Western Europe only Britain is showing itself to be a more aggressive "hawk". Nevertheless, while following the United States of America, it still does not forget to do what it has always done, or to continue to pursue its policy of balance, to lean sometimes towards the West sometimes towards the East, to keep an eye both on America and on Europe, hence, also on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

In regard to the countries of Eastern Europe, the satellites of the Soviet Union, they owe the Western countries billions of dollars. As a consequence, the Western capitalists, who have major interests in these countries are not deteriorating matters with the Soviet Union and its satellites. So, the Western powers have markets in those countries, make investments there and, therefore, they desire and are working to avoid a further exacerbation of relations between them and the Soviet Union, like that which is occurring between the Soviet Union and the United States of America.

The policy of our country in regard to all these political events and stands on a world scale is correct. We analyse the situations and take our stand on the basis of conclusions we draw from the development of events. The fact is that our political stands, expressed in our articles and books, find a large response in the world, are liked and approved. Various diplomats from many states of the world, with whom our diplomats have contact, approve our policy and express this in good words, saying: Although your ideological views are contrary to ours, we approve your stands. All this has created a favourable situation for our country among the broad masses of peoples who hear the voice of our Radio and read our press and literature.

Depending on the occasion and circumstances, our political stands find response, also, among many bourgeois governments. Why do I say this? Because when we condemn Soviet social-imperialism for its blood-thirsty adventures, when we expose American imperialism for its aggressive actions, our correct stand is approved also by people in the governments of many states which are members of the NATO bloc or of countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

We notice that in Greece, especially, both among the people and in government circles, among intellectuals and the members of different parties, our policy is finding a wide-spread positive response. Every political, cultural or ideological event of our Party and country is mentioned, indeed, is given an extraordinary amount of publicity in virtually all the Greek newspapers, a thing which has created a very favourable opinion about our country and Government in Greece.

Our stand of good-will towards Greece, expressed in our public declarations that no harm will come to Greece from our country, indeed, that we shall come to its aid if any misfortune befalls it, shall help to defend it from any aggression from whatever direction it may come, has won the Greek people's approval and praise for our policy.

The same thing is happening in Turkey, too. Progressive Turkish opinion is making great

propaganda markedly in favour of Albania. There, too, almost all the newspapers write positively about our country, in conversations with comrades of our embassy Turkish officials speak sympathetically, indeed often with admiration, of the independent policy of our state...

In Italy the situation is extraordinary disturbed, terrorism is becoming widespread. The Italian fascist party, which bears the name "Movimento sociale italiano, destra nazionale", has proposed that the military should take over the Ministry of the Interior and the death penalty should be introduced. This is a further step which Italian reaction wants to take towards the restoration of fascism...

With Italy we continue to have trade relations and we can say that they are increasing. The Italians are interested in buying from us goods they need and selling us goods we need. In this direction we can say that a more favourable situation has been created.

On the basis of this panorama of the international situation revolutionary vigilance must always be on the order of the day for us and it must be strengthened with the further political and ideological uplift of the broad masses of the people, of the communists, first of all. This means that the situations which the world and our country are going through must be explained systematically and be thoroughly understood by all and bearing this in mind, the defence of the country must be strengthened from every aspect...

TUESDAY JULY 1, 1980

#### THE GREAT WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS IS INTENSIFYING

The great world economic crisis which has a stranglehold on the two imperialist superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, as well as on the industrialized countries, Japan, Federal Germany, France, Britain, Canada, Italy, and others like Maoist China, Titoite Yugoslavia, the member countries of the Comecon, etc., is getting deeper and deeper every day. It is fraught with grave consequences for all the states dependent on international capital.

This major economic crisis is a crisis of overproduction, of the industrial boom (English in the original) but, at the same time, it has caused a profound crisis in production. In fact, in all the capitalist and revisionist countries it has led to increased unemployment, inflation, price rises, etc. This means that, at present, production has fallen and the struggle has begun to clear stocks of goods. However, the capitalist bourgeoisie does not clear these stocks of goods by reducing prices, but by turning the workers out on the streets, that is, by slowing down production. So, since capitalist industry no longer functions at its former level of productivity, the crisis of raw materials emerges. This crisis, likewise, is very grave and is accompanied with the colossal interimperialist struggle for markets. This struggle, sometimes open and sometimes subversive, is accompanied with an increase in military budgets and sophisticated conventional and atomic-nuclear weapons to levels incomparably higher than ever before.

The United States of America, the Soviet Union, China and other imperialist powers have become the most frenzied inciters of a new imperialist world war. Their hegemonic policy, their eagerness to preserve the existing imperialist status quo on the one hand, and to redivide the spheres of influence on the other hand, have deepened and aggravated the contradictions among the great powers themselves and between them and their partners in crime in their exploitation of other peoples, and so has created new conflicts.

The economic, political and military relations in the various imperialist and revisionist groupings have been shaken. The members of these groupings are striving to cause, to find and to exploit

various splits and in this way to formulate excuses for refusing to adhere to commitments, treaties and agreements which exist among them.

At present the struggle of the peoples who are oppressed and exploited by world capital in crisis has assumed proportions and a variety of forms never seen before. This is precisely the true source of the great economic crisis which has engulfed the capitalist and revisionist world. On the surface, it seems as if the armed conflicts, the conflicts in the field of economic-financial relations, the great energy crisis and so on are only between capitalist states, but in fact the origin of these conflicts is more deep-seated and is eroding the bourgeois capitalist state which is striving to defend itself, to stay alive, to heal its numerous wounds, etc. The force which is eroding the bourgeois capitalist state is the struggle in all forms and at all levels that the peoples of the world are waging. In one way or another, here with greater there with lesser intensity, the working class and all the exploited are aware of and fight against all forms of the capitalist regime, either local or international, which is exploiting, impoverishing and oppressing them economically and morally. Hence there is great discontent and revolt among the peoples of the world.

