

## REFLECTIONS - Diary on International Questions

Pogradec, Wednesday July 15, 1981, from Socio-Political Studies 2, 1985, page 49 – 66  
[The Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies at The Central Committee of The Party of Labour of Albania]

We Albanians, as a people, a Party and state, have always been and are against imperialist wars, against any unjust war which is aimed at the enslavement, slaughter and exploitation of the peoples.

This has its own concrete historical reason. Throughout their existence the Albanian people have suffered greatly as a result of such wars which have been directly detrimental to their freedom, territorial integrity and national independence. All these wars without exception have brought our people bloodshed, exploitation and the fragmentation of their territory. This is an undeniable reality.

Our people have faced up to these wars heroically and have fought with unflinching determination against savage enemies in defence of their freedom, independence, integrity, culture and their very existence, in defence of what has been and is theirs. At the same time, in the course of these wars our people have learned how to fight better, have gained experience enabling them to understand the problems that faced them, the aims, tactics, plans and plots of external and internal enemies and, on this basis, they have been able to build the tactics of their resistance in order to withstand the evildoings of the enemies. This, too, is a reality. To be able to distinguish friends from enemies, false friends from true friends, is a question of experience. "Mistakes are often the best teachers", our people say. They also say: "The waters may sleep but not the enemy". These two sayings, these two great teachings, have emerged from the profound philosophical thinking of the people, from our people's great experience of life, and have guided them throughout the ages of their history.

The struggle of the people for national existence does not and cannot depend on the combination and diplomatic intrigues of other states, be they big or small. It depends on the consciousness of the people themselves, when they attain understanding of what their rights and true interests are, have confidence in their own strength at any moment and in any situation, and know how to defend these rights and interests with iron will, sound logic, and revolutionary struggle. Only then the strength of the people becomes invincible, is multiplied a hundredfold and bursts out like an irresistible hurricane.

We Albanians have proceeded on such a course. History proves this, otherwise, we would not exist today, the invaders would have assimilated us or the enemies would have wiped us out; otherwise, we would not have succeeded in building a more advanced society, socialist society, in which the people are in power. Under the leadership of the Party and with this rich experience of struggles and wars for freedom, our people fought, achieved victory and succeeded in building the new society. Moreover, they are determined to develop this society still further and will never allow their freedom, independence and the victories attained to slip from their hands or be stolen from them by any enemy, great or small, old or new.

We know that there are individuals and alien forces who cannot stand Albania and its people and do not want them to exist, who do not want the Albanian people to build their life in the way they themselves have decided, who are displeased that small Albania exists as a socialist state amidst an ocean of capitalist states with various labels.

But they can do nothing to socialist Albania. The times and the ratio of forces have changed greatly in favour of our people and Albania. Yes, they may attack the People's Socialist Republic of Albania from outside, and we never forget or neglect this possibility, but we shall defend ourselves and we do know how to defend ourselves and win. Throughout their history, the Albanian people have

known how to defend themselves. Our Party of Labour has further enriched and tempered the unity of our people in the war for defence. Marxism-Leninism itself teaches us that the peoples who fight to defend their freedom and independence wage a just war, hence, they are invincible. And the Albanian people are invincible. They may try to divide us, to take the fortress from within, but this will never occur as long as the Party of Labour of Albania remains a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party at the head of the Albanian people. We have built it with our own hands, on our own soil, through the bloodshed and toil of the sons of this land. There are no cracks or breaches in its walls and it has not been built with rotten material. It is able to withstand all the waves of war, just as it has withstood those that have crashed upon it in the past. The imperialist, social-imperialist and other enemies may try to make our Party deviate, as they succeeded in doing with other parties, but this will never occur with us, because never for one moment will the Party of Labour of Albania deviate from the Marxist-Leninist theory and the Leninist norms of the life of the party at any time or on any question. It is precisely this resolute stand, this steadfast loyalty to Marxism-Leninism that keeps our Party pure and makes it strong. The Party is closely linked with the people, it exists, lives and fights in the interests of the people who gave birth to it, who are the daily witnesses of the great leading role of the Party in the progress of the country and the raising of their economic, social and cultural well-being.

