

Albania today

**6-th CONGRESS
OF THE P.L.A.**

**30-th ANNIVERSARY
OF THE PARTY
OF LABOR
OF ALBANIA**

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In the hall of the 6th Congress of the PLA.
In the tribune comrade Enver Hoxha delivering the report.

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THE 6th CONGRESS OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA HELD ITS PROCEEDINGS IN TIRANA ON NOVEMBER 1-7, IN THE DAYS OF THE JUBILEE OF THE 30th ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PARTY.

THE FIRST ISSUE OF THE REVIEW «ALBANIA TODAY» IS DEVOTED TO THESE TWO EVENTS OF HISTORIC IMPORTANCE TO OUR COUNTRY'S LIFE.

FORWARD TOWARDS NEW VICTORIES FOR THE HAPPINESS AND PROSPERITY OF OUR PEOPLE AND SOCIALIST FATHERLAND

— FROM COMRADE ENVER HOXHA'S
REPORT AT THE 6th CONGRESS OF THE PLA

Follows a summary of the report of the activity of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania submitted by the First Secretary of the CC of the P.L.A Enver Hoxha at the sixth Congress of the P.L.A which opened in Tirana.

Dear comrade delegates,

The 6th Congress of the Party has been called to draw up a balance-sheet of the self-sacrificing and heroic work the communists and all our people have done during these five years for the unceasing development of the revolution and the

successful construction of socialism in Albania. As the highest forum of the party, it has the great honor and responsibility of defining the fundamental objectives for the coming period, the tasks of the party, and the ways of realizing them.

Our 6th Congress is meeting on the eve of great celebration, the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of our heroic Party of Labour. The thirty years of the life of the party are thirty years of glorious battles and victories, thirty years of titanic struggle and work for the creation and building of new Albania.

The glory of all these victories belongs to the heroic sons and daughters who sacrificed their lives for the noble ideals

of the party and people, to those who have merged all their physical and mental energies for the strengthening and prosperity of our socialist fatherland, to our working class, the laboring peasantry, the people's intelligentsia, to all our people who carry forward the cause of socialism in Albania courageously and with a lofty revolutionary spirit.

Embodied in all the achievements attained during these thirty years is the consistent and principled line of our party. Its foundation has always been the life-giving teachings of Marxism-Leninism, which our party has applied in a creative way and has defended with determination. These teachings have been the compass which has guided us in all battles. They have always illuminated our revolutionary path and will continue to do so.

Fierce waves have surged and crashed against our party and our socialist Albania during these years. The imperialists, revisionists and all the other internal and external enemies have tried in a thousand ways to turn us from the right road, to stop our triumphant march. But our party and people have stood like a granite rock and have smashed their attempts to conquer us and force us to our knees.

Our people have always emerged victorious because they have had and continue to have a strong revolutionary party which has always maintained keen vigilance and kept the edge of the class struggle sharp, because a steel-like and unwavering unity has been wrought between the party and the people. In our struggle, we have never been isolated and alone. Our party and people have always had and felt close to them the powerful aid and support and solidarity of the Marxist-Leninist parties, of the peoples of socialist countries, of all the revolutionaries and progressive-minded peoples of the world.

Our party comes to this congress with rich experience and great results, with an unbreakable unity of its ranks, ready to undertake new and heavier burdens for the welfare and happiness of the people, determined to carry the cause of socialism and revolution through to the end.

The proceedings and decisions of the 6th Congress will undoubtedly give a new and powerful impetus to our revolutionary work and struggle, to the all-round development of our economy and culture, to the raising of the well-being of the people, so that our fatherland will always stand as an invincible citadel of socialism, so that our party will as always, hold high and unsullied the victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism.

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA

Our 6th Congress is meeting at a time when major contradictions and confrontations exist on a world scale, when, as never before, large class, political, economic and military

forces, have been assembled and face one another throughout the globe.

The forces of imperialism, revisionism and reaction stand on one side of the barricade, while the forces of socialism, the people's front headed by the international working class, stand on the other. The line of demarcation between them is becoming more and more distinct in all fields.

The correct understanding of these contradictions, the realistic and objective examination of the ratio of forces which are at work on the international arena, the recognition of the basic tendencies of the present world development, have decisive importance in the struggle against imperialism and revisionism, in the struggle for the triumph of revolution.

The Tendency Of The Present World Development Is Revolution And The Triumph Of Socialism

The events which have taken place in the world during these last five years have confirmed the correct assessment which our party made of the situation and the tendencies of the development of international relations at its 5th Congress. In analyzing the situation in the world now, we must stress not only that it is favorable to the revolution, but also that the revolution is becoming the general aspiration of the peoples.

This assessment of the situation is not merely an optimistic statement, but an expression of the objective reality, of the historical process of world development today, in which the sharpening of social antagonisms and the uninterrupted rise and strengthening of the revolutionary struggles of the peoples, which are shaking the imperialist and revisionist world to its very foundations and which are further deepening its all-round crisis, can be clearly seen.

Today, we are witnesses of the major class encounters between the workers and capital and its state power. The class struggle of the proletariat and the other exploited social strata has assumed such proportions, both as regards the number of participants as well as its intensity, that the present period can be compared with the most critical periods the bourgeoisie of the capitalist countries have passed through. The brilliant battles of the French, Italian, Spanish, English, Belgian and other workers, the positive and negative experiences gained, will leave indelible traces in their minds. Fierce battles are being waged between the workers and capital even in those countries which the bourgeois propaganda has presented as zones of permanent «class peace». The social-democratic myth about «social evolution», about the creation of general well-being under the capitalist system, has been smashed.

The social contradictions have become very acute in the United States itself. The political, economic and social



Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 6th Congress of PLA

crisis of Yankee imperialism has been further deepened and the revolutionary struggle of the U.S. people has been further extended as a result of the failure of U.S. imperialism's external and internal policy. The bastion of imperialism is shaking under the wide-scale revolt of the American colored people for equality and civil rights and of the whole people against the war in Vietnam.

It is important that in these new class battles which are being waged in the capitalist countries, political demands are coming to the fore, the revolutionary consciousness of the workers is increasing, and the breaking away from the influence of social-democrat and revisionist opportunism is becoming ever more marked.

Imperialism and revisionism are drawing down on their own heads the hatred of the peoples, who see the U.S. and Soviet revisionist policy as the danger to their freedom and independence. The peoples love freedom, they are against the brutal interference of the imperialists and revisionists, they condemn their policy of hegemony and blackmail. Anti-U.S. feelings are growing and becoming more powerful everywhere, just as the opposition to Soviet social-imperialism is increasing and becoming more powerful.

Great people's China and Albania, the countries which consistently pursue the Marxist-Leninist line and are building socialism, constitute an important factor in the revolutionary movement, an example of inspiration and encouragement for its extension, and an unshakable base of the support for the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the peoples. Their successes in the socialist revolution, their economic, political and ideological strengthening, their determined, uncompromising struggle waged with success on two fronts, against U.S.-led imperialism and Soviet-led modern revisionism, their clear revolutionary policy, their firm support for the liberation struggle – all these things encourage the peoples and revolutionaries everywhere, strengthen their faith in the victory of their just cause, strengthen their faith in socialism, to which the future belongs.

The role of the People's Republic of China, this powerful bastion of the revolution and socialism, is especially great in the growth and strengthening of the revolutionary movement everywhere in the world.

The triumph of the great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and guided by the great Marxist-Leninist comrade Mao Tse-tung, is a victory and a source of inspiration for the whole world revolutionary movement. The imperialists and revisionists, who by means of their agents endeavoured to strangle the Chinese revolution, were badly disillusioned. The China of Mao Tse-tung remained red, emerged from the cultural revolution a hundred times stronger, the resolute enemy of imperialism and revisionism, the great friend and supporter of the peoples and their struggle.