In almost all the capitalist countries today strikes involving millions of people are taking place, there are fierce clashes with the force of law and order, there are armed revolts, but also military putsches, acts of terrorism and anarchism organized by the ruling bourgeois capitalist governments, there is a colossal amount of smuggling and theft organized on a national and international scale, there is an unlimited and monstrous development of political, moral and physical corruption. Thus, the way is being prepared for fascism to come to power.

Today we are living in the period of the decay of capitalism, of the weakening, disintegration and bankruptcy this system, this degenerate society. There is no way out of this chaos, this filth other than the revolution, the surgical removal of the rotten tissue, the seizure of state power by the working class, which has the mission to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. What Lenin said about this process is being confirmed and it will certainly take place.

American imperialism with its chief, President Carter, is facing major difficulties in its policy, in the economy, in its alliances and colonies. American imperialism does not know which way to turn, how to cope with the dangers which are threatening it and increasing day by day. Thus it finds itself seized in an iron grip from which it is trying to free itself by applying an insane policy of intimidation, blackmail, economic and political pressure, open military intervention and subversive activities, etc.

In regard to current events it must be said that the struggle of the Iranian people during these last two or three years against the Shah and the United States of America is a heavy blow to American imperialism. The crisis of Iran is the crisis of the United States of America. Before this the peoples of the world were acquainted with the barbarous policy of the United States of America and its savage methods of domination and plunder, but in Iran they saw them still more clearly. The tool of the American imperialists in Iran was the Shah and his clique, murderers of the people. For decades on end, the external robbers in alliance with the internal robbers, the murderers of the Iranian people, the Shah's government and administration under the direction of Washington through the American embassy in Teheran, made the law in Iran in full accord with one another.

In the end, however, the Iranian people rose in revolution, swept the Shah from the face of the earth with the iron broom, and captured and imprisoned all the spies of the American embassy who operated under the cloak of diplomats. For more than nine months now, the so-called diplomats of a great power which makes the law in the world have been in prison. O tempora! O mores! This could not happen in earlier times, but it has happened now and it is happening also to others besides the Americans in other countries.

The United States of America suffered a major political defeat, which it is unable to repair either through diplomatic channels and economic blackmail, or through military intervention, as it attempted to do and failed with its air commandos in April at Tabas. In Iran the United States of America lost one of its most important sources of oil and energy and colossal profits, It lost the confidence of its Arab "allies" of the Persian Gulf, the American-Egyptian-Israeli agreement reached at Camp David was shaken, zizanies (Quarrels (French in the original)) and open and underground disagreements with its NATO partners emerged.

In these situations, the Soviet Union whets its teeth and bites. It occupied Afghanistan and is driving wedges into NATO, etc. At the same time the contradictions between the Soviet Union and the United States of America are being deepened. Outwardly the Warsaw Treaty seems "monolithic" while cracks are showing up within NATO, "United Europe" and the European Common Market. The cracks are just as great within Comecon and the Warsaw Treaty, but there the Soviet Army has a stranglehold on the "allies", of the Soviet Union, while the United States of America is losing its former influence over its "allies", especially over France and Federal Germany. "Meté, Meté, every man for himself" our people say. When it wins, the United States of America wants to be the greatest, to take the lion's share of the profits, while when it loses it wants the "allies" to pay for the losses, that is, to share its misfortunes and defeats.

But the law of the jungle operates; the capitalist will see you hanged but will not come to your aid.

The France of De Gaulle and d'Estaing is in NATO and not in NATO. It removed the NATO bases, that is, the American bases, from French soil, strengthened its army independently, built the atomic and hydrogen bomb and now recently the neutron bomb, too, and does not submit to the American dictate on this question. The current French policy proceeds from the position "better to prepare to defend myself first than wait for the United States of America to defend me late in the day". This constitutes a breach between France and the United States of America. In recent months the United States of America and Carter have done their utmost to ensure that France and Federal Germany, especially, are united with them in all their actions against Iran.

Paris and Bonn condemned in principle the holding of the American diplomats as hostages by the Iranians, but they did not agree with the economic sanctions proposed by the United States of America against Iran, hence, they left it in the lurch. This is another breach between the United States of America and France and Federal Germany. The United States of America condemned the occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union. China and NATO also condemned this occupation. We condemned it, too, but not from their positions and aims. Tomorrow they will come to terms with the Soviets over this question, while we will never do such a thing.

As a sanction against the Soviet Union over the question of Afghanistan, President Carter declared a boycott of the Olympic games, which are to be held these days in Moscow, and demanded that all the others boycott them, too, but a majority of states including France and even Italy which sent an allegedly unofficial team of athletes to Moscow, left him in the lurch once again.

France went even further. Completely ignoring the United States of America, President Giscard d'Estaing met Brezhnev in Warsaw. Giscard made official visits to several countries of the Middle East where, in public speeches, he expressed doubts about the American-Egyptian-Israeli Camp David compromise and presented some flabby alternative formulations about the rights of the Palestinian people. This is another breach between the United States of America and France.

Even after these defeats Carter proposed that the United States of America should deploy some new "Pershing-2" and "Cruise" nuclear missiles in Europe for the "defence", of Europe and NATO.

