

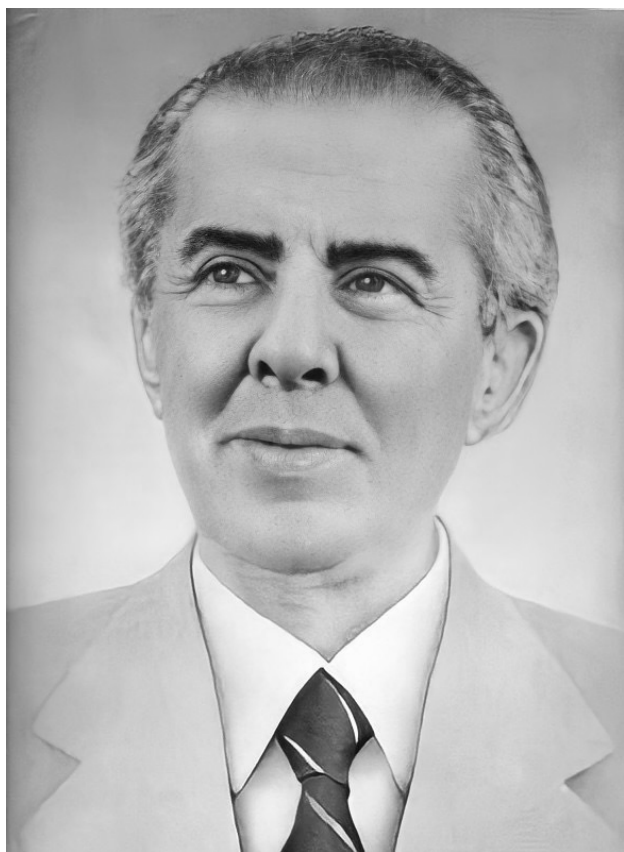
**WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!**

**ENVER HOXHA**

*By Way of a  
Testament*

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# THE FORCE OF ALBANIAN PATRIOTISM

*Article published in the newspaper "Bashkimi"*

**March 23, 1981**

This month marks the 100th anniversary of the first publication in the press of the famous poem, "Oh Albania, Suffering Albania" by Pashko Vasa,<sup>1</sup> one of the most beautiful and powerful works of Albanian poetry.

Its patriotic pathos and fiery call to rebellion have inspired generations of Albanians in their endless wars for the freedom and the independence of the Homeland, for the defence of the national language and culture, and for the unity and progress of the country. Written in the form of an elegy, in an incisive and powerful romantic style, Pashko Vasa's poem was a clear political manifesto addressed to the people and the whole nation at one of the most difficult moments for the Albanian liberation movement, when the Congress of Berlin<sup>2</sup> had decided to partition the Albanian territory, and when its open and secret enemies had gone over to a general offensive to smash the League

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<sup>1</sup> Pashko Vasa, 1825-1892, outstanding patriot and activist of the Albanian National League, poet and publicist.

<sup>2</sup> It held its proceedings from June 13-July 13, 1878.

of Prizren.<sup>1</sup> At those hours, critical to the fate of the country, Pashko Vasa understood that the only force and the only weapon which could cope with the situation and carry the Albanian cause forward was the unity of the people. He knew how to sum up the Albanian reality of that time correctly and precisely and to express in a perfect poetic form that, above all and first of all, “the Albanians’ religion is Albania.” Precisely because this poem carried this spirit of the unity of the nation, because it summed up the supreme interests of the nation, the spirit of resistance to the end against enemies and confidence in the future of the people, it has been a banner of struggle against religious splits and territorial divisions, against surrender and submission to foreigners.

Today we honour Pashko Vasa, his political and literary work because, like the contribution of all the other outstanding leaders of the Albanian National Renaissance, it lies in the foundations of our free and independent Albania.

Socialist Albania is forging ahead and de-

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<sup>1</sup> On the eve of the Congress of Berlin, which would revise the decisions of the Treaty of Santo Stefano, delegates from all Albanian regions gathered in the town of Prizren on June 10, 1878 and decided to set up a political and military union under the name of the “Albanian League of Prizren,” to conduct the struggle for self-government, national unity and the defence of the territorial integrity of Albania, which was threatened by the chauvinistic aims of the neighbouring nations.



veloping, its name is respected in the world. Day by day its sons and daughters are raising their Homeland to new heights and making it prosper. But it has arrived at the present day through bloody battles, great sacrifices and self-denying efforts for centuries on end. It has had to fight against many powerful and cunning enemies who have striven in every way to totally eliminate the Albanian nation, to wipe the name of Albania from the face of the earth. Their arsenal of weapons has included religion, regional divisions and various local peculiarities. By striving to identify religion with the nation, the enemies wanted not only to enslave our people spiritually, but also to assimilate them, to eliminate their language and traditions, and to perpetuate their own domination and oppression.

The men of our Renaissance opposed this age-old campaign of destruction and extermination by the enemies with all their ardent spirit of patriotism and fought heroically in exceptionally difficult and complicated conditions in order to show that there is no link between religion and the nation, that the Albanian is Albanian on account of his language and culture, his glorious history, on account of the lands where his ancestors were born and died, on account of his specific and unique spiritual qualities.

It was this correct understanding of the idea of the nation, this refusal to accept religion as a characteristic of the nation and the

exposure of the misrepresentations of enemies on this question, which became one of the most active and dynamic factors in the fight for freedom and the triumph of independence.

That was so in the time of the men of our Renaissance and it is so to this day. Religion has not formed nations and could not do so. The Italian people, for example, are of the Catholic faith, but they form the Italian nation. Likewise, the people of Iran are of the Muslim faith, but they form the Iranian nation. Whether or not a people profess a particular religion has no connection with the nation.

Nations cannot be created by subjective factors or by decrees, or through the desire of governments. They are a result of protracted historical processes. The Albanian nation was created and defended stubbornly, with bloodshed and work by its finest sons who toiled and sacrificed everything for it. Therefore, any attempt which has been made to negate, ignore or replace the Albanian nationality with the respective religious belief has always encountered the opposition of all Albanians. Even in those cases when enemies have tried to break them up and drive them into emigration, wherever they have gone they have preserved undimmed their national identity and pride, their love for their language and country.

Albanian patriotism, which has been a great spiritual force in the past, to which the outstanding men of this country have appealed in order to defend the undeniable rights of our

nation with courage and bravery, always remains an insurmountable barrier to the evil aims of enemies and their anti-Albanian trickery and intrigues.

# REFLECTIONS

July 15, 1981

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 reasons. 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 evil-doing of the enemies. This, too, is a re-

ality. To be able to distinguish friends from foes, 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 a people for national existence does not and cannot depend on the combinations 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 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 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 not occur as long as the Party of Labour of Albania, a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party, remains at the head of the Albanian people. Our fortress is not like the fortresses of their dreams. 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 materials. It is able to withstand all the waves of war just as it has withstood those that have crushed 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 well-being, and social and cultural level.

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 the 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, they 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 states, 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 themselves, by the peoples themselves who hand it down from one generation to another.

However we 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, who 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 their 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 systems which represent two different societies, capitalist and socialist, which have completely opposite aims and interests, in struggle with and diametrically opposed to each other in regard to the ways of the development of mankind in the future. 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 in 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 that of 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 cause contradictions within the ranks of the bourgeois class in power, different strata and representatives of which, through demagogic 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 each of their parties wages from its own positions “for the rights of electors, the working masses,” with the struggle which parties of various descriptions wage even in parliament, etc. 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 in favour of the bourgeoisie, to protect its immense capital, i.e., to prolong 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 big 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 super-

powers and their policies through a thousand interconnecting threads, and not only through such military organisms as NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, or monopoly economic communities such as the European Common Market and Comecon. Even the other capitalist-revisionist states, which are not members of these 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 on credits or loans, the all-round pressure of the bigger on the smaller, of the very rich and the rich on the poor and the very poor would not exist, the instability in the policy of states would not exist, the struggle for markets, neo-colonialism, the interference of one state in the internal affairs of another state, which has become a common occurrence all over the world and even develops into bloody local armed conflicts, would not exist. The general crisis itself determines the chain of economic-political dependence of the capital-

ist-revisionist states on one another.

To conceal this situation of economic-political subjection from the peoples, to fail to show them the reasons for and the sources of this general political instability in the world, to fail to make clear to them who oppresses and exploits them, to use all sorts of anti-social and anti-revolutionary political formulas, to conceal the great 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 disarmament and peace, who divide the nations into “non-aligned,” into many “worlds” or “undeveloped countries,” but none of these things prevents the imperialists and social-imperialists, who defy every international forum or conference, from going 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 stockpiles of goods and weapons of all kinds and to throw a few crumbs of these profits, as 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 acute 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. 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 and peoples of their own or other countries and to keep their profits intact. Therefore the burden of crisis falls, first of all, on 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 in-

ter-imperialist contradictions, those between the “allies” in the capitalist and revisionist groupings, and between the metropolis and the colonial and neo-colonial 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 in 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 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 demagogy 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 shackles of capital,

and by identifying terrorism with the activity of the genuine revolutionaries, 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 lethal 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 created by their economic, political and moral crisis, the imperialist and revisionist enemies are making a great ado about the "isolated position and situation" of our country. But is Albania 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<sup>1</sup> 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, how-

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<sup>1</sup> In 1986 Albania had diplomatic relations with 105 states.



ever, we do not want such relations, whereas Great Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany 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*.<sup>1</sup> 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

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<sup>1</sup> English in the original.

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, our ancient and modern history and our victories? 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. In the cities, the mountains, the plains and the shores of our socialist Homeland there is and will be no room for their ugly, degenerate way of life and thinking.