An important event in the revolutionary movement of recent years is the growth of new Marxist-Leninist parties. Today, in almost all countries of the world Marxist-Leninist parties or organizations have been created, which are arraying themselves in the front ranks of the liberation struggle with increasing success. This is a great historic event testifying to

the vitality of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, proving that the prospect of the revolution and of the victory of socialism is becoming ever clearer.

The increase of the revolutionary forces and the revolutionary impulse in the world indicates that, despite their great and feverish efforts to turn the wheel of history back, imperialism and revisionism have not been, and will never be able to change the general correlation of forces, which is tipping more and more towards revolution. The historic initiative has finally passed into the hands of the working class and of the peoples. The road of the development of present-day human society is opened and determined by revolution.

The successful development and extension of the world revolutionary movement and the people's struggle is the most clear proof of the deepening of the grave crisis which has gripped the most hated enemies of peoples – imperialism and revisionism.

The betrayal by the Khrushchevite modern revisionists, which greatly damaged the revolutionary movement, was a temporary advantage for the capitalist system in general. But it did not rescue capitalism from its general crisis, nor did it change the course of history, its trend of development towards the revolution and the victory of socialism.

In its own plan for the exploiting system, imperialism aimed at eliminating the economic crises and at averting the profound contradictions amongst capitalist countries. Here, too, it suffered defeat. The big imperialist countries not to mention the smaller ones, are at present passing through a stage when the phenomena of the crisis have become chronic and have created new difficulties for the entire economy. The crisis of the monetary financial system has become an incurable disease. Inflation and the cost of living are increasing rapidly, while the unemployed are counted in millions. The severe shaking of the ruling positions of U.S. dollar and Nixon's restrictive measures have caused great confusion and chaos in the entire capitalist world. The dollar crisis is not just a crisis of the U.S. monetary system, or of the monetary systems of the other capitalist countries. This is a manifest expression of the general economic, political, military and ideological crisis of the entire capitalist system, of its structures, of the capitalist and imperialist regimes and alliances.

All such phenomena have added to and further sharpened the contradictions between the various bourgeois countries, and especially those with the United States of America.

The economic and political struggle between the capitalist countries is taking ever greater proportions. Economic integration and the creation of military blocs have added still more to the ruthless competition between them. Now the European «Common Market» wants to challenge American supremacy in the world market, while the new economic power of Japan, through its intrusion, is seriously cramping the expansion of the U.S. monopolies in Asia. Big squabbles have broken out in the ranks of NATO and the other alian-

ces of imperialism. The trend of these rivalries and contradictions among the imperialist countries is to become ever deeper.

In order to consolidate its positions, to avert its economic difficulties, political contradictions and social conflicts, imperialism has endeavoured and is still endeavouring to adapt itself to the new conditions of the class struggle both within its home country and outside it. But neither the development of state monopoly capitalism, the concentration, on a national and international scale, of production and capital, nor the militarization of the economy and the technological-scientific revolution have saved it, and such measures will never save it from its inevitable defeat and collapse. The partial and temporary solutions which they might provide are fraught with new and still more severe contradictions and conflicts, with a still deeper and more tumultuous crisis of the whole world capitalist system.

An equally grave situation reigns now in the revisionist camp, too. Our party, in the light of its Marxist-Leninist theory, accurately predicted where their road of betrayal would lead the revisionists, predicted their allround decline and degeneration. The crisis the revisionists are passing through is ideological, political and economic. Not only were the Moscow chiefs defeated in their attempts to establish their domination over the communist movement and the national-liberation movement, but now they are unable to keep even their closest allies, the revisionist cliques in the satellite countries in captivity.

Among the various sections of revisionism there is neither ideological unity, nor unity of action. Conflicts and squabbles amongst the revisionist cliques in power are common place phenomena and have reached such a pitch of tension that they might explode at any moment. Factions and trends of the most varied kinds have been created in the ranks of the revisionist parties. The betrayal of Marxism-Leninism introduced confusion and disintegration in the ranks of these parties.

The revisionist countries and their boss, the Soviet Union itself, are beginning to suffer from the chronic ills of bourgeois society. The discontent aroused in the masses by the revisionist line is being transformed into open revolt. The events of last year in Poland demonstrated that the working class has lined up face to face against the revisionist state power. The example of the Polish workers, who came out on the field of battle is inspiring for all the workers and peoples of the countries where the revisionists hold sway. It is a call to battle for the overthrow of the revisionist betrayal.

At the present stage, despite their powerful appearance, imperialism and revisionism are weak. Their decay and degeneration are advancing from day today. Today they are unable to solve a single fundamental internal problem, or to achieve any of their major external aims.

The ground is quaking under the feet of imperialism, revisionism, and all other reactionaries. In our epoch, there is no force on earth that can stop the victorious march of the revolution and socialism.

Regardless of the changes that have taken place and are taking place in the world, U.S. imperialism remains the chief enemy of all peoples, the greatest oppressor and exploiter of other countries, the bastion of international reaction. As long as it remains on its feet, its reactionary nature remains unchanged, together with its aggressive and warmongering policy and strategy, which stem from the very essence of its exploiting system. U.S. imperialism cannot live without economic expansion, without political intervention and military aggression, without oppressing and exploiting other people. Otherwise it dies, and the road is opened to revolts and revolutions.

The events of the recent years are the best proof that the imperialism of the United States has not only not given up, but on the contrary is doing its utmost, to undermine the freedom and independence of other states and to establish its world domination. It is brandishing arms, and threatening war everywhere.

The U.S. imperialists are continuing their barbarous war in Vietnam. They extended their aggression into Cambodia and Laos, too; thus, inflicting destruction, murder and grave wounds on the heroic peoples of Indochina. At the incitement and with the active and direct assistance of the United States, Israel unleashed its aggression against the Arab countries and maintains the occupation of their territories. The plots, subversive activities, armed intervention and violence in Libya, in the People's Republic of the Congo or Somalia, in Guinea or in many other countries of Asia and Latin America, have been and are the doing of American imperialists. The United States is the ally and sponsor of all reactionary and fascist regimes, the chief defender of the international system of capitalist exploitation.

It could be said that in practice, today there is not a single free and independent country which is not being threatened by U.S. imperialism in some way, which does not feel its pressure and blackmail, which is not affected by its brutal interference.

Facing the peoples, stands a great insatiable and barbarous enemy. For this reason the struggle against U.S. imperialism has become the supreme duty for all the revolutionary forces of our time, for all the peoples. The deep contradiction which exists between U.S. imperialism with its aggressive policy, on one hand, and the peoples with their anti-imperialist struggle, on the other, will become ever more severe and acute. In the clash between them there can be neither periods of truce, concessions, nor retreats, as the revisionists preach. Any wavering in the struggle against imperialism is pregnant with very dangerous consequences.

But U.S. imperialism is not the only enemy of the peoples, neither should we consider as its allies only the reactionary puppets directly connected politically, militarily and financially with Washington. Despite their contradictions with the United States, Britain, West Germany, Japan and other imperialist countries, remain its chief partners, likewise follow the policy of economic expansion and neo-colonization towards other countries, seek to create spheres of influence and always

come out in support of world reaction. A united Europe, which is being hatched up by the West European capital, aims at becoming a new imperialist superpower with claims to hegemony and domination similar to the United States and the Soviet Union. The struggle against U.S. imperialism will not be effective, unless it is waged against its friends and allies too, against all imperialist powers.