So, it is clear why the Albanian people are against predatory imperialist wars. They have suffered the terrible grave consequences of such wars on their own backs. That is why our people and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania are for peace between nations. The experience of the Albanian people over centuries and our Marxist-Leninist ideology which guides the party of Labour of Albania in every action, are evident proof of their correct stand on this great problem, irrespective of what those who, in fact, are opponents of peace between nations, say.

Our people have never attacked other peoples, have never coveted or laid even a finger on what belongs to others. On the contrary, although the Albanians have been the victims of the evil and predatory aims and ambitions of some of them, they have gone to their aid. This, too, is a reality which cannot be concealed by any kind of propaganda or demagoguery. Some may present historical events in books and in the press the other way round, but they cannot do so with real history, because it is perpetuated in the bosom of the peoples, by the peoples themselves, who hand it down from one generation to another.

However, we know and are very clear about the fact that peace between peoples cannot be achieved without the just revolutionary struggle of the peoples themselves against those who do not want this peace, because they do not want the freedom and sovereignty of peoples, do not want the peoples to free themselves from the heavy chains of enslavement and savage exploitation with which the capitalist powers have shackled them for centuries. This is precisely where the peoples who want complete freedom and their imperialist oppressors and plunderers reach the parting of the ways. This is a class struggle both internal and on an international plane. In this struggle the enemies of the peoples, the capitalists of all hues and calibres, strive to preserve their plunder and domination of the peoples, while the latter fight to win their rights and put an end to the exploitation of man by man once and for all.

In their unjust predatory war against the peoples, the capitalists are guided by their own ideology, but the peoples, too, have their ideology, Marxism-Leninism, the immortal ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, which guide them towards liberation from capital.

This is the source of the contradictions and struggle between two orders which represent and defend two different social systems, capitalism and socialism, which have completely opposite aims and interests, in struggle with and diametrically opposed to each other in regard to the ways to the development of the future of mankind. This is also the source of the policy of states with different

systems in the world. The policy of capitalist-revisionist bourgeois states serves the interests of the bourgeois class which rules those countries. It exercises this rule through a structure and superstructure which oppresses and exploits the working class, the peasantry and the other working masses of the country. This rule is exercised also through all kinds of alliances which the capitalist-revisionist bourgeoisie forms with the big capitalist, imperialist and social-imperialist states.

The strength of the infrastructure of various states with capitalist systems and with nuances in the form of the state and what it is called, varies depending on their different levels of socio-economic potential to which their unequal development gives rise. The efforts to eliminate these different levels and their consequences give rise to contradictions within the ranks of the bourgeois class in power, different strata and representatives of which, through demagogic and political manoeuvres, strive to ensure that state power never slips from the hands of their class. They disguise these deceptive manoeuvres, which are very dangerous for the peoples, with the so-called democratic freedoms of the capitalist system, with the struggle which each of their parties wages from its own positions “for the rights of electors from the working masses”, a struggle which various parties with all sorts of names wage even in parliament. But there is nothing democratic about these parties and what they represent. The “struggle” between them is a struggle between financial-political clans, a struggle of words, a struggle conducted in corridors and drawing-rooms in the interests neither of the working masses nor of the electors. On the contrary, as soon as they get into parliament, the representatives of these parties, the deputies elected “through free, democratic ballot”, approve laws which are completely on favour of the bourgeoisie and for the protection of its immense capital, i.e., for prolonging the existence of the rule of the bourgeoisie over the working masses.

In capitalist society the opposition between political currents and the economic reforms proclaimed by the various bourgeois parties, serve only to ensure their power or to share it and the colossal profits among themselves at the expense of the masses. Only the illusion is created that they are allegedly fighting in the interests of the masses, whereas in fact and in essence they are fighting for the relentless impoverishment of the masses, for the exploitation of their blood and sweat.

Thus, in capitalist-revisionist bourgeois society, the polarization into oppressors and oppressed, into exploiters and exploited, is deepened. Similar class relations exist also among capitalist and revisionist states. The biggest states, those with the greatest economic and military power, impose their law in various ways on the smaller capitalist and revisionist states. The economic dependence which is imposed on the small states by the biggest ones undoubtedly brings all-round political dependence and submission. The independence of these states is fictitious and serves only to embellish their constitutions and deceive the peoples. It is an irrefutable fact that today a number of capitalist-revisionist states are dependent on and aligned with the imperialist superpowers and their policies through a thousand interconnecting threads, and not only through such military organs as NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, or monopolistic economic communities such as the European Common Market and Comecon. Even the other capitalist-revisionist states which are not members of the blocs are by no means independent from or non-aligned with the big powers and the imperialist and social-imperialist superpowers. These so-called independent states have got into permanent debt to the big capitalist powers. Consequently, and there can be no doubt about this, their political independence has no solid basis, because everyone knows that there can be no political independence without economic independence. Past and present international practice confirms this.