This proposal which Carter tried to impose was rejected both by Giscard and by the German Chancellor Schmidt. Why? Apparently from fear that if the United States of America deploys its new missiles in Europe, the Soviet Union will match this by deploying its new "SS-20", nuclear missiles in the countries of the Warsaw Treaty. For this reason, Schmidt is to go to Moscow soon and it is said that he will demand from the Soviets a moratorium for three years on the question of the deployment of new missiles in Europe. Carter was angry and wrote to Schmidt telling him not to go to Moscow to discuss the question of the deployment of new missiles. But Schmidt was unmoved and responded negatively to Carter's letter. Indeed, in regard to this letter Schmidt made the following declaration to the American newspaper Washington Post: "For 20 years it has been my custom to express my opinions without asking leave of anybody else", that is, I have no intention of asking leave of Carter now. This whole issue speaks of unity, between France and Federal Germany and of rifts between them and the United States of America.

"United Europe" is no longer united in itself. The quarrels, rivalries, and opposing interests of each state of this so-called European Community are increasing to the extent that its very existence is in jeopardy. Britain, the most faithful ally of the United States of America, is refusing to pay the quota allocated by the European Common Market. Naturally neither Bonn nor Paris like this. France agrees that Greece should be readmitted to the military structures of NATO and become a member of the European Common Market, but it is against the admission of Spain and Portugal. Giscard knows that the admission of the Iberian states to the Western fold will bring difficulties for the sale of French agricultural products. On the other hand, the Iberian Peninsula which, in reality, is an American military base, if admitted to the NATO, becomes a new ally of the United States of America in Europe, on the side of Britain...

The contradictions between the United States of America and the industrialized European states were unfurled in the meeting of the heads of state and government of the main industrialized countries of the world which was held at the end of June in Venice. In the middle of the meeting, which was held in a monastery in an island of the Lagoon of Venice, a "small diplomatic meteorite" for Giscard and some others arrived from Moscow. Moscow announced that it was withdrawing a division of soldiers and 100 tanks from Afghanistan, leaving, there 10 other divisions, if not more. Thus, Moscow tossed a pebble into the stagnant pool, but the ripple it caused soon died away. It was a diplomatic manoeuvre, but short-lived. Cossiga asked Moscow to withdraw the remainder of its troops from Afghanistan, too, but it uncovered its batteries and showed its teeth, replying that far from withdrawing more troops from Afghanistan, it might, if need be, send other troops there.

Soviet social-imperialism is mounting arrogant attacks on the enemy camp which finds itself in difficulties. The Soviet leaders intend to use Giscard and Schmidt for this purpose, but to what extent and for how long, this remains to be seen. It is true that the Soviet sword is long but the others, too, are keeping their daggers drawn. In this great cauldron, which is boiling, in this big fire which is burning world capitalism, the national liberation struggles, the objective and subjective factors are increasing, mounting, expanding in quantity and rising in quality. The peoples of the world are moving. Irrespective of the manipulations of the various ideologies in the service of capital, the world proletariat is fighting and leading the class struggle.

Viewing the situation as a whole with a Marxist-Leninist eye, it can be seen that the class struggle is being waged in every corner of the world in classical and non-classical forms. Everywhere the peoples are extremely anxious and worried. Their discontent and anger at the oppressive forces, whether national or foreign, are increasing, mounting, taking specific material shape. Regardless of who is leading the national liberation armed struggles of the peoples, the blood of the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence reflects their hatred and wrath against local and foreign capitalist oppression, and in the course of these struggles the peoples distinguish the antipopular

stands of individuals or groups, and form alliances with the most progressive and most revolutionary forces. In every movement, in every demonstration or strike, in every public, political or economic manifestation, it is impossible not to protest against the destructive effects of the grave crisis and not to put the finger on the persons responsible for the exploitation and oppression of the peoples, the forces which want the destruction of mankind.

In the capitalist and revisionist countries with one pseudo-communist party, with two or more pseudo-democratic parties, despite the efforts of these parties to lay the blame on each other, and despite the bourgeois states, separately or in groups, trying to put the blame on one another, nothing is changing the oppression of the peoples continues, but their anger and revolt continue to mount as well. This anger and revolt are hitting the capitalist and revisionist bourgeoisie in various forms and with different intensities.

The peoples see that predatory imperialist war is threatening them. They understand who is preparing this war, who pays the cost of it and who profits from this war. Two phenomena stand out in this situation: there are some who are still afraid of imperialist war, there are others who fight against it. In the final analysis, however, in various forms, the peoples are joining in the struggle of active resistance, in the initial stages of the national liberation war, in sabotaging and stopping the imperialist war and, in the end, are hurling themselves into revolution. The movements of opposition which are taking place in the world must not be judged from the standpoint of bourgeois governments and their parties which try to manipulate the peoples; it is necessary to see the essence of the problem, the resistance and the fundamental direction of the peoples' political or economic demands, which force the capitalist bourgeois leaderships either to take draconian repressive measures against these movements, or in order to restabilize their already shaken situation, to shift sometimes in one, sometimes in another direction and rely on one or the other superpower.

The Marxist-Leninists must master historical materialism and apply it in practice. They must see the development of the world and the changes occurring in it from the angle of Marxism-Leninism. He who upholds the occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet social-imperialists and considers it a just and necessary action cannot be considered a Marxist, he is an anti-Marxist. Those self-styled Marxist-Leninists who try to "argue" that the Afghan people and the elements of the middle and even of the top bourgeoisie who fight against the Soviet occupiers should not be described as patriots cannot be called Marxists, they are anti-Marxists. He who thinks and acts in this way has understood nothing of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on alliances, on national liberation fronts and struggles. Likewise, the thoughts and actions of some "communist" comrades abroad who fail to see the anti-imperialist aspects of the struggle of the Arab peoples, the Iranian people and the Moslem world cannot be called Marxist-Leninist thoughts and actions. To underestimate these anti-imperialist moments, to fail to make the most of them and display "orthodoxy" by demanding that these peoples in revolution abandon belief in their religion, and the customs and habits which derive from it almost at once, shows at least Marxist-Leninist ideological immaturity.