We know that the revisionist states (Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, etc.) and the capitalist states call our country isolated from the world because it has not entered and will not enter their orbit, 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 the future, too.

In the opinion of some of these states, the independent policy which the People's Social-

ist Republic of Albania pursues in all fields and in all circumstances is something of an anachronism. We can understand why they have this opinion. For them it is an anachronism that our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not in a 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 absolutely no price rises for any goods, that there is no unemployment, economic and political emigration, economic strikes or political demonstrations, as there are in 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 states which are in a political, 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 from the prism of 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, are 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 "strict" sense, the capitalist-revisionist states are not worried by the existence of a small country and people like ours, but in a broader sense 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-politi-

cal 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 the 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, struggles and feuds between them. There are struggles 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 the 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 which are eroding 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 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 it serves.

This is a great, serious problem which is difficult to understand and solve, but it is not insurmountable. The forces which oppose the capitalist attack are larger and more powerful. But they must be fully awakened, their consciousness tempered. These forces 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 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 all kinds of efforts and without struggle 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 into discord. Whoever comes out on top, he who manages to trip his rival and make him fall, he who succeeds in making the law and in imposing his policy of domination, is presented as the cleverest, the most successful politician. However his ruling position is not everlasting, because he creates two kinds of opponents: individuals from his own class who are rivals for ruling positions and capitalist profits, and the great opponent, the working class and the broad working masses who, through various forms 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 speculation 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, they are excluded from any benefits from them. The masses have been polarized on one side, and as such, are permanent opponents of the inhuman exploitation by the capitalist bourgeoisie.

In this eroding reality of defeat 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 masses of working people 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 states 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 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 these states 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 unrestrainable development, and it is very difficult to coordinate, 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 all capitalist states, taken separately or in the 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 crises 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 independent of it. To justify these phenomena, this chaotic development, a specious language has been found, using all kinds of different theories 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. However, the world today is faced with the fact that the evil are fighting the evil and rivalling with one another. Thus, all are arming and, at the same time, all are fighting allegedly for disarmament, all say they "are against war," but each of them is struggling with his own means and in his own way, and frequently with joint means, 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 reprehensible 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,” is “undesirable,” is 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” to 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 has built 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 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, it 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, against colonial exploitation, against any form of 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 the liberation of peoples 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.

The reactionary capitalist and revisionist bourgeoisie and its states are acting against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, but Albania acts against them, too. 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 the 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 and the Party of Labour 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 in unity.

Precisely because the Party of Labour of Albania and our state expose and fight the exploiting order (under both names, 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 policy and in theory it is opposed to their efforts to pass re-

visionism 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 must be preserved, and the proletarian revolution, i.e., the seizure of power by the working class, must be avoided. 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 of Labour 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 to 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 neo-colonialism.

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 moment, 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. They do not alter their strategy according to 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 does not exist in the policy and stands of other states (either capitalist or revisionist): truthfulness, maturity and



the courage to voice one's opinions 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 complex 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 position, 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 truths 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 problems of life are clear to them: they must build a secure present, without forgetting the past and foreseeing and preparing the future.

Someone might think that pursuing such a

course of development is something temporary, 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 *sous-fifres*,<sup>1</sup> 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 or the Albanian people, do not recognize and cannot understand the steel intellectual, spiritual and material unity between them.

The great instability of 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,

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<sup>1</sup> Underlings (French in the original).

we are clear about the period we live in, watch 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 combatting the latter. We build our tactics, which are neither unprincipled nor momentary, in conformity with and to strengthen our unwavering revolutionary strategy.

We Albanian communists, sons and daughters of this people, whose joys and sorrows we know very well, are the main 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, but at the same time, have plenty of will, 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 them 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, but to fight for their own rights and the rights of others. The Party with its Marxist-Leninist ideology implanted these lofty virtues more deeply in their consciousness, strengthened them, made them even clearer and more understand-

able so that they flow in the pure 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 them 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. They bring all kinds of misfortunes upon 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 continuously strengthen our Party of Labour and our People's Socialist Republic, 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.

# WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP?

June 19, 1984

In the news agency bulletins I am continually reading reports and comments of every kind on the internal conflict in the leadership of the party and the highest state organs of the social-imperialist Soviet Union. Although these reports come from Western news agencies and the press of the capitalist world, which are highly interested in political sensations in the former socialist countries, still they are not entirely without foundation.

Murmurs about this began long ago, in the time when captain Leonidas was alive, if I am not mistaken. But upon his death, the bugles began to blow loudly: Grave conflicts in the Soviet leadership. The question arose: who would take Brezhnev's place — Andropov or Chernenko, but when Andropov was appointed General Secretary of the Central Committee, and subsequently Chairman of the Supreme Soviet (an election which was hailed by the West), it was said: the star of Chernenko and his clan has waned.

Andropov did not last long. Brezhnev summoned him as his councillor in the other world. Therefore, the bugles continued: who will take Andropov's place — Chernenko or Gorbachev?

This time the former proved the stronger. The official propaganda in the Soviet Union began at once to praise the figure of Chernenko, his statements began to be published, one after another, the promises of a new epoch began, etc., etc. At the same time, it was implied that this was no longer Andropov's line.

Is this true?

As far as I can see, there is no reason to disbelieve it. What, in fact, is clearly observable? In the Soviet leadership, in the party and the state, two opposing trends can be seen, both of them proceeding from clearly counter-revolutionary, revisionist and capitalist positions and accompanied with undercover manoeuvres. Apparently, Chernenko represents the temporary compromise achieved between these two trends.

Why do I think and say this?

Andropov stayed in office only 14 months, although he was highly praised for the steps which he took in regard to the organizational questions of the party, and in the economic and political fields. Statues and books were dedicated to him, cities named after him, etc.

The same thing is occurring with Chernenko. Though he came to power only 4 months ago, they are singing him praises, talking about his great abilities in the organizational, political, economic and other fields. Meanwhile, there are signs which indicate a departure from Andropov's line, such as the changes, dismissals, appointments and trans-

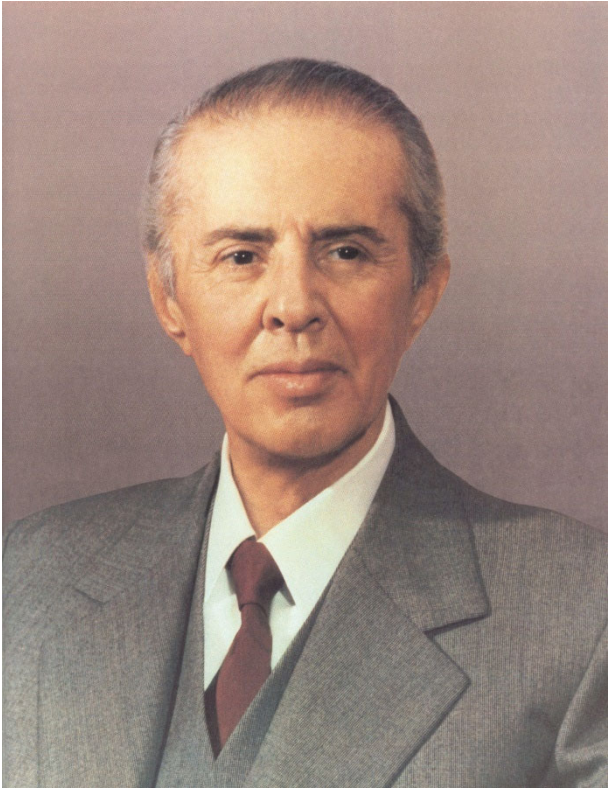
fers of higher cadres at the centre and the base. Andropov promoted his own men, and now it seems they are being replaced with Chernenko's supporters.

Whereas in regard to Andropov they say that he was somewhat more flexible in his relations with the United States of America and the other imperialist powers, in regard to Chernenko they say he is more "rigid," more "resolute," etc. Nevertheless, the chief of staff of the strategic air-defence forces of the Soviet Union, who gave the order to shoot down the south Korean civilian airliner when it violated the air space of the Soviet Union, an act about which the United States of America made a great noise, was greatly honoured at first, but was demoted a little later.

These are some of the facts which they mention to illustrate the unstable situation and the abrasive conflict between clans going on below the surface in the leadership of the Soviet social-imperialists.

To show that we have to do with a transitional situation, because apparently the ratio of forces has not yet tipped definitely to one side, a significant fact is that a man such as Andropov, whose health was unsound, was appointed to the party and state leadership of the Soviet Union, one of the two imperialist superpowers of the world, and after his death, another person about whose state of health there are many rumours that he is seriously ill, with difficulty in breathing, speaking, etc., was ap-





Portrait of November 1984



At the 3rd Congress of the League of Writers and Artists, April 1984







At the meeting to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland, November 28, 1984





At the military parade and demonstration of the people of the capital, November 29, 1984





During the proceedings of the session of the  
People's Assembly, December 1984



Amidst comrades and fellow-fighters, January  
1985





January 1985



A moment at work



With his son Sokol



April 6, 1985



**ENVER HOXHA**  
October 16, 1908 — April 11, 1985

pointed. In fact, seeing Chernenko on television, one has the impression of a man who can hardly stand and is completely contracted.

So the question arises: which are the true forces which stand and operate behind such figures as Andropov and Chernenko in the top leadership of the Soviet Union?

It is difficult to envisage, but apparently it involves definite internal forces, without excluding the influence of external forces, and especially the leading military circles and those of the KGB, that terrible weapon of the Soviet social-imperialists.