If this unwritten capitalist law did not operate in an inflexible way in the relations of subjection between the provider and the receiver of money or commodities, credits or loans, the all-round pressure of the bigger on the smaller, of the very rich and the rich on the very poor and the poor would not exist, the instability in the policy of states would not exist, the struggle for markets, neocolonialism, the interferences of one state in the internal affairs of another state, which have

become common occurrence all over the world and which even develop into bloody local armed conflicts, would not exist. The general crisis itself determines the economic-political dependence of the capitalist-revisionist states on one another.

To conceal this situation of economic-political subjection from the peoples, to fail to show the reasons for and the sources of this general political instability in the world, to fail to make clear to the peoples who are their oppressors and exploiters, to use all sorts of anti-social and anti-revolutionary political formulas to conceal the intensive and uninterrupted arming of the superpowers and the imperialist powers as well as their frenzied preparations for war, is a great and unpardonable crime against mankind.

There are plenty of wordmongers who create “pacifist organizations”, who gather and shout about problems of peace and disarmament, who divide the nations into “non-aligned”, and the world into many “worlds” or “undeveloped countries”, but none of them hinder the imperialists and social-imperialists who do not ask any international forum or conference for permission to go ahead with their hegemonic and expansionist policy. They continue to rule over other peoples and countries, to divide their spheres of political, economic and military-strategic influence, to make colossal profits from the imposed sale of stock-piles of goods and weapons of all kinds and to throw a few crumbs, in the form of credits and investments, to certain states and support those governments which are more inclined to obey their imperialist policy, keep the peoples of their own countries in bondage and give the superpowers and the developed capitalist states the maximum concessions for the exploitation of their national wealth. Thus, they are totally dependent on the credits which the imperialist powers give them.

In the world today many contradictions are developing, becoming more profound and increasing in scope and intensity. There are profound and scute contradictions between the superpowers, between the superpowers and the industrialized capitalist countries, between them and other countries of the world with different systems and strange descriptions such as “developing countries”, “undeveloped countries”, “backward countries”, “poor countries”, etc., etc. All these things make the general situation more dangerous. At the same time, the entire capitalist – revisionist world is wallowing in an unprecedented economic, political and moral crisis.

The capitalist and revisionist bourgeoisie are making all-round efforts to unload the catastrophic consequences of this crisis on to the backs of the working masses, who, although it is they who produce the material blessings, are oppressed by the exploiting class.

This tendency of the bourgeoisie makes its class contradictions with the proletariat and the working masses even deeper, widens the gulf between rich and poor, aggravates the inter-imperialist contradictions, those between the “allies” in the capitalist and revisionist groupings, and between the metropolises and the colonial and neocolonial countries.

Today the biggest and most acute contradiction is that between world capitalism and the working class and working masses of all the countries of the world. This contradiction cannot be resolved by the capitalist-revisionist regimes. In this field concrete struggles are being waged for national liberation, for social liberation and for reforms, and there are strikes and demonstrations of a political-economic character. All these things have shaken the foundations of the world capitalist bourgeoisie and are shaking them more and more each day, building up to revolutionary situations and bringing closer the outburst of revolutions.

In the international arena, different forms of struggle are being developed by the two sides. The use of violence, the baton and the capitalist-revisionist demagoguery has increased in frequency and brutality. From its arsenal of weapons, the capitalist bourgeoisie, frightened by the rising tide of

revolutions, has made extensive use of the corruption of cliques, both secret and in power, while spreading intellectual and moral degeneration with all the means of propaganda. The bourgeoisie is also using its favourite weapon in times of crisis, terrorism, by means of which it tries to arouse revulsion among the people against the burning desire for liberation from the shackle of capital, and by identifying terrorism with the activity of the genuine revolutionaries it tries to frighten the masses, to turn them against the revolution, to preserve its order of oppression and to emerge without great pain from the grave economic crisis.