As the events in Iran prove, the masses of the people play an important and decisive role in carrying out the revolution. It was they who placed themselves in the forefront of the fight, overthrew the feudal monarchy of the Pahlevis and dealt powerful blows at imperialism. However, we cannot say that they have triumphed and their struggle can be carried forward with the blind mediaeval fanaticism of the Ayatollahs. The communists must support and help the revolutionary masses and the progressive forces in their struggle. The struggle they are waging at present creates conditions for the communists to go among the masses, to work for their correct education, to deepen their own Marxist-Leninist ideological world outlook, to rely on the revolutionary people and on the working class in the first place and to be able to make use of every situation favourable for the revolution.

This is how the process of the development of the struggle of the peoples must be understood and followed. It is a grave error to confound and identify the sentiments of the peoples, whoever they are, with those of the bourgeois capitalist groups in power in a particular country. The people of Egypt, for example, cannot and must not be identified with Sadat and his clique, who until yesterday were in the service of the Soviets and have placed themselves in the service of the Americans today...

The Marxist-Leninist communists must be able to make correct analyses, to determine the proper strategy and tactics, to form alliances in favour of the revolution, to under-take correct revolutionary actions and not adventures and see all these from the standpoint of the Marxist-Leninist theory, because only in this way can one serve the liberation of the peoples from capitalism and make revolution.

National liberation wars are just wars. They break out when the objective and subjective factors exist and have matured. The Marxist-Leninists themselves must help in the creation of these factors. The Marxist-Leninists must never sit idle and not take part in the just wars, either as parties, or as groups when they are not yet organized as parties, or as individual fighters. They must never stand aloof from the masses who are fighting for social and national liberation, but while fighting in their midst, they must confirm their communist convictions, organize themselves and place the working class in the leadership. Even when they are not organized, they must emerge in the vanguard of the masses through their struggle and sacrifices, so that the national liberation war advances towards its minimal objectives, and then goes on to its ultimate objectives.

The creation of conditions for the outbreak of national-liberation wars does not depend on the will of one or the other personality. It is the objective and subjective situations that cause the outbreak of the national liberation wars which are a high-level form of the class struggle. That class which emerges in the forefront and leads the national liberation war is the most progressive, the decisive factor. The working class is the most progressive of the progressive classes. It must assume the leadership of the liberation war. If at the outset of the war it has not ensured its leading position, it must stand in the forefront of the fighting and sacrifices, because only in this way can it take over the political and military leadership, ensure the fulfilment of the objectives of the national liberation war and realize its own desires.

In the situation developing in the world today, the Marxist-Leninist parties, the working class and its possible allies, the broad strata of the peasantry and the progressive intelligentsia, must not only see clearly the danger of a new imperialist world war, but also organize themselves and assert their will in a thousand forms, in order to stop this destructive war, to expose the demagogy and falsity of the democratic slogans of enslaving capital and to free themselves from the restrictive chains of the various pseudo-democratic and pseudo-popular parties set up by the bourgeoisie.

At all times it is necessary to study carefully, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, every situation that is created in each country and in the ranks of each people, to draw conclusions and come out with revolutionary progressive joint actions. Nothing must escape the revolutionary eye of those who fight for the great cause of their own people and all peoples. The Marxist-Leninists must utilize every development of the situation. This is a struggle which must be waged every day, because in this way the great avalanche of the revolution will sweep away the enemies of the peoples, and bring freedom, progress, and socialist society and eventually communist society.

Therefore, in this great economic crisis of world capitalism, the Marxist-Leninist communists, wherever they are in the world, must clearly define their line and stands and know how to apply this line in practice. In these highly complicated situations in which there are clashes of the interests of classes which are not separated by clear-cut divisions, but are interlinked and interdependent, only a

genuine Marxist-Leninist party can see clearly where the advantages and where the disadvantages lie, distinguish enemies from friends, know with whom to unite. against whom, and how they must fight and carry this war forward, etc.

FEBRUARY 1982

## ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

### Panorama

From the present international situation, we must draw some conclusions which will help us to keep UP to date and, at the same time, to take measures when and where necessary.

At its 8th Congress (The 8th Congress of the PLA held its proceedings from November 1-7, 1981. In the report delivered to this Congress, Comrade Enver Hoxha, exposing the aggressive line and aims of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, among other things, said:

"This line is also expressed in the new 'doctrine' of Washington, begun by Carter and further developed by Reagan, that allegedly peace in the world and the security of peoples can be achieved by means of the 'increase of the American power and superiority'. In reality this 'doctrine' incites general imperialist war and brings it closer...

"Today the hegemonic and expansionist policy for the establishment of world domination, the adventurous course for the preparation and incitement of war also characterize Soviet Social imperialism, the global strategy of which, and especially the ways in which it is applied, have likewise become more aggressive.

"Beginning with the occupation of Czechoslovakia, the Policy of the Soviet Union has gradually assumed a pronounced militarist character, which is expressed in the use of military force to realize its expansionist aims." (Enver Hoxha, [Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA](#), Eng. ed., "8 Nentori" Publishing House, Tirana 1981, pp. 169-170)), the Party analysed the international situation, correctly forecasting the ways in which it would develop, and the consequences of and the reasons for these developments. Life, the events which are occurring, vindicate the correctness of this analysis, and the correct, principled political stands of the Party of Labour on the world problems and the foreign policy of our state.