The attitude to imperialism, in the first place, to U.S. imperialism, is «the touch-stone» for all the political forces of the world. This is not just a tactical question, or a temporary solution in the existing circumstances. The attitude towards imperialism is a question of the content of the political line. It serves as a gauge for assessing practical actions, and, in the end, a demarcation line which divides two warring camps, dividing those who defend the vital interests of peoples and of the future of mankind, from those who trample them underfoot, dividing revolutionaries from reactionaries and traitors.

The anti-imperialist struggle has not and cannot have the same extension and the same intensity everywhere. But it is important that the peoples stand up in the liberation struggle against imperialism, not only to make its life impossible, but also to shorten it. Only resolute resistance, the open blow for blow struggle which does not withdraw in the face of difficulties and sacrifices can drive it back and defeat it. The duty of the revolutionaries is to make the masses of the people politically and ideologically clear, to raise their vigilance, to show them where the enemy is, how he acts, how they should organize themselves and fight him.

An enemy just as dangerous, just as cunning and aggressive as American imperialism for the peoples and the revolution is the new Soviet revisionist imperialism.

From the time modern revisionism usurped power in the Soviet Union and in the other socialist countries, our party assessed the situation correctly and emphasized that a «second front» was being opened in the world against socialism and communism.

Today all of us are witnesses to the fact that the revisionist Soviet Union has been transformed into a chauvinist and neo-colonialist state. The foreign policy of the Soviet revisionists is the great Russian policy of the old czars, it has the same expansionist aims, the same objectives of the subjection and enslavement of peoples. The appetite of the new Soviet revisionist imperialism is insatiable. Like the United States, the chieftains of the Kremlin have filled the skies with airplanes and the oceans with submarines, they are setting up military bases everywhere they can and economic markets to suck in the wealth of the peoples and to recruit agents in the four corners of the earth. Rubles and tanks, corruption and blackmail go hand in hand. There is no area in the world where the Soviet revisionists are not trying to extend their imperialist influence; there is no international question in which they do not interfere in order to draw profits for their own benefit. Following in the footsteps of the U.S. imperialists, they have become the biggest dealers in arms, the most insatiable usurers, inspirers of counter-revo-

lutionary plots and instigators of conflicts among nations.

The chronology of the actions of the Soviet revisionists during the last few years shows that their aggressive course is becoming ever more pronounced. The more the contradictions inside the Soviet Union increase, the more the squabbles and opposition in the revisionist camp, and on the other hand, the sharper the competition with its rival and ally, U.S. imperialism, the more military adventures come to the fore in the actions of the Soviet revisionists.

The barbarous aggression against Czechoslovakia was not accidental; it was not an extraordinary situation that cannot be repeated, but the climax of an aggressive and chauvinist policy raised to an official line, the beginning of a large-scale onslaught against the freedom and independence of many countries and peoples. The fact is that, at the same time as the open occupation of Czechoslovakia, the military occupation on the quiet of Poland, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Bulgaria and Mongolia was further strengthened. In practice these countries have been turned into military provinces of the Moscow empire where the Soviet generals not only maintain «law and order» but make both the policy and the law.

The irony of all this chauvinist policy, of all the efforts to dominate the peoples, is that the Soviet revisionists even try to justify their policy «theoretically» calling it «proletarian», and even «Leninist». Brezhnev came out with the infamous theory of «limited sovereignty», and his zealous propagandists are striving to convince the world that it was not tanks that the Soviet Union sent to Prague, but its «internationalist aid», that it is not oppressing its satellite countries, but is «strengthening the socialist community», that it is not exploiting them, but is speeding up their «socialist integration», and so on.

The theory of «limited sovereignty» is the theory of great power chauvinism and expansionism, the theory by means of which the new Soviet imperialists try to extinguish any sovereignty of the other peoples and to create for themselves the «sovereign right» to intervene wherever and whenever they want to. By denying the sovereignty of others they are trying to rob the nations and states of that which is dearest to them — their freedom and independence, to negate their national individuality, their indisputable right of self-determination and independent development, their right of equality in international life and their active participation in world relations. With their «limited sovereignty» they are trying to legalise the right of the strongest to oppress the weak, of the biggest to gobble up the small. It is a theory for the justification of imperialist aggression.

The «proletarian internationalism» of the Soviet revisionists, also, has a similar reactionary essence. The Kremlin rulers are trying to speculate and impose on the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces the distorted idea that the basic criterion of proletarian internationalism, its «touch-stone», is the attitude to the Soviet Union, that all revolutionary struggles and activities should be subordinated to the interests of the Soviet Union and its policy.

The speculation on the past and the use of theses which were correct at one time convince nobody today when the Soviet revisionists have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and transformed the Soviet Union into an imperialist country. The attitude towards the Soviet Union remains a criterion of proletarian internationalism, but in the opposite meaning from that of the time of Lenin and Stalin, when the Soviet Union was the center of the world revolution and its base. Today a revolutionary and internationalist is he who fights the Soviet revisionists, who exposes their treachery, who opposes their anti-Marxist and imperialist policy and line with all his strength.

The transition of Soviet revisionism to social-imperialism, the intensification of its expansionist policy and activity have faced the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces with new tasks. The ideological struggle against revisionism remains a prime current duty which should be carried through to the end, until the complete defeat of revisionism. But today this would be insufficient and would not have a successful conclusion, if the present Soviet Union were not considered and treated as an imperialist state power.

The greatest counter-revolutionary force opposed to the struggle of the nations for freedom and socialism is the Soviet-U.S. alliance. In all fields – economic, political and military – the imperialist courses of the U.S. and the Soviet Union are continuously drawing nearer to and embracing each other. In order to realize their aims of hegemony and domination, the two superpowers need each other, therefore they synchronise their watches and continually coordinate their plans and concrete activity.

Their strategic objective is to destroy socialism, to strangle the revolution, to establish their rule over the whole world. The edge of this alliance is directed against the People's Republic of China, which is the main obstacle to the realization of their counter-revolutionary schemes. The United States and the Soviet Union are doing their utmost, although it is only daydreaming on their part, to encircle and isolate China with the aim of going over afterwards to the suppression of the revolution and the destruction of the People's Republic of China. All their activities in the field of international relations in Europe, Asia, Africa and Oceania have been subordinated to this joint counter-revolutionary strategy.

The weight of this reactionary alliance makes its presence felt in all the international conflicts and problems. Twenty-six years have elapsed since the second world war ended, but the United States and the Soviet Union still keep their armies stationed in other countries. The two superpowers have recognized their respective spheres of influence accepting them as an accomplished fact and try not to hinder each other in the domination and exploitation of them.

By means of secret diplomacy and in complete accord with imperialist practice, the Americans and the Soviet revisionists are now striking bargains behind the scenes, over sharing between them the former zones of influence out of which the old imperialist powers have been driven, in order to «fill

the vacuum», as they say. These «fruits» of the Soviet – U.S. alliance are quite clearly obvious in the Middle East, along the north coast of Africa, in the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean, and elsewhere.

Over the big international issues the two superpowers try to come out with a coordinated policy and with a common attitude towards third parties, as in the case of the talks on disarmament in Geneva, the talks over the Middle East in New-York, etc. This coordination and common stand are even clearer in the proceedings of the UNO which has been transformed into an instrument of their hegemonistic policy. In practice, no decision is taken, no suggestion is adopted, in the UNO unless it is acceptable to the two superpowers.