The world of labour, the world which demands social and national liberation, is fighting with its own means against these savage measures of struggle and violence of the capitalist bourgeoisie.

Amidst this chaos by their economic, political and moral crisis, the imperialist and revisionist enemies are making a great ado about the "isolated position" of our country. But is Albania really isolated from the foreign world, as the revisionists of all hues and the various imperialist enemies claim and want it to be?

The answer to this question depends on the class and political standpoint from which one views this question.

From our state, ideological and political standpoint, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has never been, is not and will not be isolated. We have diplomatic relations with the majority of the states of the world, and there is nothing to prevent us from having such relations with the remaining ones. With the United States of America and the Soviet Union, however, we do not want such relations. Likewise, we do not have diplomatic relations with Great Britain or the Federal Republic of Germany which have unpaid debts to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the former for the stolen gold and the latter for war reparations.

This is how things stand, also in regard to our mutual trade relations with many capitalist-revisionist countries. The trade between us and these countries is conducted with clearing or cash. In this field, too, there is no isolation.

When it is politically advantageous and when the other party agrees, we also establish and develop cultural relations with many capitalist countries, exchange experience in the fields of education, culture and technology. For our part, the extension of activities in these fields depends only on the material possibilities. Hence, in this field, too, there is no isolation.

In regard to the development of tourism, we do not do this on that scale or in those forms that the capitalist and revisionist countries do, or with their aims of making profits and spreading degeneration. We permit tourism for friends and well-wishers of socialist Albania, for honest people from countries and states which maintain friendly and correct stands towards our country. Tourism in Albania is not an industry and a means of corruption or hooliganism. And because tourism of that kind is not permitted in our country, the enemies say that the People's Socialist Republic of Albania "is a closed, isolated country". But when, if ever, have our imperialist and revisionist enemies spoken well of the Albanian people and of Albania? When have they not slandered our policy and victories? When have they not distorted our ancient and modern history? However, this has done Albania and the Albanian people no harm. On the contrary, their prestige and authority have been raised higher and higher. Hence, from our standpoint and the standpoint of the truth we are not and never will be isolated. We have told the imperialists and revisionists and we tell them once again that Albania is not an inn with its doors wide open for pigs and sows to enter. The cities, the mountains, the plains and the shores of our socialist Homeland are not suitable for their ugly, degenerate way of life and thinking.

We know that the revisionist states (Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, etc. ) and the capitalist states (the USA, etc.) say that our country is isolated from the world because it has not entered and will not enter their orbits, because it is not economically dependent on them, does not accept credits from or get into debt to them, because it is not politically dependent on them, does not allow its independence and sovereignty to be violated and alters neither its state order nor its Marxist-Leninist ideology. This is how it has been and how it will be in future, too.

In the opinion of some of these states, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, which pursues an independent policy of its own in all fields and in all circumstances, is something of an anachronism. We can understand this. For them it is an anachronism that our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not in crisis, that it is not influenced by the great world crisis, that our state has political stability, that our economy is developing year by year, that there are in all the capitalist-revisionist countries, all over the world.

But we can say that Albania, with the social order it is building, is a case isolated from the various capitalist – revisionist states which are in apolitical, economic and moral crisis. On this count and because of the very good, sound situation in our country, yes, they are right to say that we are “isolated” from them and the evils of their social order and policy.

Therefore, with its principled and independent policy, with its courage and the tangible results it has achieved, small as it is, Albania plays a dual socio-political role in the international arena – on the one hand, it exposes the capitalist-revisionist order and its policy, on the other hand, it plays a constructive, revolutionary role, encouraging the peoples of the world who are fighting for their liberation from the yoke of capital.

It is by this great role that the question of whether or not socialist Albania is isolated must be judged.

Socialist Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania which leads it, love, respect and defend all the peoples of the world, while they, on their part, in unity with us. Little socialist Albania has become a great example in which the working masses place their hopes. In these conditions and circumstances, then, there can be no talk of isolation of Albania. It is the capitalists, the revisionists, the imperialists and social-imperialists that are isolated, discredited and hated by the peoples. And it is precisely they who try to present the People's Socialist Republic of Albania as isolated, who strive, without success, to distort its correct opinions and its victories, and in the final analysis, this is part of their efforts to isolate the Marxist-Leninist theory itself, to call it outdated and anachronistic. In this context, they try to prove that “socialism can be built”, guided by any kind of reformist, opportunist or even fascist ideology.