The diplomatic information, the many different, and we may say, favourable articles of the world press, etc., show that the proceedings of our Congress have been awaited with great interest everywhere by friends, progressive people and the working masses, but also by enemies who have read the report of the Central Committee. This is a great opportunity and advantage to further consolidate the international positions of our Party and country. The external world is seeing once again that, like it or not, the policy of our state, in every situation, is an unwavering, resolute, principled policy. The world appreciates that the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is an independent country which pursues an independent policy, uninfluenced by others, is the only country in the world that does not accept credits from any state and is building socialism with its own forces, that on this course it has achieved successes in all fields and is always prepared to defend itself from any aggression. In other words, the foreign policy of our Party and state has had positive repercussions throughout the world, is considered a serious policy, and therefore, it arouses respect among the people. We must further consolidate this favourable positive position through our correct political stands, our penetrating Marxist-Leninist view of events which occur in the world, our correct socialist stands in relations with other states, etc.

The great economic crisis, and consequently, the political crisis, too, are growing deeper with each passing day, engulfing all the continents and states of the world. The only exception is Albania. To us this is something real and not at all surprising, while for others it is an astonishing, unbelievable phenomenon. Nevertheless, there are small states and progressive people in the world who know and understand the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and want to take it as an example.

The present situation in the world is explosive and fraught with grave dangers for various peoples and states. The two superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, are in a deep political and economic crisis. In this situation each of them is striving to gain supremacy over the other in vital fields, such as armaments, but also trying to avoid a war between them. At the same time they have never ceased their preparations for the outbreak of a new world war. These feverish preparations which cost them colossal investments and further deepen the economic crisis in those two countries, among their allies and other states, maintain the psychosis of war and intimidate their respective allies, a thing which assists the two superpowers to impose their policy on them and others.

At present the United States of America and the Soviet Union are struggling to retain and extend their spheres of influence, to strengthen neo-colonialism. Local wars, which are incited by these two superpowers and their allies, are on the agenda today. Now there are many such hotbeds of local wars all over the world: in Africa, Asia, Central and Latin America, the Middle East and elsewhere.

Another reality of our days is the fact that, while the superpowers and world capitalism really are mercilessly exploiting and plotting against the peoples, occupying them militarily and in other forms, they do not feel themselves secure and do not have the profits they want to have, are not managing to create the situations they want to create. Through armed struggle, political and economic strikes, or through open or undeclared hostile stands, the peoples in all parts of the world are creating troubles for world capitalism. Seen as a whole, this unrelenting resistance in a variety of forms of activity is a mounting force against neo-colonialism and imperialist-revisionist aggressive forces. Hence, not only are the rear areas of the United States of America and the Soviet Union insecure, but their military-economic alliances, too, are in deep crisis.

The grave international situation, the innumerable crises and dangers in the world, have aroused vigilance, the sentiment of self-defence and resistance among the peoples and increased their ceaseless demands against those who govern, oppress and exploit them. Therefore, the capitalist-revisionist world today is faced with great and steadily mounting pressure from the working masses. This situation is reflected in the political moments in which we are living. Neither the United States of America, nor the Soviet Union can establish its world hegemony. At present both are trying to escape from the crisis by means which cannot eliminate it. On the contrary, these means are deepening and aggravating the crisis and may lead to the outbreak of a world conflict.

It is characteristic that these two superpowers are doing their utmost to shift the burden of the grave economic crisis which has their countries in its grip on to other states, regardless of whether or not they are allies, members of the Warsaw Treaty or NATO. Such an action destabilizes the alliances themselves, creates deep contradictions within each alliance and causes political, economic and military disequilibrium within them and between these two aggressive alliances, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty.

The economic crisis has also brought political and military crisis to the two opposing camps. Today we are witnessing the well-known, natural phenomenon of capitalism that the stronger tries to impose its will and laws on the weaker, the smaller, the others. Concretely we see that in this unstable situation the Soviet Union is striving to establish its complete hegemony over the Warsaw in Treaty countries, while the United States of America is doing the same thing in NATO. It is

difficult for either of them to realize its objective, but less so for the Soviet Union and more so for the United States of America.

There are profound economic, political and military disagreements between the United States of America and its European partners. These disagreements exist, both in the joint framework of "United Europe" over economic issues and in NATO over military issues. But disagreements exist also with the individual European partners and allies. Therefore, it is understandable why the Reagan government, in order to intimidate them, almost openly threatens the countries of Western Europe with the danger which the Soviet military superiority presents to them. Under this slogan the United States of America is demanding the deployment of "Pershing-2" and "Cruise" nuclear missiles in Europe, and that the European member countries of NATO undertake more military expenditure. West Germany, which is a state with very great, if not the most important, economic and military potential in NATO, is not submitting either to the will or to the policy of Reagan.

On the other hand, the Bonn government in particular, in opposition to the American policy, is saying openly that it is not the Polish question, but the high interest rates of the United States of America that are causing the present crisis. Therefore, although it has a finger in this question, Bonn does not accept and is not participating in the economic sanctions taken by Reagan against either Poland or the Soviet Union. These contradictions between Bonn and Washington are serious and have consequences in the policy of the European Common Market, which is being eroded by the crisis and the disagreements between European states. Such opposition also has its profound consequences within NATO.