As to how long this business will go on and how it will end, we shall see, but I don't think it can continue for long. The course on which the revisionist forces have embarked in that country, the grave internal economic situation, the mounting complications and contradictions with the "allies" of the Warsaw Treaty and Comecon, as well as the difficult and grave international situations that have to be dealt with, the continuous pressure exerted by American imperialism and the international bourgeoisie, will undoubtedly have their influence in new, accelerated developments in the Soviet Union. These developments do not presage anything good for the peoples of the Soviet Union.

**CONGRATULATIONS TO  
THE BELOVED ALBANIA ON  
THE NOVEMBER  
CELEBRATIONS!  
CONGRATULATIONS TO  
OUR WONDERFUL PEOPLE**

*Message of greetings on the occasion of the 40th  
anniversary of the Liberation of Albania*

**November 29, 1984**

Ah, my beloved Homeland! Seventy-two years have gone by since the proclamation of independence. For 40 years you have been living and advancing in socialism, liberated forever from oppression and exploitation, from the intrigues and villainies of foreign occupiers and the internal enemies. All through the centuries, you, my Albania, have experienced endless suffering and hardships. Your life has been filled with bloody wars, which have been waged in every corner of your territory, in the mountains and on the plains, in the castles and the humble cottages. You shed your blood, my people, in order to live free and independent like the mountain eagle that you were, with your freedom-loving spirit and dauntless character, with your clear mind and wisdom, your great, courageous and generous heart, your de-

sires and ardent aspirations. You were never afraid to fight against the enemy and slavery, never intimidated by occupation, despite the trickery, the burnings and killings which the enemy engaged in; you never bent the knee to foreigners or accepted betrayal, but always stood proudly and fought back. In your belt you carried the silver chased pistols, on your shoulders rifles, in your hands the drawn sword and you fought furiously. Attacked from all sides, you were often defeated, but never conquered, my Albania and my people!

It is hard to find in the world another small country like our Albania, with a people such as the Albanian people, who have fought so much, who have dared so much, who have displayed such great courage and wisdom, who have smashed all the enemies and emerged proudly in history, who have emerged free and sovereign, and have seized power through the strength of their own arms, without seeking or enjoying the aid of anyone else. The most ferocious enemies have attacked this valiant people and sought to wipe them from the face of the earth, to eliminate Albania from the map of the world, to partition it and divide it amongst its neighbours, the rulers of which were agents of Great Powers. But in vain. Albania and the Albanians fought and triumphed, they were, are and will be immortal.

Ah, my Albania, my people, history speaks of these great merits. Now history speaks more loudly, but it has spoken in the past, too, alt-

though the foreign enemies have done their utmost to stop your voice from being heard. Nevertheless, this voice could not be smothered, because the echo of the Albanians' wars reverberated from the mountains, spread through space and told the world how a dauntless people, with Skanderbeg at the head, became the terror of the Ottomans. While Europe trembled before the Turkish sultans' hordes, in the mountains of Albania a people, led by a hero who defended the Homeland and Europe from invasion, fought and resisted. My valiant people, you shed torrents of blood but no one was grateful to you, and despite this, you were not discouraged, because life had taught you that you must take your fate into your own hands and defend and liberate your Homeland.

Many enemies have violated our mother soil — the Romans of Caesar and Mark Antony, the Ottomans, the Serbian hordes, from the time of Stephan Dušan to the Karageorgevićs, the Greeks of Venizelos and Zographos, the Italians of the First World War and those of Mussolini, the Austro-Hungarians of Francis Joseph and the Germans of Hitler. But you, the Albanian people, faced up to all these invaders emerging after each occupation more united, more rejuvenated, more determined to refuse to bow your head to anyone.

The archives of the chancelleries of the states of Europe have been filled with documents which testify to your struggle, to your valiant deeds and your ardent aspirations for



freedom. But these archives are not open, to this day they remain closed. The archives of Istanbul, Belgrade and Athens, Italy, Austria and France remain closed. But, my heroic people, your majestic history has been written better and more clearly than in the memoranda of foreign chancelleries with your blood and sweat and you yourselves have sung about it generation after generation. Your songs faithfully describe your great history, your customs, habits and costumes; they are hymns to your valour, endurance, loyalty and nobility, to your life in its harmonious development.

Thus you sang to yourselves, to your blood, to your immortality. These songs inspired the generations that came, armed them with love for the Homeland and for freedom, told them of the courage, determination and dauntless spirit of their forefathers, told them that their freedom, honour, language, customs and culture could be defended only with blood and sweat.

Your songs evoke the aid which you, the Albanian people, have given other peoples in the course of history. They are songs to Skanderbeg and his valiant Albanian fighters who assisted Hunyadi, who assisted in the liberation of the Kingdom of Naples; they are songs to your sons who went and fought as far away as France with Marshal de Querc; they are songs to the valiant fighters of this land who assisted the revolution for the independence of Greece. Where has the Albanian not fought for

freedom, not displayed valour, not displayed vitality and wisdom!

From your ranks, my people, great men have emerged, men who have fought with the rifle and the pen, who have inspired the generations and imbued them with patriotism, with their sense of freedom. These men have dreamed, worked and striven for the Motherland to live free, for the Albanians to gain learning, to assimilate knowledge and build the free Albania, unhampered by chains or by foreigners, in which the Albanian language would flower, "our language so beautiful, so pure," so tuneful in the songs of the inhabitants of the highlands and the plains, of the courageous women and the girls and boys. How greatly that language was loved and valued by the outstanding patriots of all periods, especially those of our National Renaissance, who, with their keen minds, desired that this language should be written and taught in the Albanian schools and that these schools should wipe out from amongst the people the ignorance, the influence of languages of countries which oppressed us, should wipe out the ignorance of the Middle Ages and religions which poisoned the spirit of the Albanian people. These pioneers of the Albanian language sacrificed themselves at the altar of the Homeland, their blood became a beacon-light, their work took root, grew up and developed amidst storms, amidst the suffering and poverty. From the Albanian schools, which were

opened through the efforts of these outstanding patriots, emerged people who collected the songs of our history and the customs of the people, which strengthened the determination of the Albanian to liberate himself, which gave us light and the strength of knowledge, until in the end, you, my beloved people, overcame all these hardships.

History had taught you that those peoples who do not fight are eliminated, therefore, you, my people, fought for freedom, for your language, for your customs, for your sacred soil, and you were not eliminated, but triumphed. Centuries went by in ceaseless wars in which you suffered death and destruction but you did not yield and were not quelled, and eventually, on November 29, 1944, together with your freedom you also won power, became masters of your own fate and emerged in the light forever, because at the head of your struggle you had the heroic Communist Party, to which you, the people, gave birth and which you defended and nurtured with the blood of your finest sons, so that it would grow strong as the moments and your future and that of our Homeland required. This was a well-earned victory.

Rarely has any other people deserved such a victory as you deserved it, my people, because you have been strong, courageous, and optimistic and you have always loved life. You brought forth noble sons and daughters, fiery-hearted, eagle-eyed and strong as the rocks of the Alps, who fell upon the enemy like thunder

and lightning. Such were your sons and daughters who led you in battle with songs on their lips together with the war cries, of whose history, battles and sacrifices you, my valiant and great-hearted people, sang.

Not just one or two, or a few thousand individuals, but a whole people were inspired at every moment, in every period, at all the troubled moments of history, by your glorious past, my Homeland. Never was the head of the Albanian confused in storms and blizzards. Never were the Albanian people conquered, but they forged ahead through the storms and conquered the enemies, however mighty, ferocious and well-armed they were.

You, my dear people, were not barbarians, others behaved like barbarians towards you; you, my people, were not without culture, others wanted to impose their enslaving culture on you. You had not only strong muscles, but also keen minds and great hearts, and that is why the invaders could neither assimilate you, nor wipe you out. The enemies have left nothing unsaid against you, but life, struggle, history, has proved them wrong. You have been superior to your enemies from every standpoint.

Your whole life, my people, has been revolution, even when you were starving, naked or dressed in rags, with your bodies bleeding from wounds, but fiery-spirited and unbowed. At no time has your life been meaningless, but on the contrary, every year, every day of your life, has been filled with struggles and strivings

for freedom, justice and economic and social development and progress. This way of life has always kept us vigorous, and the Party of Labour has always had this on the order of the day. The Party has made the revolutionary traditions of our people an inseparable part of our life: the outstanding dates, events and figures of the people are celebrated, sung and written about. A marvellous situation has been created everywhere, the political enlightenment and outstanding patriotism of the people are immortal. As a result of this sound state of affairs Albania is advancing and building socialism successfully, people are conscientious in work and in action, fighters for the great cause of socialism and communism, and young and old love our heroic Party wholeheartedly.

All the blessings which we have created and are enjoying during the years of socialism stem from the National Liberation War of the people led by the Communist Party, which has always been enlightened by Marxism-Leninism — its unerring guide. Guided by this ideology from the time of its creation, the Party was able to imbue and temper the new man of socialist Albania with the patriotism of centuries, to unite and mobilize the whole people in the sacred war for freedom, to lead them on such a course that, besides winning their freedom, the people took power in their own hands, established the people's state power and set to work to make our beloved Albania a flourishing garden, the free country of free people.

We fought and triumphed, the whole of Albania rose to its feet during the National Liberation War. All our villages became nurseries of partisans. The whole people was able to unite firmly around the Party, drove the barbarous foreign invaders from our soil once and for all, overthrew the power of the feudal lords, beys and capitalists, and punished the traitors as they deserved. Many of the finest sons of this people fell with honour on the field of battle, but they became torchbearers and today all over Albania their remains rest in monumental cemeteries to which the people go continually to pay the greatest homage, because the blood they shed cemented the foundations of the new Albania.