In the broad sense, the capitalist-revisionist states are not worried by the existence of a small country and people like ours, but the ideology which guides our people, the genuine socialist society which is being built successfully in our country, where there are no political or economic troubles and a sound culture is being developed, worry them a great deal. That is why the enemies of the peoples try to present the sound moral-political situation of our people in a distorted way and to belittle the great and uninterrupted socio-economic progress of our country.

The struggle of all enemies of all peoples against our socialist country proceeds from the same class positions but with variations in intensity. This comes about because, while it is true that there is unity between capitalists and revisionists as enemies of socialism, there are also differences, conflicts and feuds between them. There are conflicts and feuds also between big and small states, between highly developed, less developed, and totally undeveloped countries.

In the present epoch of the great crisis of capitalism, the capitalist-revisionist states are politically and economically dependent on one another. Of course, the strongest and biggest are less dependent on the weakest and the smallest, but all of them are sensitive to and affected by the contradictions between them which are becoming more and more acute. These contradictions have their political and economic effect and are expressed in the stands of every state, internally and in the international relations between various states.

The present epoch can be called the epoch of the total destabilization of capitalism, of instability in politics, of general insecurity and gloomy and unclear prospects for the future. The idea of war predominates, because the world is being impelled in that direction through the unjust imperialist wars, although still localized, which are instigated by the imperialists and social-imperialists. They think that the profound and acute contradictions between them will be resolved by means of war.

The peoples cannot and must not put any trust in the policy of the capitalist-revisionist states and in the social demagogy of this policy. What the peoples must clearly discern from the concrete facts, through the dense fog with which the superstructure of the capitalist-revisionist regime obscures their vision, distorts the reality, deceives the people and tries to blacken the road of the revolution, is not the external forms of the structure of capitalist-revisionist states, but the content, the essence of this structure, whose hands wield this weapon and which class does it serve.

This is a great, serious problem which is difficult to solve but it is not insurmountable. The forces which oppose the capitalist attack are larger and more powerful. But these forces must be fully awakened, their consciousness tempered; they must be organized on a national and international scale. The device on which the strength of capitalism is based is its “divide and rule” policy. By this means capitalism crushes the weakest and makes him unable to object, binds him with a thousand threads so that he will always be a slave, as an individual, a people or a state,, exploits him to the maximum and creates in him the illusion that he is living in a “free, democratic world”, in which he ought to be content with the miserable life he leads, for which he should be grateful to his overlord. The peoples must oppose this device with the glorious slogan of Marx: “Workers of all countries – unite!”, a slogan which has terrified the capitalist bourgeoisie at all times.

In this chaotic and unequal development no progress can be made without struggle and all kinds of clashes between oppressors and oppressed, between exploiters and exploited. The capitalist states vie with one another for supremacy. In most cases, because of their different interests, this contest between them develops in discord. Whoever comes out on top, he who manages to trip his rival and make him fall, who succeeds in making the law and in imposing his policy of domination, he is presented as the cleverest, the most capable politician. However, his ruling position is not everlasting, because he created two kinds of opponents: individuals from his own class who are rivals for ruling positions and contest for capitalist profits, and the great opponent – the working class and the broad working masses who, through every form of class struggle, erode the capitalist order from within, causing splits and bringing defeat after defeat upon it.

Impelled by the lure of illegal gains, its tendency to enslave peoples and engage in unscrupulous speculations at the cost of their blood and sweat, the capitalist world will never find stability in any field of life. Although the great advances achieved are the result of the toil and sweat of the working masses, these are excluded from any benefits from them. The masses have been polarized and as such, are permanent opponents of the inhuman exploitation by the capitalist bourgeoisie.

In this eroding reality of defeats and political-economic instability, the capitalist-revisionist states are trying to find a temporary solution for the most acute and dangerous problems. However, the solutions they offer cannot be satisfactory, because they are one-sided in their aim and applied in a terrain which is quaking as a result of the popular upheavals. The great antagonisms within the

ranks of capital and those between the bourgeoisie and the working class and the working masses make these anti-popular solutions ineffective.