In its relations with the United States of America, "United Europe" has profound political, economic and monetary contradictions. At present it is developing into a capitalist grouping, naturally with the contradictions that exist between the participating states, in opposition to the United States of America. In view of this situation, the United States of America has urged Italy to propose a kind of political-economic treaty between the European Common Market and the United States of America. But following the recent talks held between Haig and Colombo, no more has been heard about this Italian proposal.

This means that the disagreements between "United Europe" and the United States of America are deep.

In fact, the American policy in Europe, in the Middle East and Latin and Central America is not properly in tune with that of the West-European allies, who have their own aims, separate from those of the United States of America. The European allies are clinging to NATO as a counterweight to the military-political pressure of the Warsaw Treaty and also maintaining their economic relations in the complicated tangle of the great crisis of the capitalist economy and the multinational companies, but at the same time they have pronounced differences with the United States of America.

The Polish problem, created by the political-economic bankruptcy of the Polish revisionist state, by the oppressive Soviet policy and the crisis in Comecon and the Warsaw Treaty, created a field of operation for the United States of America, the Western states and for all the reactionary forces in the world and, first of all, for the Vatican and the Polish catholic church. On this problem we may draw the following conclusions: by means of the Polish church and "Solidarity", the Polish problem developed into an acute crisis which brought the establishment of martial law in that country, the temporary silencing of "Solidarity" and to some extent limited the omnipotence and openly hostile activity of the church; the Pope of Rome became a foreign minister of the cause of the Polish church and world reaction; the efforts of the Americans to incite the Soviet Union to intervene manu militari in Poland, as it did in Czechoslovakia, so that the Soviet Union would be discredited and

involve itself in military and political adventures, failed. On the basis of the Warsaw Treaty, the Soviet army was in Poland, but the Soviets hid their hand and it was the Polish army that showed its list. The propaganda and big strikes in Poland, the daily homilies of the Pope, the threats and sanctions of Reagan, did not bring the desired result, and the countries of Western Europe avoided committing themselves totally to the American policy in Europe and refused to take the concrete measures demanded by the United States of America. They stuck to their policy of talks and not breaking off relations with the revisionist countries of the East and maintained and even increased their economic relations with them and the Soviet Union. The countries of Western Europe and, in the first place, the Federal Republic of Germany have made heavy investments in those countries, advancing large credits and loans to them, therefore they do not want to lose either their profits or the influence they exert there by means of the investments, loans and credits which they have provided.

One wing of the American extreme right tried to intimidate the "disobedient" Europeans by threatening them with the "Monroe doctrine". But American isolationism is nonsensical in today's complicated relations of world capital. In the consumer society of today American isolationism would mean certain death for the United States of America and for its partners.

Very great and incurable contradictions exist within Comecon also. Its total collapse is prevented only by the presence of the Soviet military force, which makes the law in the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty. The Soviet Union and its allies are up to their necks in debt to the United States of America, the Federal Republic of Germany and other capitalist countries. The economy of the Comecon countries is utterly bankrupt and in deep crisis. There, too, as in the West, inflation and unemployment are increasing, prices are going sky-high, and there are not enough consumer goods to meet minimal daily needs. Both NATO and the Warsaw Treaty are shaken internally. In the former the instability is more evident in the latter it is silent for fear of the Soviet sword of Damocles.

The treaties and agreements are falling apart because of the circumstances created by the clash of the two superpowers and their partners. The truth about the Helsinki meeting has become clear to all and life is proving that those of us who condemned it long ago were right. Like the recent meeting of Madrid, the theory of Tito and the Yugoslavs about the "non-aligned world" etc., that meeting proved a disgraceful fiasco. As our Party has said, everything is being manipulated by the two superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, as well as by world capitalism, with the aim of suppressing the revolution. Interventions and the military occupations by the superpowers, such as that of the Soviets in Afghanistan and Angola, the American occupation of El Salvador; Israel, the Iran-Iraq conflict, the Polish crisis, the guerrilla war in Northern Ireland, the political-economic catastrophe of Titoite Yugoslavia and the coming to power of socialist parties in several European countries, speak of the decay of world capitalism, of the confusion which reigns in the international situation which is seething with revolution. The measures which world capitalism is taking, the terror it employs, the manoeuvres and manipulations undertaken by the parties of the bourgeoisie, including the revisionist parties, which have turned into mere second-rank social-democratic parties, do not reduce the anger of the masses who are counter-acting every day with more and more force, up to the use of weapons.

In particular it must be pointed out that Titoite Yugoslavia is completely engulfed in a catastrophe and not on the brink of it. The political and national clashes between clans in that country are obvious and will become even more so. The economic crisis has reached the phase of desperation. Yugoslavia is up to its neck in debts and cannot repay them with more loans. In that country there is immense unemployment, inflation is galloping, prices are going up every day beyond the reach of ordinary working people.

The Great-Serb clan is powerful, but for tactical reasons is obliged to surrender the leadership to the Croat-Slovene clan in order to stabilize the situation through a more complete opening up to the West. At present the West is greatly concerned to see the advances the Great-Serbs are making to the Soviet Union.

The savage oppression of the people of Kosova and other Albanians who inhabit their ancestral territories in Yugoslavia continues. However, the resistance of the Albanians is continuing, and increasing, too. They are defending themselves very well and putting up great opposition to the injustices and terror imposed on them by the Great-Serbs, Macedonians and Montenegrins. Their just resistance has turned the problem of Kosova into a disturbing international problem unfavourable to Yugoslavia. But the terror and the efforts being made there to denationalize the Albanians are continuing. Nevertheless, the Serbs will never succeed in this.