Strenuous efforts are being made by the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists to preserve the balance of power between them, and to keep the other nations at a certain distance. All the agreements they have reached over atomic weapons, space, the seabed, etc., aim at keeping intact this new strategic ratio, which also defines the common policy of the two superpowers. In particular they want to preserve their monopoly of new weapons and their technical-scientific superiority in the main branches of arms development, with the aim of keeping the other countries in submission and exerting continuous political, economic and military pressure on them. Nobody doubts that the strictly secret SALT talks, from which even their closest allies are excluded, have been turned into an institution not only for the coordination of military affairs discussed but also for defining concrete political attitudes and long-term joint strategy.

Naturally it would be incomprehensible and unrealistic if in the Soviet – U.S. alliance we were to see only the rapprochement and collaboration of the two superpowers, their common interests and actions. As imperialist powers, the United States and the revisionist Soviet Union also have discord, rivalry, and deep contradictions which hinder them from acting in complete harmony and unity always and everywhere. The existence and the sharpening of contradictions lies at the very foundations of this alliance, in the capitalist social system of the two countries, in their imperialist aims. The two partners, while preparing for war, are planning to seize each other by the throat.

Speculating with the contradictions which they have with the United States and with the aim of concealing their betrayal, the Soviet revisionists try to pose as anti-imperialists, as if they, too, oppose the policy of aggression and war of U.S. imperialism. But the «anti-imperialism» of the revisionists is a hoax, a device to deceive the people, to split their anti-imperialist unity, to sabotage the revolution. Any illusion about the «anti-imperialism» of the Soviet revisionists would be very dangerous, with grave consequences for the revolutionary struggle of the peoples.

As long as the imperialist United States and the revisionist Soviet Union are two imperialist superpowers and come out with a common counter-revolutionary strategy, it is impossible for the struggle of the peoples against them not to merge into a common trend. You cannot rely on the one imperialism to oppose the other.

The U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists are trying to preserve their peace, their status quo and their alliances. They demand that the peoples sit quiet, approve their policy and actions. But the peoples, the revolutionaries, and all progressive mankind wholeheartedly hate oppression and exploitation, which are equally unendurable whether exercised by the U.S. imperialists or by the Soviet revisionists.

They do not want the imperialist «peace» or «tranquility», nor do they want the present reactionary status quo which the imperialists and revisionists preach. The revolution, the struggle for national and social liberation is not the «destruction of mankind», as the imperialists and revisionists preach, but the destruction of oppression and exploitation, it is the salvation of mankind.

Of course, the revolution will not break out at the same time in all countries, nor will it triumph on the same day. It will have its zigzags, its ups and downs. But everywhere there is oppression and exploitation there will also be class struggle, there will be revolution. Now Marxism-Leninism is inspiring the world proletariat more and more with each passing day, is illuminating the road to victory for all the oppressed masses.

The True Peace And The Security Of The Peoples Are Achieved Through Struggle Against U.S. Imperialism And Soviet Social-Imperialism

For twelve years now the heroic Vietnamese people have been waging a life and death struggle against the imperialist aggression of the United States and its Saigon puppets. Although the U.S. imperialists have lost the war in the field of battle, although there is no hope that the situation will change to their favour, they are continuing their aggression and their efforts to oppress the Vietnamese people and to force them to their knees with desperate obstinacy. On top of that, in recent times the U.S. imperialists have extended their aggression to Cambodia and Laos, too.

Indochina has now become the main battlefield of the liberation struggle of the peoples against U.S. imperialism, therefore the victories of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, have been a great revolutionary inspiration for all those who oppose imperialism, who fight for freedom and national independence, for democracy and social justice. In particular they have raised the morale, the fighting spirit of the small nations and have strengthened their confidence in their own strength and in their future.

The historic lesson we draw from Vietnam is that the people's war can be counterposed to the aggression of the big imperialist power with great success, that in the present conditions even a small country can defeat a superpower, provided it is determined to make any sacrifice and to

march courageously on the road of freedom and revolution.

Nixon's new doctrine of the so-called «vietnamization of the war» and his manoeuvres for «peace talks» etc. cannot have any success. «Vietnamization» means extension and continuation of the imperialist aggression, so that Vietnamese are set against Vietnamese, Asians against Asians while the U.S. imperialists dominate, suppress, exploit them, and use them as gun fodder in their aggressive and hegemonistic policy. But the Nixon plan for the «vietnamization» of the war in Vietnam failed in the face of the heroic stand of the peoples of Indochina and it cannot lead its authors anywhere but to new and greater defeats. Neither can their friends the Soviet revisionists, who for years on end have undermined the efforts of the Vietnamese people and have exerted pressure on them to quell their anti-American struggle, save the U.S. imperialists from the disaster in Vietnam.

There can be no genuine peace in Vietnam and throughout Indochina until all the U.S. forces are finally withdrawn from that region and until all the U.S. military bases and installations there are eliminated. The Vietnamese people will certainly win, and this victory will be achieved on the battle field by the Vietnamese people, who are fighting and shedding their blood. It is their right and theirs alone, to decide for themselves, independently, about their own future.

The Albanian people have been and will always be heart and soul with the fraternal Vietnamese people and with the other peoples of Indochina; they are in full solidarity with their just and heroic struggle against U.S. imperialism and its allies. We give our full support to the just stands of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the provisional revolutionary government of the Republic of South Vietnam, for the withdrawal of the U.S. troops and the settlement of the Vietnamese conflict.

The Middle East, too, has been turned into a hotbed of tension. The imperialist-Israeli aggression, which aims at subjecting and enslaving all the Arab people, has been going on for a long time. The situation has been aggravated also by the interference of the Soviet revisionists in that area who, by posing as friends of the Arab states, are seeking to occupy strategic positions and to extend their domination there.

The Zionists, the imperialists, and the Soviet revisionists are now trying to split the Arabs and to put them at loggerheads with one another, with a view to weakening their common anti-imperialist liberation front and imposing on them a peace against their vital interest. The aim of the two superpowers, which seek to take the fate of the Middle East in their own hands and to play the role of arbiter, is to divide it into spheres of influence and, on the lives and bones of the Arab peoples, build new war bases from which to launch imperialist invasions on the continents of Asia and Africa.

But the Arab people have not fought for centuries for freedom and independence, to defend their honour and riches, to sacrifice them now for the imperialist interests of the big powers. The price of the «peace» which the U.S. imperialists

and the Soviet revisionists are offering them is very high. Furthermore, it is deeply offensive to the glorious traditions, the dignity and pride of all the Arab people. They have made it clear that they will not give up even an inch of Arab land and will do no deals over the Palestine cause. They have risen against the violence of the Jordanian reactionaries attempting to suppress the partisan forces of Palestine, who stand in the front line of the liberation struggle of the Arab people and have rejected the imperialist plot, which is aimed at completely and definitely liquidating the Palestinian revolution.

Our people consider the Arab people as traditional friends and brothers and are in full solidarity with their just cause. Our people have been and will always be beside them, we are convinced that the Arab people will raise high the banner

of the liberation struggle against the imperialists and Zionists, against the intervention of the Soviet revisionists and the deceptions of all those who pose as friends, but who are trying to stab them in the back. The Arab lands belong to the Arabs, the cause for which the Palestinian people are fighting is invincible.

The People's Republic of Albania is interested in real peace and security in Europe, in a real and just solution of the problems which have remained unsolved since the end of the Second World War, and first of all of the German problem.

But the situation in Europe is not as the Soviet revisionists try to present it, as if the tension has relaxed and the situation become tranquil because the Moscow-Bonn treaty has

Among the delegates



been signed, because the Soviet Union and Federal Germany have allegedly guaranteed the inviolability of the borders of the European states.