Seen from this class angle, the present development of the capitalist world leads to a more realistic understanding of the policy which capital follows to prolong its existence, of the methods and tactics of its struggle against the peoples.

The various countries of the world, whatever their social order, have their own foreign policies. This is based on certain principles which have a class character, which represent and serve the interests of the class in power and are adapted to the political circumstances existing within the country and in the relations with other states, i.e., in the international arena. Among these states there are some which, at certain moments and in certain circumstances, come out with a policy "independent" from others, differing temporarily in certain aspects or circumstances, with the aim of getting certain political, economic and military concessions. These differences in form and sometimes even in content reflect the strength or the weakness of the bourgeois class in power in a given state and the influence of one state over the other, an influence which is determined by the decrease or increase of their economic and military potential. The principle of gain and domination, the stability or instability of the situation of a capitalist-revisionist country, make the policy of its state unstable and inclined towards the strongest, the most powerful. This leads to economic and political dependence of one bourgeois state on another bourgeois state, or to the grouping of a number of states against the grouping of other rival states. Irrespective of the contradictions they have with one another, these bourgeois states have common denominators which compel them to support one another, although they also have other opposing factors which erode the relations between them from within, which cause disturbances, economic instability and political revolts, which consequently weaken their general and bilateral links. At present, these inter-state phenomena in the capitalist countries have assumed an unsustainable development and it is very difficult to co-ordinate, harmonize or stabilize them. Hence, the great crisis in the capitalist order is not only economic but also political.

The relations of production and the policy which supports these relations in each separate capitalist-revisionist state or in the international relations between them are undergoing continual catastrophic transformations. Whatever happens in any of these states inevitably influences the other states. The metamorphoses, the changes, the economic and political crisis which occur in a powerful capitalist state cannot fail to have repercussions in all the other states which are dependent on that power, even though they present themselves as allegedly not directly dependent on it. To justify these phenomena, this chaotic development, a special language has been found, all kinds of different theories are used, which vary according to the circumstances, countries and tendencies. All these theories are labelled "democratic" or "revolutionary" and, in practice, are accompanied by the creation of all kinds of organizations to give the impression that a struggle is being waged against the evils of the time. In fact, the world today is faced with the fact that the evil are fighting the evil.

Thus, all are arming and, at the same time, all are "fighting for disarmament", all say they "are against war", but each of them is struggling, with its own means and in its own way, and frequently jointly with the others, to undermine peace; all of them speak of non-interference in the internal affairs of others, but in one way or the other, they all interfere brutally in the internal affairs of others by means of weapons, politics, diplomacy and the "influx" of dollars" and all kinds of credits. The bourgeoisie has also created its own method of presenting all these criminal and condemnable acts, a peculiar ethic about the expression of opinions and open and hidden aims in politics and in practice. Whoever deviates from the form and content of this ethic is a "heretic", "undesirable", an enemy of the "civilized world"!

Every individual, person, people, state or class not in power, must willy-nilly proceed on the road determined by the "all-powerful" capitalist oligarchy, which alone is capable of finding "a correct



solution” for every problem vital to states and peoples. Imperialism, social-imperialism and world monopoly capitalism are trying to preserve this absolute hegemony, and to make it permanent in theory and practice.

We think that this hegemony should be combated and destroyed mercilessly. The world must break out of this vicious circle of modern spiritual, economic and political enslavement. This modern enslavement is a cruel deed of the bourgeois capitalist class and the economic and political order which it has created. The working class of every country, the broad masses of the working people who are oppressed and exploited, are the destroyers of this capitalist hegemony. Marxism-Leninism must guide all these masses in the revolution for the new, genuine socialist life without exploiters and exploited.

Socialist Albania is the offspring of the proletarian revolution. Guided by the Marxist-Leninist theory it is constructing the new society, socialist society. The Party of Labour of Albania has always based itself on the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, has applied this theory without vacillations or deviations, fearlessly and in opposition to and through uncompromising struggle with the capitalist-revisionist ideologies.