All the friendly foreigners who visit our country bow with respect before the graves of our heroes and say with conviction and admiration that our people have fought, have shed their blood and that war has been waged on every inch of this soil.

After Liberation you, my people, continued the struggle heroically. The Party led you in even greater, even more difficult battles, the battles for socialism which you had to win through toil and sweat, through knowledge and determination. Day by day, you are working, triumphing and advancing without laying down the rifle and without bending the knee to old enemies or to new ones in all kinds of disguises.

The Party, the people and socialism filled

Albania with great factories, combines and hydro-power stations, made the plains flourish, beautified hills and mountains with terraces, planted forests up to the Alps, and developed the livestock farming and agriculture of which Naim sang with such passion, filled the country with schools, cultural and scientific institutions, wiped out the illiteracy, the darkness and backwardness of the past, and brought the light of learning, development and scientific progress everywhere. Socialist Albania today is the only country in the world which is building socialism entirely with its own forces, without accepting credits from anyone and without being indebted to anyone, a country without taxes, without inflation and unemployment, a country where schooling and the medical service are free of charge. Every corner of Albania has been transformed to its foundations, the life of our long-suffering people has changed radically and has become secure, enlightened and prosperous. Above all, during this whole process, the Party united all the people more firmly and made them conscious of their great and decisive role in history.

This beautiful Albania which you, my Party, have built amidst so many storms, struggles and intrigues, this happy life which we enjoy today, this new man whom you formed, are your glorious works which you achieved through the strength of your people, through your determination and maturity, and through your mind enlightened by Marxism-Leninism,

without holding out your hand to foreigners. Not only has the aid of foreigners been very restricted, but as experience has proved, although provided under the disguise of proletarian internationalism, in essence it had an enslaving imperialist character. Believing that it did not have an enslaving character, the Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania accepted this aid in order to set the country on its feet again. But when we saw that with the aid that they provided the Titoites, the Soviet revisionists and those of the countries of Eastern Europe, and Mao Zedong's China had ulterior, hostile, enslaving aims, or intended to turn Albania into an appendage dependent on them, so that it would lose its freedom and independence, we tore the mask from them and told them bluntly and clearly that socialist Albania, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people were not for sale for a handful of rags, or for a few rubles, dinars or yuan, just as they had not sold themselves to the Anglo-American imperialists for their handout of rags or for their pounds sterling and dollars.

For 40 years on end, my valiant Albania, you have kept the honoured flag of Marxism-Leninism flying, just as through the centuries you have kept the flag of freedom flying, the red flag with the two-headed eagle, to which you added a five-pointed star, the star of freedom, the star of socialism and communism.

Not for one moment during the 40 years of life in socialism have you, my people, with the



Party of Labour at the head, allowed the new perfidious and powerful enemies to conquer you. Once again you drew the sword, which was now keener-edged, tempered in the fires of repeated battles, and forged on the anvil of history. With this sword you, my Party, mercilessly struck down the imperialists and reactionaries, struck down the modern revisionists of all hues, and compelled those secret revisionists, who, for their own hegemonic aims, seemed to be, and from time to time posed as if they were, Marxist-Leninists and our friends, to throw off their disguise. With these stands and your lofty example, you, my Party, performed your internationalist duty and, at the same time, told others that the struggle against the revisionist currents must not cease, that there could be no agreement or compromise with them, because they were renegades and traitors. The word of our Party, its clear thinking, its courage and determination, shone forth and became beacon-lights for the peoples and revolutionaries in the world.

You, my socialist Homeland, led by the Party of Labour, waged this heroic struggle with astonishing vigour, and your powerful voice was listened to because you rose resolutely against Titoism which was unmasked in the eyes of the whole world as an ideological and political agency of American imperialism and world reaction. Over a long period you have always struggled and raised your voice against American imperialism and all the reac-

tionary bourgeoisie of the world which seeks to keep the peoples and the proletariat of the whole world under its heel, and in the same way you have raised your voice against the Soviet social-imperialists who are struggling for world hegemony, to oppress the peoples by threatening them with the force of arms and atomic bombs. Later your powerful voice rose to the skies of this troubled world against the practice and theory of Mao Zedong and the entire Chinese leadership which betrayed Marxism-Leninism and set out on the revisionist course to make China an imperialist world superpower.

Infuriated by the just stands, the determination and the courage of a small people and a valiant Party, the imperialist and revisionist enemies left nothing unsaid against us. They speak and write angrily and with evil aims, "What is this people, what is this Party which is making such a clamour, what are these stubborn creatures who are not afraid to oppose powerful states?! They must be crushed, they must be liquidated, they must be brought to their knees, starved into submission through blockades..." However, they are gravely mistaken, as they have always been, because they have not known and have not wanted to know the history of the Albanian people, the manly character of the Albanian, because they have not wanted to recognize what lofty meaning the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the Homeland has always had for the Alba-

nian. As the capitalists, imperialists and reactionaries that they are, they have thought and still think that nothing can withstand their economic and military strength and their ideology. But, you see, the peoples, whether big or small, have the strength to resist enemies. The peoples who fight always triumph; the enemies are quite unable to destroy the Marxist-Leninist parties which stand unwaveringly on their principles. Marxism-Leninism, which guides the proletariat, the genuine communist parties and the peoples who are demanding liberation and their rights, is invincible.

The struggle against Soviet revisionism and all modern revisionism is one of your most brilliant epics, my Party. This heroic struggle is an honour and pride for you, the working class of Albania, for you, the Albanian people, for you, our socialist Albania! All the states of the world, of whatever regime, all the peoples, all the political currents, friendly and hostile, cannot but admit that you are completely free, independent and stand as firm as granite.

Our socialist Albania, you withstood the furious waves of enemies and did not yield. Your just, courageous, revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist stands have made numerous friends and admirers from all countries rally round you; even though you were small, the world proletariat looked and looks to you with hope and trust, because in your course and determination it sees its great idea, Marxism-Leninism, the struggle for the revolution, the strug-

gle for the overthrow of the reactionary forces which oppress and exploit it, accomplished and invincible. You have told and tell the proletariat and the peoples the truth, and the truth has extraordinary importance. The truth gives you vigour, does not allow you to fall into the abyss and break your neck, illuminates the way, opens new paths, causes mighty forces to emerge from the bosom of the people to overcome all the enemies, all the difficulties, and all the intrigues.

With their stands and opinions, socialist Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania have given and give heart and confidence to all and tell the proletariat and the peoples: stand as we stand, fight as we fight, because you will triumph as we have triumphed and are triumphing. Our victory is certain, our victory is a common victory, therefore, we must close our ranks in the heat of the war against enemies. Open fire on the revisionists, betrayers of the working class and the peoples, destroy the imperialist plans of big world capital, because only in this way can the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the Homeland be won, and the revolution develop and triumph. All the talk about taking power by means of reforms is poppycock. The bourgeoisie and capitalism can never agree to allow the working class, the most advanced class in the world to which the future belongs, to take power. On the contrary, every day the enemies of the peoples and the proletariat are preparing sugar-

coated poison pills and forging new chains of enslavement, therefore only by fighting against the old system of the power of capital can the peoples and the proletariat triumph step by step and take power into their own hands. The Party of Labour followed this course and thus the Albanian people were liberated, and so socialist Albania has been built and is advancing.

In all your actions, you, my heroic Party, have had a lofty aim, and have always proceeded cautiously but without fear. Your stand has never been one of crawling, you have never been opportunist, but neither have you been sectarian, you have always marched forward on the Marxist-Leninist course. Your sole aim throughout has been the good of the peoples. You have sincerely loved the genuine Marxist-Leninists, have defended them to the end, and will always defend them in this way. You have always stated your opinions openly, gently when necessary, but you have raised your tone when this has been required. With those who have made mistakes, you have tried patiently to correct them, have advised them wisely, and at the same time, you have listened attentively to any valuable advice and have learned from it. You have supported their correct actions, but when they have been wrong you have criticized them. This is the course you have always followed, but when the cup has been filled and you have been convinced that there is no way other than that of struggle, you have not been afraid but have declared war on enemies and

have never ceased this struggle.

We have never retreated or made any concessions to enemies. History has taught us this, we have learned it not only from our own sufferings and hardships but also from those of all the peoples of the world, from their countless struggles during the centuries.

Marxism-Leninism has opened our eyes with the conclusions drawn from the analyses which it has made of the development of society through the class struggle. It teaches us that the class struggle is the motor of society, which keeps you alive, gives you strength, gives you victory. If you extinguish this struggle the bourgeoisie and capitalism will strangle and enslave you, and our people have never liked slavery. On the contrary, our people have always fought against the grip of slavery. Therefore, our Party has never ceased the class struggle, either internally or in the international arena, and never will cease it, even for a moment. For 40 years on end our people and Party have resolutely opposed and combatted everything old and conservative, opportunist and liberal, all those who have tried openly or secretly to divert us from our correct course, we have fought any force or ideology which has aimed to infect the consciousness of our people, to hinder our march towards better days, towards the present and the more secure future. We have always kept the class struggle ablaze, and it is precisely this great and revolutionizing motive force which has made our

small Homeland unshakeable “either by the cannon, or the bomb,” as the folk song says, that is, either by revisionism, capitalism or reaction.