On the contrary, the conclusion of the Soviet-German treaty created a new tension in Europe, which springs from the real threats by the Soviet revisionism and German revanchism against the interests, sovereignty and rights of the European countries, from their aims of hegemony and domination in our continent. Already the Federal German Republic has become the most powerful capitalist state in Western Europe, which is challenging the U.S. influence and trying to overshadow the power of France and Britain, not to mention the other NATO partners. Instead of contributing to any solution, the Soviet-German treaty creates new imperialist contradictions, rivalries and complications, with dangerous consequences for all the countries of Europe.

The aim of this agreement is to avoid signing the peace treaty with Germany and to violate and deny the legitimate rights of the peoples who fought against Hitlerite Germany and won. But those who shed their blood in the war against nazism can never agree to leave the hands of German militarism and revanchism free and create the preconditions for them to hurl Europe and the world again into a new slaughter. The conclusion of the peace treaty with Germany is a right which belongs to all the countries of the anti-fascist coalition, and nobody can rob them of this or deny it. By setting this question aside, the Soviet-German agreement violated the supreme interests of the German Democratic Republic, and these interests have been staked in a deal played behind the owner's back by the diplomacy of the four great powers and Bonn. This was also clearly confirmed by the Berlin agreement, in which the concessions and compromises of the Kremlin chiefs put the German Democratic Republic in a position where it was grossly disregarded and humiliated.

It is true that the peoples of Europe aspire to and need security for their freedom, independence and normal development. But the security, about which the Soviet revisionists have been making a big fuss recently, is a false security. The peoples of Europe cannot agree to become jointly guilty with the two big imperialist powers against their own supreme interests, they cannot agree to play the game of the two superpowers which think only of security for their own spheres of influence and the subjection and domination of the European countries. The peoples do not expect true security from the two big imperialist powers, which are authors of the aggressions in Vietnam, the Middle East, Czechoslovakia and elsewhere, who maintain their bases and occupation armies in many countries of Europe and trample under foot the freedom and independence of sovereign peoples and countries.

In Europe there is the NATO bloc, which is an aggressive alliance dominated by the U.S. imperialists and in which the revanchists of West Germany play a major role. Its aim has been and remains the struggle against communism, the suppression of the revolution in Europe and the guaranteeing of U.S. imperialist interests. There is also the Warsaw treaty, which has been transformed into a machine for maintaining

the domination of the Soviet revisionists over the participating countries and into an aggressive force threatening the independence of other countries. What European security can we speak about when these two blocs keep the peoples of this or that part of Europe under their heel, when they are the main pillars of the domination and dictate of the two super-powers. It is clear that so long as these two blocs exist in Europe, so long as the bases of the U.S. and Soviet armies exist in the countries of Europe, there can never be true European security.

Our country got out of the Warsaw treaty and publicly denounced its aggressive policy and activity. By this just act we not only defended the freedom and independence of our fatherland, but also showed that the road to defend freedom and independence, the road of peace and international security, is firm opposition to the hegemonistic and enslaving policy of imperialism and revisionism.

We hold that the peoples of Europe can and will achieve their security only by strengthening their national independence and sovereignty, in resolute struggle against the hegemonistic policy of the United States of America and the Soviet Union, against their efforts to preserve their military bases and zones of influence in Europe, against their efforts to preserve this status quo and to spearhead the war to Asia.

The People's Republic of Albania, as a Mediterranean country, is interested in and fights for the Mediterranean basin to be an area of peace and fruitful collaboration. She resolutely condemns the aggressive policy of the imperialist powers, and in the first place of the United States and the Soviet Union, which with their war fleets seriously threaten the freedom and independence of the Mediterranean countries. It is the duty of the freedom-loving countries and of all the progressive forces of the Mediterranean to demand the withdrawal of these fleets and to fight for this, to oppose any hegemonistic policy in this part of the world. The Mediterranean belongs to the Mediterranean peoples and countries alone.

For a long time a big fuss has been made in the world about the problem of disarmament. This has been raised deliberately by the U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists to lull the peoples while they intensify their aggressive plans. Facts show that while the two super-powers have a great deal to say about disarmament, while they have convened hundreds and thousands of meetings, and have set up countless committees and commissions, they are continuing the unbridled armaments race. The United States of America and the Soviet Union have increased their military budgets, as never before have extended their military bases and the deployment of the invading troops to all the continents and seas, have concentrated their greatest and best technical and scientific forces on perfecting weapons of mass extermination, and so on.

Continuous arming is a condition of the existence of imperialism which stems from the very character of the economic order and its aggressive policy. Therefore, so long as imperialist and social-imperialist states exist, there will never

be disarmament in the world. The imperialists and revisionists are arming and increasing their striking forces to occupy and redivide the world between them, to suppress the revolutions, to destroy the socialist countries, and to enslave the peoples. Their «efforts for disarmament» are aimed at disarming the peoples and at imposing their own domination on them more easily. On the other hand this propaganda is a sop to the pacifist theoreticians and all the naive who live on hope and outside objective reality.

So long as the imperialists and social-imperialists arm themselves and prepare for aggressive wars, the socialist states cannot sit by with folded arms. Their arming is aimed at defending the socialist fatherland, at opposing the policy of intervention, pressures, and blackmail, of imperialism and social-imperialism. It is directed against their attempts to violate the rights and freedom of the peoples and towards helping the other peoples to preserve or win their freedom and national independence.

Responsibility for the aggressive actions of the two super-powers rests not only on their governments, but also on their peoples, just as it rests on the governments and the peoples of the partners in the respective military alliances. With regard to the aggression against Czechoslovakia, for example, responsibility rests not only on the Soviet social-imperialists who organized it, but also on the governments of the member states of the Warsaw Treaty which participated in this aggression, on the peoples of the Soviet Union, Poland, Democratic Germany, Bulgaria and Hungary, who stood passive and permitted this barbarous act. The same can be said also for the direct and indirect aid which the U.S. partners give the U.S. aggressors in Vietnam. Participation in NATO or the Warsaw Treaty, the alliance of friendship with the United States or with the Soviet Union, is justified by their partners with the need for defence. But in this way they strengthen the super powers, assist them to preserve and divide the spheres of influence, to carry out the policy of hegemony, dictate, and aggression.

The more organized, broad and powerful the resistance and struggle of the peoples of the NATO countries and those of the Warsaw Treaty against the aggressive actions of the two super-powers and against their governments which support these aggressive groupings, the more difficult will it be for the aggressors to carry out their military adventures against the peoples.

Innumerable military manoeuvres are carried out on the borders of Yugoslavia and Rumania by the Soviet Union, Hungary, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. It is clear that here we have to do with pressure, blackmail and threats, which, if not today, tomorrow could turn into open aggression against sovereign countries. Do the peoples of the countries participating in these manoeuvres not see and feel what dangerous plans and plots are being hatched up? History will condemn them heavily if they sit quiet and leave the aggressors' hands free.

Today the People's Republic of Albania occupies an honoured place on the international arena, it enjoys the respect and admiration of the freedom-loving peoples and of all the

progressive forces. Socialist Albania has not been isolated, as her enemies predicted and desired, but her international ties, her authority and position in the world have become even stronger.

The sympathy and respect she enjoys with all the progressive countries and peoples of the world, the weight and influence of our country, result neither from the size of its population nor from its economic and military power. The strength and influence of socialist Albania lie in the Marxist-Leninist ideas that inspire her, which she preserves unsullied and spreads throughout the world. They lie in the true socialist society which is being built in Albania, in the courageous, principled and consistent struggle against imperialism, revisionism and all the reactionaries.

Our country has hundreds upon hundreds of millions of comrades and friends all over the world, for it is a country that respects itself and all the peoples, for just as it resolutely guards its own freedom and independence, it wishes well and a happy future for all the other countries, too.