The foreign policy of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, too, is a policy guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It is principled and unchanging in its strategy. This policy supports the revolutionary movement of the working class and world proletariat for liberation from capital, hence it is against the latter, against its policy of oppression and exploitation, against its structure and infrastructure, supports the struggle of the peoples for freedom, independence, social progress and socialism and relies on their solidarity. It is against any form of aggression and military intervention of one state against another, is against colonial exploitation, tutelage, dictate and hegemony, national oppression and racial discrimination. It upholds the principle of the self-determination of peoples, the exercise of complete national sovereignty and the equality of all countries in international relations.

Hence, the crucial orientations of the foreign policy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania are: support for peoples' liberation from any bondage and exploitation by reactionary internal or external forces, struggle against imperialist wars and any other unjust war, struggle for genuine disarmament and peace, struggle for friendship between peoples and the denunciation of all enemies and every means they use to sabotage this friendship and understanding among peoples. Just as the reactionary capitalist and revisionist bourgeoisie and its states are acting against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, so Albania acts against them. The bourgeois-capitalist-revisionist states consider the correct, revolutionary policy from the firm positions of our theory as interference in their internal affairs, while their own policy of plots and sabotage against peoples they consider not interference in our internal affairs, but a correct and normal policy already accepted by world opinion. But this is not true. World opinion, the broad masses of the peoples, do not accept the bourgeois revisionist world outlook which covers up deception, oppression and exploitation. The masses who hear about and understand our political stands on many international problems, reflect, make comparisons about the state of things presented, weigh up our arguments and those of our opponents, and approve, support and adopt our stands. This is precisely the real major reason why the anti-Marxists and the modern revisionists of all hues are so worried.

Otherwise, they would not concoct slanders against the correct political stands of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. They do so because our policy, proceeding from the positions of the working class and based on Marxism-Leninism, exposes their pseudo-Marxist policy which proceeds from capitalist positions. Also thanks to this exposure, the broad working masses realize that, irrespective of external appearances, the structure and superstructure of the revisionist states are identical with those of other capitalist states. In practice, their content, essence and results are

the same.

Precisely because the Party of Labour of Albania and our state expose and fight the capitalist order (under both descriptions, capitalist and revisionist), both politically and through the positive example of the successful construction of socialism in Albania, they have an honoured name in the world, not only among the ranks of the working-class but also among progressive elements of the bourgeoisie, the youth and intellectuals.

The modern revisionists are greatly worried by the powerful voice of the Party of Labour of Albania, because both in theory and practice it is opposed to their efforts to pass revisionism for “renovated Marxism” and suitable for our time, when, according to them, capitalist society must be rescued from destruction, private ownership of the means of production preserved, and the proletarian revolution, i.e., the seizure of power by the working class, must be averted. The modern revisionists do not want the Marxist-Leninists to expose their work of sabotage. Therefore, the modern revisionists call the exposure which our Party makes of their anti-Marxist theories, of the state-economic orders of the modern revisionists, and of their pro-capitalist internal and external policy; interference in their internal affairs. But we are not concerned about what they say about us.

Not just today, not only now, but ever since they were founded, our Party and proletarian state have declared publicly that they will apply an open, principled foreign policy, a policy of good neighbourliness and relations with all states on the basis of equality, respect for sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual benefit. And they have adhered to this policy without the slightest deviation. However, they have also made it clear to anybody who cares to listen, that such a policy does not mean concessions or giving up the resolute struggle for the defence of our guiding ideology, Marxism-Leninism, the struggle against greedy imperialism and capitalism, or support for the just struggles of the world proletariat for social liberation and the national liberation struggles of the peoples against colonialism and neocolonialism.

No one and no force can stop the Party of Labour of Albania and the government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania from voicing their own opinion, not only on the problems and political events in which our socialist Homeland, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, is directly interested or which have to do with its supreme interests, but also on other general world problems and events, because these, too, are the concern of all and not just of some.

In persistently following this policy, our Party and state do not proceed from interests of the movement, to please or to serve this or that foreign power, big or small. They are not urged to this policy by any of these powers, but they never lose sight of the principles of the basic strategy of defence of the freedom and interests of the peoples, of the cause of the world proletariat and its revolution. The strategy remains unaltered regardless of the changing circumstances. The stability of our policy and the correctness of our stands result from this.