The fairest solution to the problem of Kosova and that of the other Albanians who inhabit their own territories in Yugoslavia is the one that the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania put forward (In his [Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA](#), Comrade Enver Hoxha, dealing with the problem of the demand of the Albanians in Kosova for their province to be given the status of a Republic within the Yugoslav Federation. pointed out: "Only a well-considered solution of the national question, ... a solution which is accepted and approved by the people of Kosova, can eliminate this very complicated situation which has been brought about not by the people of Kosova, but by Great-Serb chauvinism... The demand to raise Kosova to the status of a Republic within the Federation is a just demand. It does not threaten the existence of the Federation". (Enver Hoxha, [Report to the 8th congress of the PLA](#), Eng ed., "8 Nentori" Publishing House, Tirana 1981, p. 213)). The Great-Serbs and the Federative Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia attacked this solution, while world opinion approved it and considered it correct. The Yugoslavs were denounced both within their country and abroad for their actions against the people of Kosova and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. They brought great discredit upon themselves with their slanders and the hostility they displayed towards the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. We emerged triumphant, because we defended a just cause. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the policy of our Party emerged full of dignity on the international arena and our positions were further strengthened. Today the voice of Albania is listened to with sympathy and attention is paid to its policy.

It is very important to us to have sound international opinion on our side; we must strengthen respect for the correct Marxist-Leninist policy of our government among the governments of the various countries of the world with which we have diplomatic relations, and this, too, is very important to us.

The progressive world admires and respects us for our determination, courage, independence, and correctness in relations with others, for our honesty and for the Marxist-Leninist course which our people and Party pursue in the construction of socialism in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Therefore, the Party and we, its leadership, must maintain and strengthen this victory, which as the 8th Congress reiterated, is continually consolidated by safeguarding the purity of the line of our Marxist-Leninist Party. Hence, we must work with all our might, intelligently, and with great care, to further strengthen the situation of our country internally and abroad.

SUNDAY DECEMBER 30, 1984

PANORAMA

...As we have said, the present international situation is complicated, indeed very complicated and grave. We are living at a time of dangerous provocations. The armaments race between the

superpowers has been stepped up and has been extended to outer space for the so-called star wars, which is fraught with very great dangers for mankind; the hotbeds of local wars have increased, the policy of armed aggression, and the threat by the United States and the Soviet Union to use the force of devastating modern weapons has been stepped up; the sabotage of the liberation struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America is continuing; the sabotage of the just struggle of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples is continuing; the fascist forces are increasing in numbers and strength, etc., etc. The two superpowers stop at nothing to elbow each other out, even in those cases when millions of people fall victim to bad administration or natural calamities, as is happening in Ethiopia where, on the pretext of the famine which is threatening the lives of millions of people whose urgent needs for food, Ethiopia's "great ally" the Soviet Union, is unable to meet, the imperialist states and, in the first place, the United States of America have interfered to provide "aid"...

As regards the "exacerbated" relations between the United States of America and the Soviet Union, that is, between the two imperialist superpowers which pretend that they and they alone should settle all the problems of the world, should decide everything which is up to other peoples and countries to decide, the end of the year 1984 marked an "improvement". To this end, after the re-election of Reagan as president of the USA for another four years, "the red and black" teletypes between Moscow and Washington were set in motion to give the world the "glad tidings": at the beginning of 1985 Shultz and Gromyko will meet in Geneva to reach agreement on the beginning of talks on stopping the nuclear missile arms race "on earth and above the earth", hence, a gentlemen's agreement, or more accurately, a rouges' bargain.

The "glad tidings" were immediately accompanied with reciprocal smiles and demagogic propaganda declarations about the "desire and good will", of the United States and the Soviet Union for "peace", "disarmament", etc., etc.

However, the peoples today are not easily taken in by these repeated "advances" and "retreats" of the two imperialist superpowers, by the "smile and snarls" of their top-level representatives. Life has taught the peoples to expect nothing good or favourable from the superpowers, pretenders to world domination.

What is hidden behind the recent diplomatic-political steps of Moscow and Washington? What are the rulers of the United States of America and the Soviet Union hatching up for the world? Why are they going to sit down together for top-secret negotiations in Geneva? Solely to defend the interests of their predatory policy.

Terrified over any superiority that one has already gained over the other in the unrestrained race of conventional and sophisticated weapons, first of all, each will try to worm out of the other some general or specific secret about some kind of weapon or weapons system, of course, to the extent that this will be possible, because, as our people say, the snake never shows its feet. Second, they will strive to exert pressure on each other through the threat to use new weapons for a new re-division of the spheres of their political, military and economic influence. Since the division of spheres of influence between them on earth has been virtually completed, the struggle has begun to elbow each other out, along with the struggle for the division of spheres of influence, in boundless outer space, to capture this or that planet of the solar system, so that there, too, they can "search for and find" valuable strategic minerals which they need for their war industry, as well as military bases from which they could attack each other.

The superpowers have filled outer space with spy with missiles and anti-missiles equipped with systems of lethal laser beams, with communications apparatuses, etc. A real chaos, great dangers that they will collide with each other. So, for this reason, too, in an attempt to establish a certain

"order", to achieve a modus vivendi in the "administration" of this boundless space, the imperialist-revisionist chiefs will talk in Geneva until the fear of losing the race overwhelms them again.

At the same time, through the demonstration of the strength of their weapons, and through the clamour they are setting up about the danger of these weapons, they are trying to intimidate the peoples of the world who are fighting for their national and social liberation, the revolutionary forces, the proletariat and the other working masses.