We have many friends and admirers in the world. Our friends are all the peoples of the world who have a great love and respect for Albania, speak with admiration about our country and our socialist reality, and want to know where we find this strength, because they still do not understand how this reality has been achieved. Therefore, it is our duty to make the victories of the Party of Labour, the Albanian people and socialist Albania known in all their aspects to the peoples, to explain them not only with the present, but with all the glorious past history of the Albanian people. These victories are like a steel chain, the links of which are the revolutionary events inseparable from each other, which represent, at different stages, the permanent ideals of the freedom, independence, democracy and unity of our nation, of our well-being, culture and ceaseless progress. We must explain to our brothers and admiring friends that this chain of the life of the Albanian people has achieved unprecedented toughness at the present day thanks to Marxism-Leninism which we are trying to understand profoundly in all its aspects and to faithfully apply its principles in the conditions of our country and the international situation.

We have not permitted the principles of our foreign policy to be subordinated to the

momentary changes in the world situation. We always take the international political and economic situation into account, but in our relations with other states, in our stands, we have always been guided by the Marxist-Leninist principles because they are the key to the correct understanding and assessment of world events, circumstances that arise, the intrigues and aims of imperialism towards the aspirations of the revolutionary forces, the peoples and the proletariat of each country and the whole world.

Because of all these things, when the red-letter days, the 28th and 29th of November, draw near, socialist Albania celebrates in the full meaning of the term. Everywhere there is rejoicing over the work, the achievements and the fine new life. The whole people sing about and rejoice over the great victories that have been achieved in all fields, the new socialist life, the security and great and clear prospects for the future.

I feel boundless satisfaction when I see on the TV, hear on the radio, or read in the papers about the great construction work that is going on all over the Homeland, about the triumphs and successes which have been achieved, one after the other, in all fields. It warms my heart when I see our tireless and skilful workers and specialists building dams, constructing machinery, and setting modern plants and combines in action with competence and skill; when I see the cooperativists in the plains, the



hills and the mountains, carefully cultivating the crops and getting yields of world level: when I see the great army of our new socialist intelligentsia, the pupils and students, bending over books or in laboratories, working on sketches and designs, when alongside men, everywhere, I see the Albanian girls and women whom the Party drew into life, working and singing, producing and managing, and raising healthy happy children, the future of the Homeland. The whole of Albania is in movement, in development, in constant progress. Today every inch of it is the scene of construction and creation, and a school, and a barricade insurmountable to the enemies, and a stage where our people, the creators of everything, sing to the Party, to their life, to freedom and socialism.

The people themselves, with the Party at the head, have created such a situation, that is why when they are working and rejoicing, especially when they come to celebrations, our people express with astonishing force the fine pure feelings which inspire them to even greater deeds.

For us, the soldiers of the Party, there can be no greater satisfaction than this, when we see you, our people, masters of your own fate, happy, contented, and free in a sovereign and independent Albania, in an Albania transformed into an impregnable fortress, and with ceaseless socialist development. The satisfaction and pride which we feel is the fruit of the

great victories we have achieved, of our uninterrupted efforts, of our permanent concern to ensure that our Party is always at the head, as our tested guide.

We have lived through the past 40 years as revolutionaries know how to live, build and defend. In these years of the epoch of the Party our dear Albania has been transformed to its very foundations, has known that growth, that renewal, that all-round development which it had not experienced for whole centuries. Everything about it is new and healthy, its appearance and content, its life which is flourishing and gaining new dimensions, the new man endowed with the lofty virtues of the communist ideology, happy and proud about what has been achieved, convinced and conscious about the continuity of our course, of our efforts, our honour and prestige.

During the coming decades the people and the Party, firmly united, as always, will do even more for this dear land, for this country of eagles. Hence, let us guard what we have achieved as the apple of our eye, let us go on consistently to develop it further, to leave the coming generations an Albania ever stronger, always red, like the undying flame of the hearts and ideals of communists and partisans, an Albania which will live and progress through the centuries. I am convinced that the people and the Party will raise our triumphant flag higher and higher, will raise the honour, prestige and

name of socialist Albania higher and higher in the world.

Congratulations on the November celebrations to our beloved socialist Albania!

Congratulations on the celebrations to our heroic people, to our wonderful people!

# PANORAMA

**December 30, 1984**

Today is the last day but one of the year 1984. For us 1984 was the year of the glorious jubilee of the 40th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution, a year of new victories in the building of socialism, in increasing the prosperity of the people, in strengthening the defence and in boosting the authority of our country in the international arena. Of course, this year we have had to cope with and surmount objective difficulties and obstacles, such as the severe drought which lasted more than any other year before, although there were also difficulties and shortcomings due to subjective causes, connected with questions of organization, discipline, etc. What I want to touch on briefly in this panorama of the year 1984 is the general situation and the various developments in the international political situation, which exert their influence on our country, too.

In foreign policy our country continued the line defined at the 8th Congress of the Party: uninterrupted persistent struggle against imperialism, and first of all, against the two imperialist superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, against their vicious policy towards the peoples; support for the

Marxist-Leninist forces, the progressive movements, the struggles for national and social liberation of various peoples; i.e., support for the class battles of the world proletariat and the oppressed peoples for national and social liberation; collaboration with the neighbouring countries on the basis of reciprocal benefit, non-interference in the internal affairs of one another and respect for national sovereignty. The same for the other countries which want to have good relations with our country. With the revisionist countries — collaboration in the field of trade exchanges, without the slightest ideological or political concession or compromise.

Thanks to this correct policy of our country and the good desire of the Greek government, improvements were made in our relations with neighbouring Greece, some agreements of reciprocal benefit were concluded, which, in my opinion, will open up the road of strengthening the ties of the ancient friendship between our two peoples. Our relations with Italy have proceeded somewhat better, although there are possibilities to do more. With Turkey we have good relations, and so have we with some West-European countries and various Arab and African countries, etc.

With Yugoslavia we have had and continue to have problems which are the direct result of the hostile stand of its leadership and of Great-Serb chauvinist circles. Even though the Yugoslav leading circles suffered defeat in the inter-

national arena, they continue to slander and accuse us, holding us responsible for the grievous events and the ensuing bloodbath which occurred in Kosova in 1981, calling us instigators of these events, supporters of nationalism and irredentism in Kosova and saying that we want the disintegration of the Yugoslav Federation. With this pretext they have intensified the repressive measures and persecution of our brothers in Kosova and in the other Albanian regions in Yugoslavia, and are trying by all manner of means to damage and impede the building of socialism in Albania.

We have continuously made it clear, in an official and public manner, in speeches, articles and government documents, that we have in no way been involved in what occurred in Kosova in 1981. The events in Kosova at that time were the consequences of the chauvinist policy of repression and discrimination against the Albanians, of the exploitation of the colossal assets of Kosova and the abandonment of its Albanian population of Kosova in economic, cultural and social backwardness, they were the consequence of the negation of their historic past. We have done nothing other but have defended their just demands for the preservation of their national patrimony and traditions, human dignity, their demand for proclaiming Kosova a republic, etc., rights which are recognized even in the Constitution of the Yugoslav Federation. We have given

and will give this support in the future, too, without backing down an inch. Our stand over this question is based on international law and this does not constitute an interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. We have rejected and again reject the accusation that we want the disintegration of Yugoslavia. No, we have never said so and have never desired such a thing. On the contrary, we have declared several times officially that we are against the disintegration of Yugoslavia, indeed, we have said that the Albanian people will go to assist the just war of the peoples of Yugoslavia if they are attacked by the imperialist superpowers or anyone else. The Yugoslav chauvinists have never pledged to do such a thing. On the contrary, their anti-Albanian policy has posed and continues to pose a grave threat to our people.

The Yugoslavs themselves, who sabotaged and then broke off the cultural relations with us, and especially those we had with the Autonomous Region of Kosova, hoped that we would not accept their "proposal" for new cultural relations. But when we not only accepted them, but also presented our concrete proposals for the continuation, and indeed, extension of them, if they desired so, they made an about-face, raising many obstacles so that such an agreement should not be concluded by any means.

Our country has respected and fulfilled the joint agreements which we have signed with

Yugoslavia. One of them was about the building of the Shkodra-Titograd railway. We completed with success our part of this railway. They raised many obstacles. Now they promise that they will complete their part in 1985. Let us wait and see!

Our stand towards Yugoslavia is clear-cut and completely correct. It has met with approval in the international arena, too. There is no reason why the Yugoslavs should expect us to make a change, or demand that we open up. The ball, on this question, has been and remains in their half of the lawn. If they really want it, many things can be settled and relations can be placed on healthy and correct bases. But for this to be done, the Yugoslav leadership must desist from its anti-Albanian policy and from the denationalizing and repressive actions against the Kosovars and the Albanians who live in their own territories in Yugoslavia and should recognize the rights which the Yugoslav Constitution gives them.

Why do the Yugoslav chauvinists maintain this negative, totally illogical and reactionary stand towards our country and people?

For their part, they have done nothing against our country without being conscious of it. The rabid Serb chauvinists are anti-Albanian in their very blood. They have never thought well of our people. On the contrary, they have thought and worked openly and undercover in order to subjugate them completely and, as documents show, to turn our



country into the seventh republic of their Federation, that is, not to cede Kosova, but to gobble up the PSR of Albania too and to have them under the Great-Serb predatory and denationalizing savage rule. There is also another reason for this. The Titoites cannot tolerate that a socialist country such as Albania, a completely independent country, with economic and political stability, with clear perspectives, without debts and credits, which does not submit to the military-political-economic blocs and groupings of one or the other superpower, a country which serves as an example to the international proletariat and the freedom-loving peoples of the whole world, hence, to the peoples that make up Yugoslavia, too, should exist and flourish on the border with them.