It is precisely because we pursue this policy and enjoy this respect, that our enemies hate us, curse us and fight us. But this does not make us change our ways nor conceal our viewpoints and actions. Our party has never lacked civil courage on the international arena and it will not lack it at any time or under any circumstances.

The Party of Labour and the People's Republic of Albania are and will remain sworn enemies of imperialism and revisionism. Considering their struggle as part and parcel of the general revolutionary struggle of the peoples, they have waged an active struggle against U.S. - led imperialism and against revisionism, headed by the Soviet leadership, they have resolutely condemned and exposed their aggressive policies and activities, their aims to oppress the peoples, to strangle the revolution and to dominate the world. The experience of our country until now has still convinced us even more completely that freedom and independence can be defended and guaranteed only by a continuous struggle against imperialism and revisionism, without compromise, everywhere and in every aspect, and this is still as true today as it was in the past.

The correctness of the line of our party in the struggle against imperialism and revisionism has been fully confirmed by life, it is confirmed by the victories achieved.

Conscious of its lofty responsibility to its people and to socialism, our party will never stop half way. It will fight with determination and with all its strength against imperialism and social-imperialism, till their complete destruction and the triumph of the revolution world-wide. Our people and party regard this struggle as one and indivisible because one cannot successfully oppose imperialism without also fighting Soviet social-imperialism at the same time, and vice-versa.

The foreign policy of our party and government has been and remains principled and consistent in all its directions and components. A fundamental and firm basis of our foreign policy has been and remains the strengthening of friendship, mutual aid, fraternal cooperation, and militant unity, with

the socialist countries with which we are united by the ideals of socialism and communism, by the common struggle against imperialism, revisionism, and reaction.

We are proud of having as our allies and friends the 700 million Chinese people, the People's Republic of China and the Communist Party of China, with their great leader, the most respected friend of the Albanian people, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, at the head. The great Albanian-Chinese revolutionary friendship, the unity, and the all-round fraternal collaboration between Albania and China, based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and on proletarian internationalism, forged in the joint struggle against imperialism, revisionism, and all reactionaries, have withstood all the tests and have brought our two countries great successes and victories.

Our party and people are immeasurably rejoiced at and wholeheartedly welcomed the brilliant victories that the fraternal Chinese people, under the leadership of their glorious Communist Party and of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, have achieved in the great proletarian cultural revolution and in the building of socialism. The decisive and historic victory of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's revolutionary and proletarian line over the bourgeois reactionary line of the renegade Li Shao-chi, which was crowned and sanctioned at the 9th Congress of the Communist Party of China, has still further strengthened the revolutionary unity of the party, has consolidated the positions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has raised still higher the militant revolutionary spirit in the country, and has opened to the Chinese people brilliant prospects for their socialist future.

Our party and government fully support the indisputable right of the People's Republic of China to liberate the part of its territory, Taiwan.

For a long period of time the question of the reestablishment of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations Organization has been a major international problem for the correct solution of which the People's Republic of Albania has fought resolutely and consistently.

The approval of the Albanian resolution in these last days by the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization, according to which the People's Republic of China is invited to take the place appertaining to her in the United Nations Organization and the Chiang Kai-shek clique is expelled from it, is a great victory for the People's Republic of China and her correct policy. This is a world-wide confirmation of the international prestige and role played by the People's Republic of China in the interest of the cause of peace and security of peoples. This is, at the same time, a brilliant victory for the People's Republic of Albania which for years on end has consistently and resolutely defended the just cause of people's China by courageously fighting against the anti-China policy of the U.S. imperialists and the intrigues of the Soviet revisionists.

The Albanian people, their Party of Labour and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania heartily congratulate the fraternal Chinese people, Party and Government on this historic victory, which is also a victory for all the anti-impe-

rialist forces, for all the freedom-loving peoples, a heavy defeat for U.S. imperialism.

Our party and people are bound by a friendship and a powerful socialist solidarity with the Vietnamese people, with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Just as we support their efforts for the building of socialism, we give all our support and backing for their determined opposition to imperialist aggression. We likewise support the Republic of South Vietnam and the provisional revolutionary government of South Vietnam which are the only and incontestable representatives of all the Vietnamese living south of the 17th parallel.

The People's Republic of Albania, just as in the past, is for the further development and strengthening of the friendly relations with the People's Democratic Republic of Korea on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in the interests of the building of socialism in our two countries. The Albanian people resolutely support the just struggle being waged by the Korean people against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys for the defence of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea and the reunification of their fatherland. We condemn the aggressive policy of the Japanese imperialists against the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, as well as the manoeuvres of the Soviet revisionists who encourage their expansionist policy.

Our party and government have supported and will always unreservedly support the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America for national and social liberation, against imperialism, racial discrimination, colonial oppression and exploitation. They support the just and heroic struggle of the Cuban people against the threats, blockades and provocations of the Yankee imperialists, for the defence of their national independence and state sovereignty.

Friendly relations exist between Albania and the Arab Republic of Egypt, Algeria, Syria, Libya and the other Arab countries. In the future, too, we shall strive to have the good relations and mutual cooperation develop further and become stronger for the good of our peoples.

Our country has always shown good will and has undertaken constructive steps to maintain and develop normal relations with all countries with differing social systems, on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, equality, respect for state sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in the domestic affairs of one another and mutual advantage.

While struggling against imperialism and revisionism, we strictly adhere to the principle that the internal affairs of each country are questions that should be settled by that country itself, without any imposition or interference from outside. Likewise we defend the viewpoint that all relations between countries, whether small or big, can and must be built only on the basis of equality and non-interference in internal affairs. We have established and are developing our relations with all states on this basis. The establishment of diplomatic relations between Albania and a number of countries concluded during this last year, is a visible success of our foreign policy and testifies to the strengthening of the international position of the People's Republic of Albania. It complies with the common

interests of the peoples and serves the promotion of understanding and collaboration between them.

The party and the government have devoted special attention to our country's relations with the neighbouring countries. Friendly relations are developing normally between Albania and Rumania, which is to the mutual advantage of the two countries and meets the interests of our peoples and of socialism. The Albanian people will always support the Rumanian people's just struggle to defend the independence and sovereignty of their fatherland from any outside threat.

Our relations with Yugoslavia, too, are developing in the spirit of good neighbourliness. Recently, trade, cultural and tourist exchanges in particular, have been extended. Despite our wellknown ideological difference, we stand for the continuous improvement of state relations in all those fields where mutual interests exist. We are friends and brothers with the peoples of Yugoslavia. We hope that the feelings of friendship, forged in the antifascist war, will be developed in a proper way for the common good of our peoples. In the Albanian people the peoples of Yugoslavia will always have friends who wish to see them free, independent and sovereign, who resolutely oppose all the manoeuvres, blackmail and threats of the imperialist powers towards our neighbour Yugoslavia.

Good relations exist between our country and Italy and Turkey. The preservation and development of them responds to our common interests. Diplomatic relations were established this year also between Albania and Greece. This is an important event which put an end to an abnormal situation and which serves the strengthening of peace and security in the Balkans.

The People's Republic of Albania is in favour of the future development of the relations between our country and the neighbouring countries in a positive direction and in those fields that present mutual interest in the struggle against the interference and intrigues of the great imperialist powers.

The friendship and understanding between the Balkan countries must have its foundations among the people. We do not intend to put forward or to accept proposals to form Balkan blocs and alliances. The People's Republic of Albania desires and will strive to forge its friendship with the Balkan peoples on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. The regime of each country is a matter for its own people. We do not interfere in the internal affairs of anyone, but neither should others interfere in ours. This does not exclude mutual criticism and polemics. Socialist Albania will never allow herself to violate the freedom, independence and sovereignty of other countries. The Albanian people have never done such a thing during their whole history, but neither will they allow others either to violate their freedom, independence and sovereignty.