Hence, the two superpowers want to maintain the balance of their destructive military forces, so that the two of them are equally strong in armaments, means and troop numbers, so that they can impose themselves on other countries and peoples and cope with the bargaining over the division and re-division of spheres of influence with deals, and avoid the outbreak of a war which might lead to their mutual destruction and liquidation.

Our Party long ago stated its opinion: there is not and cannot be disarmament by the imperialist superpowers. They have neither the intention nor the desire to agree to disarmament, otherwise they would have to give up their policy of the occupation of the world, relinquish the colossal profits that the armaments race brings them, their incitement and organization of hotbeds of fratricidal wars and their sabotage and defeat of just people's wars and social revolutions. Yes, they do want a certain "disarmament", the disarmament of the freedom-loving peoples, the world proletariat, the working masses, so they can more easily and quickly carry out their detestable plots.

The illusions that the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists want to create and the hopes they try to arouse about the "blessings", to be expected from the American-Soviet meetings in Geneva or elsewhere are very dangerous, fraught with very grave consequences for the future, the freedom and the national independence of the peoples. Regardless of what weapons American and Soviet capitalism possess, their external appearances of military, political and economic power must not intimidate peoples who are languishing under colonialist and neo-colonialist domination and are fighting to win their freedom must not frighten the genuine Marxist-Leninist forces, the revolutionary proletarians. Capitalism is powerful only if it is not fought hard and with determination. Its "strength" crumbles before the colossal force of the revolutionary and freedom-loving feelings and aspirations of the proletarians and peoples...

Another great problem that became very clear in 1984, which is worrying the two imperialist superpowers and compelling them to be "cautious" and "logical", is the serious situation in their base areas, within the political, military and economic groupings, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, the European Common Market and Comecon. And here I am referring not only to the opposition of the peoples of the member countries of these groupings to the dangerous political actions and economic pressures and the violation of their national independence and dignity by the United States or the Soviet Union, but also to the opposition of governments and certain leading circles of these countries. Of course, the opposition of these governments and leading circles is not an expression of an arousing of genuine national feelings, but rather a manifestation of their fear of a further awakening of the revolutionary spirit and actions of the peoples, the working masses of the European countries.

On several occasions we have seen that the dictate of one or the other superpower over this or that "ally" has gone to such lengths as to give rise to open contradictions with the "big patron" which is continuously tightening the screws. It is no accident, for example, that the deployment of "Euro-missiles" ("Pershing-2" and "Cruise" the American imperialists and "SS-20" by the Soviet social-imperialists) in the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Britain, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, was not done without resistance, pressure and many political-diplomatic manoeuvres. Indeed, the governments of some countries, as in the cases of Holland, Belgium and

Denmark, are continuing to this day to present conditions and put up opposition to the presence of such missiles on their territories. The "allies" are already clearly understanding that in the coming clashes between the two superpowers, their countries are destined to become battlefields in the Thermo-nuclear war. Hence, they are seeing that at any moment, quite without warning and perfidiously, in order to save the territories of the United States and the Soviet Union from reciprocal attacks, Washington and Moscow might create atomic mushrooms with incalculable consequences in the skies over the territory of their countries.

In face of this lethal danger, the heads of state and government leaders of the member countries of NATO have gone to Washington to demand "explanations", to get "guarantees" and present the opposition of the European public to these ill-calculated and arrogant acts of the United States of America. Meanwhile the President and Vice-president of the USA, the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defence are frequently visiting the capitals of Western Europe in order to convince the "allies" through political and economic pressure and dictate, up to threatening to withdraw the American military forces from Western Europe and leave it under the pressure of a possible aggression by the armies of the Soviet social-imperialists, to accept the *fait accompli*.

The situation in the so-called socialist community has been no more tranquil. Some of the "allies" of the Soviet Union are demanding more freedom to link up with the rich countries of Western Europe, and to carry out economic "reforms" of the Titoite type; some are demanding more rights in the framework of the Warsaw Military Treaty. News agencies, the press in general, are speaking, not without some basis of truth, about "disagreements" within Comecon, about "grumbling" over the very great dependence on the Soviets, and about the "desire" for the non-renewal of the Warsaw Treaty, or at least, for the easing of certain conditions which absolutize the supremacy of the unilateral dictatorial control and leadership by Soviet officers.

There is no smoke without fire. In Poland the smoke and flames have long been coming through the roof. At moments of the exacerbation of the grave economic crisis which has the capitalist-revisionist world in its grip, the Soviet Union has more than once used its economic relations with the "allies" in the Warsaw Treaty as a means of political pressure on some "ally which is disobedient", or veering heavily towards to the West, and of course, this has caused reactions. Honecker, Ceausescu and Zhivkov had planned to make official visits to the Federal Republic of Germany, with the leading political, economic and military circles of which they have had traditionally good relations which they are ready to renew at the highest level. None of them denies the fact that the economic strength of Bonn is especially attractive to them. But Moscow interfered and these visits were postponed sine die (Indefinitely (Latin in the original)). One of the "personalities", whom I mentioned protested, raised his voice, showed signs of discontent, stamped his foot petulantly, etc., but was brought to order when the Moscovite conductor tapped his baton sharply.

Hence, within the political military and economic groupings of the two superpowers there are "prodigal sons" Some are more determined and some softer, some more outspoken and some more disguised. Nevertheless, life confirms what our Party said years ago, that groupings of this kind are like baskets of crabs which tear at one another without mercy or ceremony.

The perspective, the prognosis is even more gloomy. For the two superpowers the outlook for 1985 is not for improvement, but for overcast weather, accompanied in some places with rain, snow, storms and strong winds!