Yugoslavia today is the worst example of social, political, economic and national degeneration in the Balkans and in Europe. We Albanians say this not because we want "to malign and discredit" Yugoslavia and its ideology, Titoism. No, this is said also by the Yugoslav press, officials, economists and politicians even in open talks and at official meetings, or even in their top-level organs. Sometimes the one, sometimes the other, they sound the alarm in order to avoid the economic catastrophe which threatens them at every step. Self-administration is now considered the root of all evils. Tito has become a target of attack, even though not quite openly as yet. Strife among nations has broken out all over the

country and today the problem does not boil down to the question of Kosova and the Kosovars, or the Albanians in Yugoslavia. The Croats, the Slovenes, the Macedonians and others are now demanding more rights and secession from the Great-Serb rule. The influence of the Catholic Church and the Pope has increased in Croatia, that of Islam in Bosnia, the pressure of the Orthodox Church in Serbia, etc.

The movement of dissidents, of those who allegedly demand more radical reforms and who, in fact, want to take the government of the country into their hands, is now under the protection of definite internal and external circles. International monopolies require and get double guarantee for the credits they have accorded and for the profits they expect to make, otherwise they threaten to turn off the tap.

This is not the place to make a comprehensive analysis of the catastrophic political, economic and social situation in which Yugoslavia finds itself today. I have made several such analyses, some of them even during this year, and, in general, the opinions of our Party about the situation in Yugoslavia have proved to be thoroughly true. Here I just want to stress that this situation of complete disintegration is the consequence of the capitalist-bourgeois system itself which the Tito clique set up with so much ado and which it advertised throughout the world as the most democratic, most liberal, most advanced socialist state of a specific type. How liberal, how democratic and to what ex-

tent socialist this state is, this was revealed and is being revealed in the barbarous, oppressive and denationalizing actions which the Great Serbs have perpetrated and are perpetrating against the Albanian population in Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro.

During 1984, apart from the usual plots and sabotage activities of the imperialist superpowers, we have had to cope not only with the anti-Albanian attacks and actions of the Great-Serb chauvinists, but also with those of reaction and, mainly, the Greek bishops and the Vorio-Epirote chauvinist circles, that have left nothing undone in order to poison the atmosphere and impede the rapprochement between Greece and our country. The Pope of the Vatican, the Pole Wojtyla, also, joined the campaign of slanders and attacks against our country and people, and against the construction of socialism in Albania. In all this it is not hard to see a secret malevolent collusion between the Great-Serb chauvinist and reactionary forces, the Greek fascist forces and the centre of international obscurantism, the Vatican. But we have become hardened to such slanders, attacks and conspiracies. We know them, we have coped with them and we have defeated them mercilessly. That will happen in the future, too.

World capitalism calls Albania an “anachronistic” country because it stands face to face with imperialism and revisionism, with their

intrigues, diversion and deceptions. We are not impressed by their economic and military potential. We do not and will not forget what J.V. Stalin said about this question in 1928:

*“It would be sheer madness to think that international capital would leave us in peace.”*<sup>1</sup>

We are optimists because we are Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries.

Our foreign policy, our stands, analyses and conclusions about various international events have completely justified themselves. The life, the development of events around us and all over the world have shown that we were right, not our opponents and enemies.

Let me return to the positive developments that occurred in our relations with Greece, about which there was great repercussion in international public opinion.

I want to stress right from the beginning that what has been achieved, which, through goodwill, should certainly be carried ahead with the repeal of the absurd law on the state of war with our country on the part of the Greek government, is the result of the consistent stand of our country based on the principles of its foreign policy of good neighbourliness with all the countries around us, on the basis of reciprocal benefit, non-interference in the internal affairs of one another, while making no ideological or political concessions. As

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<sup>1</sup> J.V. Stalin, *Works*, vol. 11, p. 55, Alb. ed.

soon as we make known an official visit to Italy, to Greece, to Turkey or some other place, indeed, even when we send our athletes to participate in some international event, as happened in the case of the international athletic meeting in Nice of France, the bourgeois and revisionist propaganda, as usual, begins to rumour that Albania is “opening up” to the West. Now, too, it continues to blow the same broken bugle.

How much wrong are those who always mistake our resolute and clear-cut political stands. From the founding of our People’s Republic we have pursued this policy which we are pursuing today. We have always been in favour of rapprochement between our country and our neighbours and understanding with them. It is the others who have shown no understanding for our policy of good neighbourliness, or have responded to it hesitatingly, because, as our people say, they “had the devil in their bowels.” So, whenever the lofty interests of our Homeland have required it, we have been for such “opening up” and will continue to be for it in the future too, but not for “integration,” for “selling out the freedom and the wealth of the Homeland,” for “relations and alliances” with the aggressive political-military groupings of the one or the other superpower. Let no one deceive himself on that score.

As the propaganda has it, we have been compelled to make this “opening up” for our internal needs, in order to get over the difficul-

ties which emerged for us after our “rupture” with China, and for modern technology. This is cock-and-bull story. First thing, it is not true that we “broke away” from China. It is the revisionist and capitalist leaders of China who went over to anti-Albanian actions which ended with the Chinese unilaterally breaking off the agreements of economic collaboration with our country, and all this because we strove to convince them that they were pursuing a counter-revolutionary foreign policy and were sliding more and more deeply into reprehensible actions and alliances with American imperialism. And we knew what might be the consequences of this stand of our Party and country towards China, that is, we were conscious that there would be economic consequences for us, just as there were when we exposed the treacherous actions of the Khrushchevite revisionists. Therefore, we had taken the necessary measures.

We began to have trade relations with the other countries, not this year or last year, but since we founded our new state. Our trade has had at its basis the principle of reciprocal benefit, give and take, without credits and loans conditioned on political concessions, except for the period when we thought that the Yugoslavs, the Soviets, and the Chinese later, were our friends and that their countries, as socialist and internationalist countries, were duty-bound to assist us as a small country we were. We accepted credits, which we intended to pay

to the letter, and that is what we did, and today in fact we are not indebted to anyone. On the contrary, they are indebted to us, because with their actions they behaved as revisionists, as traitors to Marxism-Leninism, and sabotaged and damaged our economy. Their credits represented only a very small part of the economic-financial potential of our country. Hence, we have been and are for balanced trade exchanges, without discrimination and restrictive measures, without any political commitment, without putting up for auction the lofty national interests of the country, of socialism and of Marxism-Leninism, at any time and under any circumstances.

As I said earlier, they now bring up the improvement of our relations with Greece as an example of our “opening up” to the West. It depends on how and from what angle the question is seen, from what positions and with what aims it is commented on, because the improvement of our relations with Greece occurred in definite political moments and circumstances which facilitated this process.

Each state has its own political strategy and pursues a well-defined tactics depending on the conditions and circumstances created by unforeseen factors, or those which result from the previous actions on the basis of a given strategy. Our country, too, has its own strategy and tactics in foreign policy. They have been defined and proclaimed publicly at the various congresses of the Party.

In the concrete case we have always been for relations with Greece, indeed we have requested and waited patiently for relations of good neighbourliness to be established with this country, because such a thing is in the interest of our two peoples. Now that the Yugoslav chauvinists, anti-Albanian to the core, in unison with imperialism, international reaction and any other fascist force, are throwing all the stones they can against socialist Albania, hatching up plots in order to impede our constructive work, we had to and did take the necessary defensive measures. We could not allow the Titoites to do as they liked with our rights, to try to isolate us, to sabotage us, as they did when they interfered with our vehicles carrying our goods to the markets of Western Europe, etc. That would be impermissible. So, in these conditions we negotiated and concluded an agreement with the Italian government for the opening of a ferry boat line to transport our goods to the countries with which we have trade agreements; we talked and reached positive results with the Greek government for the signing of some agreements of reciprocal benefit; we decided to open the border crossing point at Kakavija as a gesture of friendship, etc. These measures were required by the lofty interests of our Homeland and we did this without allowing any concessions and without making any compromise to the detriment of our ideology and policy and without jeopardizing and interfering in the least in the



internal affairs of others.

During this year the reactionary Greek forces, the representatives of the Orthodox Church, the Vorio-Epirote reactionary circles and their supporters, the American imperialists, were a cause of concern for us. They brought pressure to bear on us, they organized provocations up to the point of blowing up the cars of our embassy in Athens and demonstrating threateningly in front of it against the supposed ill-treatment of the Greek minority in Albania, etc. In these grave moments, some circles, including the Titoite ones, hoped that we would fall into the trap of reaction, that is, we would cut diplomatic relations with Greece. But we did not fall in for it. We knew that such situations were temporary, that they expressed the disarray and defeat of the Greek and foreign reactionary and anti-Albanian forces. They were not and could not be the work of the friendly Greek people, with whom we have fought together not just once, for the same aims. And we were not wrong. The storm spent its rage and the days of calm set in, when the Greek government itself took the first steps towards concrete relations, towards rapprochement and good neighbourly relations. On this basis and with common understanding we reached those results which I mentioned above. All this was in the interest of the Greek people and in the interest of our people.

The positive fact for us is that the reactionary Greek forces, the bishops, the most reac-

tionary representatives of the Vorio-Epirote circles, their supporters and backers in the United States of America were isolated; the honest and progressive Greeks rejoiced. The Yugoslav Titoites, who incited and expected explosions between Greece and Albania were isolated and suffered a fiasco; their propaganda in the international arena that "Albania is against peace and represents a warmongering country in the Balkans," etc., suffered a complete failure.

The Greek press now writes that the slanders of the reactionary circles about the ill-treatment of and the denial of rights to the Greek minority in Albania are devoid of any basis and that the Greek minority people in our country live in normal conditions, enjoying all the constitutional rights, are happy, etc...