We do not impose our foreign policy on anybody. Nevertheless, there are many people around the world, even various diplomatic chancelleries, that seek information about our policy and stands, because in them they see something original which other countries (either capitalist or revisionist) do not have: Truthfulness, maturity and the courage to voice one's opinion openly. No capitalist-revisionist state can follow such an open, correct and well-considered policy because of the complexity of the political and economic dependence, religious influences and the class contradictions to which they are subject. Socialist Albania does not suffer from any such complexity of restrictive and inhibiting factors and precisely this is the basis for the strength of its influence.

There are others who find it very difficult to understand our policy and positions, who wonder how such a small country as Albania can follow such a policy which, according to their judgement and in

their own words, contains good points and truth, which only the Albanians, but none of the others, can proclaim.

The Party of Labour of Albania is a strong party not because of the number of its members, but because of the Marxist-Leninist ideology which inspires and guides it. Likewise, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a powerful state not because of the size of its territory or population, but because it lives in, fights for and builds the new socialist society, because the Party and the people are in complete unity, conscious of their actions, where they are going and how they will get there. The main cardinal problem of life are clear to them: they must build a secure present, without forgetting in the past and foreseeing and preparing the future.

Some might think that pursuing a course of development for a period is something abnormal, unorthodox, linked with the life and activity of certain leaders and that "there can be no departure" from the line of development which bourgeois capitalist society and its lackeys, the modern revisionists, have established. On this issue, too, they are gravely mistaken, because they cannot see and do not want to see the great strength of socialism and our Triumphant doctrine, Marxism-Leninism, which destroys the old society and builds the new one, do not know either the Party of Labour of the Albanian people, do not recognize or cannot understand the steel intellectual, spiritual and material unity between them.

The great instability of the capitalist society foundering in all-round crisis is a result of the struggle of the discontented peoples against the enslaving system, and undoubtedly, of the inspiration they gain from the revolutionary ideology, Marxism-Leninism, to find the genuine right road in the darkness of the modern epoch.

We Albanian communists are conscious of the difficulties we encounter and will encounter on our road, but at the same time, we are fully convinced that we shall overcome them, because we are on the right road. We take each cautious step with confidence after weighing up the issues and making careful calculations, we are clear about the period we live in, view the changes and developments in the world with a critical Marxist-Leninist eye, and try, not without success, to assess these developments correctly, defining their positive and negative aspects, and benefiting from the former while combating the latter. We build our tactics, which are neither unprincipled nor pragmatic, in conformity with and for the strengthening of our unwavering revolutionary strategy.

We, Albanian communists, sons and daughters of this people, whose joys and problems we know very well, are the most reliable basis of all the victories which the people and the Party of Labour of Albania have won together. This is where the solid foundations of our political, economic and cultural achievements lie. Socialist society in our country has been built by a people who have ancient traditions, as well as new ones, have wisdom, courage and the vigour of youth. History has taught them to fight for their freedom, for a good life, for justice. History has taught our people to distinguish the peoples from their evil, oppressing and cunning leaders; it has taught the Albanian people to love the other peoples, never to harm them but only help them, never to become the instrument of anyone to oppress others. The Party, with its Marxist-Leninist ideology, implanted these lofty virtues more deeply in the Albanian consciousness, strengthening them, made them ever clearer and more understandable, so that they flow in the bloodstream of every Albanian.

Our people are modest, industrious people who are not in the habit of boasting to anybody about anything. They have understood that their independence and the victories achieved must be defended as they were won, arms in hand, even with their blood if need be and must be further consolidated with their own strength and resources, through struggle and efforts. Some think that this cannot be done, that loans and credits from the capitalists and revisionists are indispensable. This is not true. When true freedom and independence are understood correctly by a people and

developed correctly by their leadership, they bring well-being, develop them and make them conscious of their own destiny. Foreign loans and credits have never been and are not in the interests of the peoples. For them the loans and credits are a noose around their necks. Daily life in countries nearby and remote from us proves this very clearly.

The brilliant road of the Albanian people is the road of all peoples who fight for national and social liberation, for socialism. And the peoples of the world who fight with all their possibilities and in all forms are the powerful allies of small, but invincible, socialist Albania. This strengthens the positions of our correct Marxist-Leninist policy and enhances the authority of our country in the international arena. In this context, we must ceaselessly strengthen our Party of Labour and our People's Socialist Republic of Albania, make our economy more powerful, raise the well-being and cultural level of the working masses and continue the successful construction of the new society, socialist society.