The times have changed for us Albanians. If it should happen that the new czars of the Kremlin, like the old czars, various imperialists or the chauvinist cliques of the Balkans, attempt to violate the borders of the People's Republic of Albania, the Albanians, united to a man, will no longer be found

as they were in 1878, or in 1914 or even in the time of Mussolini and Hitler. Clear accounts make for good friends.

The Albanian people who have suffered for centuries from barbarous invaders, who won their freedom by shedding rivers of blood, advise the fraternal peoples of the Balkans to guard against the intrigues of the imperialists of each and every hue, to tell them jointly, «Hands off our countries», to permit no one to abuse our friendship.

The Balkan peoples are completely capable of deciding for themselves and in a sovereign way on the relations between them. They did not make the Balkans a «powder keg». It was the foreigners, the imperialist, who did this, in the past, and it was they who held all the detonators in their hands. And they would like to bring about the same situation today. It is the duty of the Balkan peoples to cut all the fuses with the sword, so that peace and security may really be established in the Balkans.

It is only natural that our peoples need friends. But they should never become tools of foreigners to the detriment of the interests of any people or of all our peoples jointly. This is the most sincere and steel-like alliance that can be proposed to the Balkan peoples.

It should be clear that if some Balkan state, prodded by the imperialist powers, undertakes aggression against another Balkan state, it will not be possible to avoid the intervention of the other Balkan states. This would not remain a local war, but would become the cause of a world conflict.

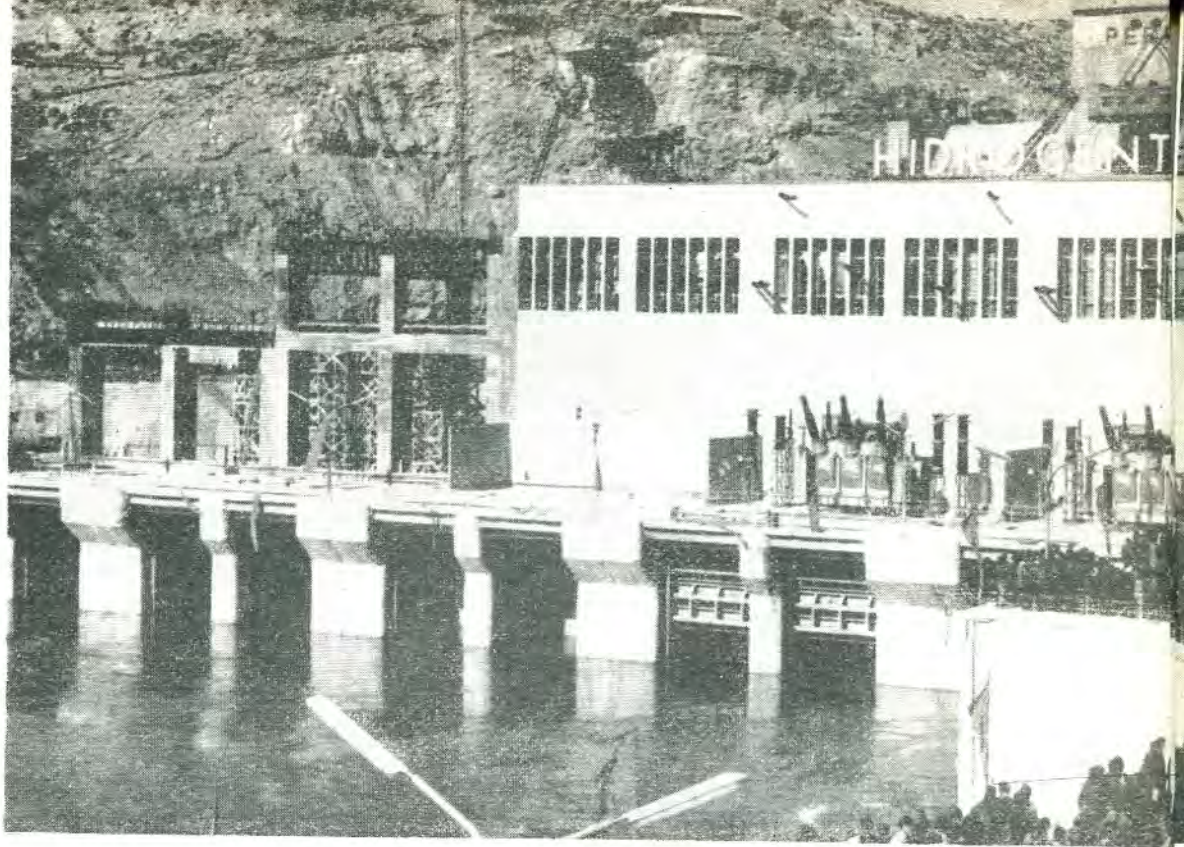
All the states that respect the supreme right of socialist Albania, that implement the recognised principles on which the relations between sovereign states are based, and wish to maintain normal relations with us, will find understanding and reciprocity in the People's Republic of Albania.

The relations of our country with the East European countries parties to the Warsaw Treaty are of a low level. This is not our fault. Their leaderships, being completely subject to Moscow, and blindly obeying its foreign policy, have followed a hostile policy towards our country, which, as is known, has caused Albania great damage. Although they have failed in their attempts to intimidate us and make us yield, they are persisting in their pig-headed anti-Albania stand. So much the worse for them.

As to the peoples of these countries, who are not to be blamed for the situation that has been created, we have been, are, and shall remain friends with them. We have always wished them well. The Albanian Party and people, who condemned the August 1968 aggression, with the same determination support the Czechoslovak people's resistance against the Soviet revisionist occupationists and the local traitors for freedom and national independence, the struggle of the Polish people and the peoples of other countries where revisionist cliques are in power, against the revisionist domination and the policy of dictate and great state chauvinism of the Soviet social-imperialists.

Many times our party has addressed itself to the people and communists of the Soviet Union, explaining to them in detail and in a documented way the real causes of the breach in Soviet-Albanian relations. Our people and party are

At the inauguration
of the new powerful
«Mao Tse-Tung» hydro-
power station on Drini river



aware of the whole course of events, and it would be superfluous to repeat them.

Recently the Soviet leaders have adopted a pose of desiring the «normalisation» of relations with our country. This is demagoguery from start to finish and an effort to gain a certificate of expiation. But we are not falling into their traps. We have not been intimidated by their armed threats, and neither are we to be deceived by the waving of the olive branch. They have great political, ideological and economic debts towards Albania. There can be, and will certainly be, normalisation when the Soviet peoples and the genuine bolsheviks intervene to establish Marxist-Leninist revolutionary justice on these questions.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY AND THE TASKS OF THE PARTY

Comrades,

The 5th Congress set important tasks for the development of the economy and culture and for raising the wellbeing of the people. Under the guidance of the party and with lofty revolutionary consciousness, our working class, cooperative

peasantry and people's intelligentsia, accomplished all these tasks with honour. Thus, a further important step was taken towards the complete construction of socialism in our country.

The targets of the 4th five-year plan for overall industrial production and investments were achieved in 4 years and 7 months. The level of industrial production set for 1970 was achieved as early as 1968. Such mighty projects as the «Mao Tse-tung» hydroelectric power plant on the Drini river, the new oil fields, the chemical fertilizer plants, the Rogozhina-Fieri railroad and others were added to our economy. More than 200 major projects were built and put into operation in industry, agriculture, transport and other branches of the economy. All these increased the potential of our economy, further consolidating the material-technical base of socialism.