We do not forget the bitter lessons of the history of our country, either. The bourgeoisie and the reactionary, chauvinist and fascist groupings in the countries bordering on us have more than once in the past collaborated to divide up Albania into their zones of influence and have clashed whenever one of them has tried to violate "the tacit joint agreement on Albania." Even though many years have gone by since that time and Albania is no longer what it was and allows no one "to take an interest" in its destinies, the policy of these reactionary circles towards socialist Albania has not changed much.

Likewise, we notice that our policy of good

neighbourliness and reciprocal benefit towards this or that country makes this bourgeoisie and these reactionary circles jealous and angry, as though Albania were their "estate." This strange jealousy and anger is being manifested by the Yugoslav chauvinists over the further improvement of our relations with Greece and Italy, over the strengthening of our relations with some European countries, with the countries of the Arab world, etc.

Why does it seem strange to them? Why are they concerned? This is their business. We have not consulted, do not consult and will never consult Belgrade or any other capital, whichever it may be, about what we do and what we intend to do in the interest of our socialist country and Homeland.

The hopes which are nourished and propagated again now, as occurred when we put the Khrushchevites and the Chinese revisionists in their places, that the day has come for "someone else" to set foot in Albania, or that Albania would fall under the control and influence of the Americans or the Soviets, the French, the British or the Germans, not through force, but through "well-wishing" offers of aid on "favourable terms" to enable us "to make progress," "to correct" and "to modernize" our industry and economy, etc., etc., are futile. We are not in need of that kind of "modernization" about which Tito and the Yugoslav Titoites boasted so much, about what the Chinese revisionists-are talking or the bourgeoisie and the

revisionists are suggesting now, modernization on credits, with smothering debts on denigrating and enslaving terms. We shall never put such chains round the neck of our people. Today we have built an advanced economy and are in a position to march ahead with our own forces, that is, to modernize and equip our economy with advanced technology from its own income, with its own fine goods which are in demand everywhere.

The question of Albania and its future is discussed in the leading circles of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. Both the one grouping and the other from time to time prompt this country or that to offer us "sincere aid" in order to get over difficult situations. They pity the rider because his feet are dangling, as a saying of our people goes.

We put it clearly for all the short-sighted dreamers that neither the one nor the other, neither Soviet social-imperialists nor American imperialists or anyone else, can ever set foot again on the Albanian soil; they will never again be given the right to set up military bases and concentrate their troops here. We have our experience with foreign military bases. As long as the Soviet military base set up in our country, in the framework of the former socialist camp, had defensive aims, we accepted it, but when Khrushchevite revisionism showed its aggressive imperialist teeth, we denounced it and drove it out. In that case we did our internationalist duty. It is up to the neighbouring

peoples to take a stand towards foreign military bases in their own territories, which are directed against the neighbouring peoples and countries, otherwise there are great dangers in store for them, too.

Their direct and indirect pressure, as well as that which is exercised through their tools, whichever they are, have no effect on us. We are afraid of nobody, we molest nobody, while, on the other hand, we allow nobody to molest us, but we have always demanded our due and will demand and defend it to the end. We have borne up so many years, we shall still bear up, but we will not renounce our due. Those who killed and massacred our people during the Second World War, who damaged us materially, will have to respond materially. Those who withhold the gold which was robbed from us must return it to us. The enemies of socialist Albania and its heroic and indomitable ancient people are striving and waiting in vain for such an "opening up," which would lead us to their clutches and their pen.

We will go ahead. We do not deny that we have difficulties. They are difficulties of growth, but they are also connected with the obstacles which the imperialists, social-imperialists and revisionists, and the chauvinist and reactionary forces of all colours raise on our road. Anyway, we have now got used to this situation. The victories, which have become the basis for our further advance, have been achieved with our own forces, with our own

wealth, with our own toil and with the knowledge of our sons and daughters. We shall proceed on this road in the future, too, because today we are stronger and have more experience than in the past, we are always on the ascent, we have our glorious Party which leads us with wisdom and Marxist-Leninist determination, we have our working class, a healthy intelligentsia, a revolutionary and healthy youth, we have a wonderful people. We are preparing the 8th Five-year Plan of our economic and cultural development full of optimism. This plan, precisely because of the conditions in which we are living and working, is based entirely on our internal material, financial and human resources. Albania has chosen its road and nothing and no force, neither adulation, nor promises, pressure and plots of the superpowers and of their allies and vassals can swerve it from this road.

As we have said, the present international situation is complicated, indeed, very complicated and grave. We are going through a period of dangerous provocations. The armaments race between the superpowers has grown and extended into outer space, and with the preparations for the so-called star wars, is posing an extremely grave threat to mankind; the hotbeds of local wars have increased, the policy of armed aggressions, of the threat of the use of modern destructive weapons by the United States of America and the Soviet Union, has

been intensified: the liberation wars of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America continue to be sabotaged; the just struggle of the Palestinian people and the other Arab peoples continues to be sabotaged; the fascist forces continue to increase and grow stronger, etc., etc. Nothing impedes the two superpowers from elbowing out one another even in the cases when millions of people fall victim to ill-administration or natural calamities, as is occurring in Ethiopia, where under the pretext of the famine which is threatening some millions of lives, whose urgent needs for food the Soviet Union, the “great ally” of Ethiopia, is in no position to cope with, the imperialist states, and in the first place, the United States of America, have intervened in order to give their “aid.”

I have written sundry notes and analyses in my *Diary* about all these problems. Today I want to dwell a little on the development of events in China, on the evolution of this country towards capitalism and its links with the world capitalist system, and on the deals between the two imperialist superpowers.

Our Party’s forecasts about the road on which the Deng Xiaoping clique and company would lead China and its people is being confirmed to the hilt.

China has ended up completely in the orbit of world capitalism. Its links with the United States of America, in particular, are all-sided, they extend into all fields. Political, economic

and military delegations are shuttling back and forth. Time and again, for the sake of making some demagogic noise, there is the odd word about some “disagreement” and “discordance,” whereas, in fact, there is only agreement and accord between them.

The western capitalist-monopoly world is fully satisfied with the internal developments in China. Why should it not be satisfied? By decision of the plenum of the Central Committee of the Chinese revisionist party, it was officially decided to change the existing economic structure with the main objective of opening China up to the outside world, that is, to foreign capital; Titoite self-administration has been established in factories and plants; private property and even the use of hired labour has been restored in the rural areas; the private market and trade, and the right of the private exercise of handicrafts have been revived; political rights have been recognized to 20 million Chinese, former rich peasants, landowners, counter-revolutionaries and evil elements; special economic regions, foreign capitalist enclaves, have been created in almost all the big coastal cities; the international banks and the big monopolies have been given the right of opening their agencies in Beijing and in the main Chinese cities, and many, many other things.

In November of this year, Dalian, one of the big cities of China, was the venue of the “International Conference on Foreign Invest-



ments and Their Legal Aspects in China,” with the participation of 250 Chinese and American experts, firm managers, legal experts and bankers, among them there was also the former American Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance.

From 1979 until today, purchasers’ loan credits from foreign governments and international organizations have reached 12 billion 500 thousand dollars, and direct foreign investments 8 billion dollars. The Chinese Minister of Finance, as the Xinhua news agency reports, at a meeting with a delegation of the commission of the American Senate for banking, housing and town-planning, declared that “China will continue to open its doors to all countries, big and small,” and that “measures have been taken and will continue to be taken to protect the interests of foreign investors.” According to him, “until the end of 1984 the foreign trade companies have invested up to 3-4 billion dollars for the setting up of enterprises with joint or separate capital in China.”

That is how the counter-revolutionary clique of Deng Xiaoping flung open not only both doors, but all the four doors of China to international monopoly capital and, in the first place, to American capital.

What are the consequences of such a situation?

About the internal situation in China we hear today the same things as those we hear about the United States of America and some other capitalist countries: the youth are going

down the road of full degeneration, and violence, hooliganism, rape, etc., etc., are becoming widespread.

Deng Xiaoping and his followers, who have apparently eliminated their rivals for power, are trying under sundry disguises, including here even some theses of scientific Marxism and Mao Zedong's thought grafted on Buddhism, to find and apply a "socialism with Chinese characteristics," that is, a monstrous socialism originating from the grafting of classical capitalism on Titoite modern revisionism.

The West describes these efforts, changes and decisions of Deng Xiaoping and his clique in China as "victories of the course of Deng Xiaoping," whereas the Titoite revisionists, in their newspaper *Politika*, appraise them as China's entry "into the epoch of the most revolutionary changes in its socialist history"!

The turn in the capitalist direction in China, just as occurred in Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries, leads to the deepening of the polarization in policy and in the economy between the ruling class of the new bourgeoisie, which is growing ever richer, on the one hand, and the working masses, which are becoming ever poorer, on the other. Deng Xiaoping says that in China there is no room for the "emergence of a new bourgeoisie and for millionaires." Nonsense! The example of Yugoslavia, which he has as his guide, shows not only that a new bourgeoi-

sie, just as oppressive and savage towards the peoples as the capitalist bourgeoisie in any other country, is emerging and fattening, but also that millionaires who make the law in every field are emerging, too. We have this example in the Soviet Union, where a new revisionist bourgeoisie has emerged which is fattening at the expense of the glorious peoples of this country, formerly was the cradle of the proletarian socialist revolution. China has been ruled by a cunning bourgeoisie and by internal and external millionaires. This rule today is expanding and growing ever stronger.

In the case of China we have to do also with a specific characteristic due to its very great geographical extension, its huge population and its colossal natural wealth. The imposition of capitalism and its mercilessly enslaving laws on the Chinese working masses will create much greater problems there than in Yugoslavia. The Titoite capitalist economy, for instance, until now has needed 20 billion dollars in order to remain on its feet. The Chinese economy will need several hundred billion dollars, which, just as in Yugoslavia, will bring along the shackles of capitalist enslavement, the ruthless plunder of the national wealth and political subjugation up to the loss of national independence. Will the hundreds of millions of Chinese, the Chinese working class, the proletariat and the long-suffering peasantry, tolerate this subjugation? Will Deng's rivals for power in the Chinese leadership allow him to

go in this career?

Our Party has never made unfounded allusions and forecasts. The analyses it has made hitherto have been based on concrete events and facts about China or any other country, relying on historical and dialectical materialism, on Marxism-Leninism. As I have written above, they have never proved to be false, but have been confirmed fully for the overwhelming part of them. We are convinced that the ideas expressed here in connection with the future course of events in China, after the rapid career of Deng Xiaoping towards the restoration of capitalism, which Deng calls “socialism with Chinese characteristics,” will find their confirmation in practice.

As for the “tense” relations between the United States of America and the Soviet Union, that is, between the two imperialist superpowers who think to be the only ones who can ravel and unravel all the problems of the world, can rule and repeal any decision on any question which it is up to other peoples and countries to solve, there was an “easing” in the end of 1984. To this end, after Reagan’s election for a second term of office as President of the USA, the “red and black” direct telephone lines between Moscow and Washington were ticking to give the world the “good tidings”: At the beginning of 1985 Schultz and Gromyko will meet in Geneva in order to come to an accord about starting negotiations for concluding an agreement on stopping the armaments

race of nuclear missiles “on earth and above the earth,” that is, a “gentlemen’s agreement,” or, better say, an agreement among hucksters.

The “good tidings” were instantly accompanied by reciprocal smiles, propaganda and demagogic statements about the “desire and goodwill” of the United States and the Soviet Union for “peace,” “disarmament,” etc., etc.

However, the peoples today are not easily deceived by these repeated “rapprochements” and “cooling” between the two imperialist superpowers, with the “smiles and grins” of their topmost representatives. Experience has taught them to expect nothing good and favourable from the superpowers, pretenders to world domination.

What is hidden behind the recent diplomatic and political steps of Moscow and Washington? What are the rulers of the United States of America and the Soviet Union hatching up against the peoples and the world? Why will they sit at the table of top-secret negotiations in Geneva? Only to defend the interests of their predatory policies.

Fearing the superiority one might have gained over the other in the feverish armaments race of conventional and sophisticated weapons, in the first place, they will try to worm into each other’s secrets of a general or specific character about some weapon or system of weapons, to the extent this is possible, of course, because, as our people say, the snake never shows its feet. Second, they will

try to bring pressure to bear on one another through the threat of the use of new weapons, for a redivision of the spheres of political, military and economic influence, etc. Since the division of the spheres of influence between them on the earth has already ended, now they are trying to elbow one another out of new spaces, that is, the struggle has begun for the division of spheres of influence in endless outer space, the occupation of this or that planet of the solar system in order to prospect for and find even there valuable strategic minerals which they need for their war industry, and set up military bases from which they can strike at one another.

The superpowers have filled outer space with spy satellites, with missiles and anti-missiles equipped with systems of lethal laser rays, with means of communications, etc. A real chaos with high risks of collision. The imperialist-revisionist chiefs will meet in Geneva in order to talk about this, too, and try to put some "order," to reach a kind of *modus vivendi* in the "administration" of this infinite space, until the psychosis of losing the race overcomes them again.

At the same time, with the demonstration of the potential of their weapons and with the noise they make about the threat these weapons pose, they try to intimidate the peoples of the world who fight for national and social liberation, and the revolutionary forces, the proletariat and the other working masses.

Thus, the two superpowers strive to maintain an equilibrium of their destructive military forces, so that the one is as strong as the other in amounts of armaments, means and effectives, so that they can impose themselves on the other countries and peoples, and can cope with the deals for the division and redivision of the spheres of influence through huckstering, without the risk of the outbreak of a war that would lead to their mutual destruction and annihilation.

Our Party has expressed its opinion long ago: there is and can be no disarmament by the imperialist superpowers. They neither want disarmament nor think about it, otherwise, they would have to give up their policy for the conquest of the world, the colossal profits they make from the armaments race, stirring up and organizing hotbeds of fratricidal wars and sabotaging and disrupting the just wars of the peoples and the social revolutions. Yes, they are for "disarmament," but for the disarmament of the freedom-loving peoples, the world proletariat, and the working masses, so that they can carry out their sinister plots more rapidly and more easily.

The illusions and hopes which the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists want to create about the blessings that may be expected from the American-Soviet meetings in Geneva or elsewhere, are very dangerous and fraught with grave consequences for the destinies of the peoples, for their freedom and national inde-

pendence. The show of the economic, political and military might of capitalism, whether American or Soviet, despite all its weapons, should not intimidate the peoples who are languishing under colonialist and neo-colonialist domination and fighting to win their freedom, the genuine Marxist-Leninist forces and the revolutionary proletarians. Capitalism is strong only when it is not fought with force and resolve. Its "strength" is smashed to pieces when confronted with the colossal strength of the revolutionary and freedom-loving sentiments and aspirations of the proletarians and the peoples. Socialist Albania will never get caught in the cobweb of the demagogic propaganda about disarmament. On the contrary, it will employ all the means at its disposal to ceaselessly strengthen and increase its defence capacity in order to be in a position to cope with any aggression which might come from its enemies of all hues.

The two imperialist superpowers are compelled to take a "wise" and "logical" course, because they have another great worry, which came out very clearly during 1984, namely, the alarming situation in their rear area, within the political, military and economic groupings of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, the European Common Market and Comecon. With this I am referring to the opposition not only by the peoples of the member countries of these groupings to the dangerous political activities and economic pressure, the trampling under-



foot of the national independence and dignity on the part of the United States of America and the Soviet Union, but also by some governments and leading circles in these countries. Of course, opposition by these governments and leading circles is not an expression of a revival of genuine national feelings, but rather a manifestation of fear of the further extension of the revolutionary spirit and actions of the peoples, the working masses of the European countries.

On some occasions we have seen that the dictate of the one or the other superpower on this or that "ally" has become so intolerable as to arouse open disagreements with the "big boss" who tightens the screws continuously on them. It is not accidental, for example, that the stationing of the "Euromissiles" ("Pershing-2" and "Cruise" by the American imperialists and "SS-20" by the Soviet social-imperialists) in the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Britain, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic did not proceed without resistance, without much political and diplomatic pressure and manoeuvring. Indeed, the government of some countries, as is the case of Holland, Belgium, Denmark, etc., continue to this day to resist and accept the stationing of these missiles on their own territory only on some conditions. The "allies" are now clearly understanding that in an eventual conflict between the two superpowers, their countries are destined to become the battlefields of a thermonuclear war. Thus, they see that Washing-

ton and Moscow may suddenly and perfidiously raise atomic mushrooms, with their incalculable consequences, in the skies and over the territories of these countries at any moment in order to avoid reciprocal strikes of the territories of the United States of America and the Soviet Union.

Faced with this mortal danger, heads of state and government of the NATO member countries have gone to Washington to demand "explanations," to get "guarantees" and express the opposition of European public opinion to the unwise and arrogant actions of the United States of America. For their part, the President and Vice-President of the USA, the Secretaries of the State and Defence Departments are shuttling back and forth in the capitals of Western Europe in order to convince their "allies" to accept the accomplished fact, through economic and political pressure and dictate, even through the threat of withdrawing the American military forces from Western Europe and leaving it exposed to the pressure of a possible aggression on the part of the Soviet social-imperialist armies.

The situation within the so-called socialist community has been no less troubled. Some of the "allies" of the Soviet Union are demanding more freedoms to link up with the rich countries of Western Europe and carry out economic "reforms" of the Titoite type; some demand more rights within the framework of the military Warsaw Treaty. News agencies

and the press, in general, are talking, and there must be some truth in all this, about “disagreements” within the Comecon, about “voices” raised against excessive dependence on the Soviets, and about a “lack of desire” to renew the Warsaw Treaty, or demands to soften at least some of the conditions which make absolute the dictatorial and one-sided control and direction by the Soviet officers.

There is no smoke without fire. In Poland the fire and the smoke have leapt up over the roof. At the moment of the exacerbation of the grave economic crisis which has the capitalist and revisionist world in its grip, the Soviet Union has many a time used the economic relations with its allies in the Warsaw Treaty as a means of political pressure on some “disobedient” ally, or too inclined towards the West which, of course, has caused reactions. Honecker, Ceausescu and Zhivkov had planned to pay official visits to the Federal Republic of Germany, with whose leading political, economic and military circles they have traditionally had good relations and are ready to renew them to the highest possible level. None of them denies the fact that they are especially attracted by the economic potential of Bonn. But Moscow intervened and the visits were put off *sine die*.<sup>1</sup> Some of the “personalities” I mentioned made a protest, raised their voices, showed signs of discontentment, kicked up a

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<sup>1</sup> Indefinitely (Latin in the original).

little, etc., but gave in under the threat of the Moscovite conductor's baton.

Hence, there are "prodigal sons" within the political, military and economic groupings of the two superpowers. Some are more vexatious, some are mellow, some act openly and some in disguise. Anyhow, life is proving what our Party has said many years ago, namely, that these kinds of grouping are like basketfuls of crabs quarrelling and biting one another without mercy or ceremony.

The perspective, the prognosis, is gloomier still. The forecast for the year 1985 for the two superpowers has no clear sky, but an overcast one accompanied with local rain and snow fall, as well as storms and strong winds!





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