Important, too, are the successes achieved in the socialist development of the countryside and agriculture. On the road to its intensification, our agriculture increased production and, particularly, the crop yields of bread grain from one year to another. In 1970, the average yield of grain was 17,3 quintals per hectare. Such productivity had never been achieved before, even in the best seasons. A great leap forward was made in extending the area under irrigation, in raising the level of mechanization and the use of artificial fertilizers and selected seeds.

The 5th Congress launched the slogan «take to the hills and mountainsides, beautify them and make them as fertile



as the plains». This directive opened new horizons for the development of agriculture and for the flourishing of life even in the remote mountain regions. Within a short period, collectivization was completed in these regions, too. The plan targets set for the cooperative peasantry to break in virgin land during the preceding five-year period were achieved and exceeded ahead of schedule.

The self-sacrificing toil and struggle of the working masses for the development of the economy provided the essential basis which made possible the successful accomplishment of the tasks set in the 4th five-year plan for raising the well-being and cultural level of the people. In 1970, the national income was 55 per cent higher than in 1965, while real income per capita of population rose 17 per cent. The population was supplied better and uninterruptedly with the necessary commodities. A wide network of social and cultural services was set up in nearly every cooperative.

The daily life of every rural and urban family was improved.

The extension of compulsory 8-grade schooling throughout the country was completed, making it possible to raise the general educational and cultural training of the youth to a higher level. But the most outstanding victory scored in the field of education was the program the party put forward for the further revolutionization of the school. The implementation of this program is of extraordinary importance for the sound revolutionary education of the younger generation and for the future of socialism in Albania.

The realization one year ahead of schedule of the great mass action, the electric reticulation of all the rural areas, is a brilliant and truly historic achievement of our socialist order and further evidence of the constant concern of the party and the people's state power to bring about the all-round uplift and emancipation of our cooperativist village.

During the 4th five-year plan period the state invested large funds in building dwelling houses. During the last five years in town and countryside, about 73,000 apartments and houses have been built all told. A great work of construction, in which the unity and socialist solidarity of our people was brilliantly expressed, was done to deal with the serious damage caused by the earthquakes which hit the Dibra and Tepelena districts. With the aid of the State and the contribution of the entire people, 1,600 new houses were built and about 11,000 were repaired in record time.

Our country is the only one in the world where the people pay no direct imposts and taxes. The complete abolition of taxation on the population is clear proof of the superiority of our socialist order over the capitalist order.

The five-year plan which has concluded will go down in history as the period of the great people's initiatives and mass heroism, when the united forces of the people, under the leadership of our party, have made the plains and mountains quake. This is the time when old and young rose to their feet, when enthusiasm and revolutionary drive swept factories and villages, schools and mines. It is the time of conscious heroes whom no obstacles, no difficulties or storms could turn back,

for whom to perform their task, to fulfil the people's orders, is the supreme and sacred law.

In this irresistible revolutionary wave the marvellous initiatives of the masses and the spirit of mass actions burst out, and this gave a new content and impetus to the work in all sectors, which showed what colossal forces remain still unrecognised and unutilized within the ranks of the party, the working class and peasantry, the youth and the women, what inexhaustible strength our socialist order has.

This unprecedented revolutionary enthusiasm, this mass heroism and this lofty spirit of initiative, have not fallen like manna from heaven. They stem from that heroic and unprecedented struggle the party and people have waged to smash the blockade imposed by the imperialists and revisionists, from the ardent patriotism and unshakable confidence of the people in their own strength, in the certainty of the future that socialism is hammering out, in the life-giving impulse which the teachings of the party inspire. Only a great perspective gives rise to great courage, deep-rooted ideological convictions work wonders.

The great victories achieved in all fields of socialist construction, the experience accumulated and the enthusiasm and high revolutionary spirit of the working masses constitute that powerful foundation on which the whole economic and social development of the country during the years of the 5th five-years plan will be based. The main targets of the plan which this Congress will approve derive from the continuation of the complete construction of socialist society, from the present stage and the prospects for the development of the economy.

In compliance with the fundamental guidelines of the policy of the party regarding the complete construction of socialist society, the main tasks for the development of our economy during the 5th five-year period will be:

To ensure the general strengthening of our people's economy on the road to turning Albania from an agricultural-industrial to an industrial-agricultural country with a view to raising the independent action of our economy to a higher level, to further strengthening the socialist order, to raising the material wellbeing and cultural level of the people, especially by reducing the essential differences between town and countryside and to increasing the defence potential of the country.

For this:

To strive for a further development of industry by improving its structure with new branches of production especially of the heavy processing industry, to expand the power and materials base, and to utilize the resources of the country more rationally;

To attain a larger increase in the output of agriculture by further intensifying it on the basis of strengthening the scientific organization and management of production and increasing the power of the material-technical base of agriculture;

To rapidly develop technical-scientific progress in all the branches of our people's economy, to constantly improve the

socialist relations in production, to deepen the socialist revolution in the field of ideology and culture, to resolutely apply the principle of self-reliance.

During the 5th five-year plan period, industry, as it always does, will play a vanguard role in developing the forces of production. Total industrial production in 1975 is expected to increase 61 to 65 per cent above that of 1970. This means that industrial production in 1975 alone will be 12 per cent higher than that realized during the entire second five year plan of 1956-1960. This fact alone is sufficient to refute the banal slanders of the Soviet revisionists, that our economy allegedly came to a standstill when they cut off their aid.

During this five-year plan period our objective will be to strengthen our extracting and heavy processing industry, in particular, to further modernize and raise it to a higher level. For this purpose a series of new projects will be built with technological processes and proportions of production unprecedented before in our economy. Such are: the ferrous metallurgical combine with a full production cycle, the plant for the deep processing of oil, the big mines for the extraction of iron-nickel, chromium, phosphorites and coal, the Fierza hydro-electric power plant, the ore-enriching factories and others.

Great prospects are opened in the new five-year plan also for the development of our socialist agriculture. By 1975, total agricultural production will be 65 to 69 per cent larger than in 1970 or about 3 times greater than in 1960. The production of grain, milk, meat, eggs, vegetables and industrial crops will be greatly increased. The number of fruit trees will be 28 per cent higher. By building important land reclamation and irrigation projects, especially in the mountainous regions, about 58 per cent of the arable land of the country will be brought under irrigation.

The number of tractors employed in 1975 turned to 15 HP will be about 40 per cent higher than in 1970 or 3,5 times as high as in 1960. It is envisaged to meet the needs of agriculture for artificial fertilizers and mechanized means, for selected seeds and breeds of livestock of higher productivity, better than ever before. During this five-year period, thousands of middle and higher specialists will be trained for this very important sector of our economy.

A vast program of capital construction will be carried out in all fields of social activity. Investments allocated for the 5th five-year plan are equal to the total investments made during the past eleven years (1960-70) taken together. The value of buildings and installations for the two major projects, the metallurgical works and the Fierza hydro-electric power plant alone, is almost equal to the total investments made during the last five-year plan or about 50 per cent of those of the 2nd five-year plan. Altogether about 270 economic and social-cultural projects will be built.

The revolutionization of our school will be accompanied by a further extension of secondary and higher education. One in every three persons of the population will attend school. During the coming five years 20,000 or 33 per cent more specialists will be trained in institutes of higher learning than during the last 26 years, from the establishment of the people's state power to 1970. All our socialist construction in every field will

be intensified under the banner of a wider use of knowledge and scientific research.

The complex and dynamic development which our economy will undergo will bring about, as always, the raising of the material and cultural well-being of the working people of town and countryside. Suffice it to mention that the apartments and houses which will be built during the 5th five-year plan period will accommodate a population equal to the present population of the cities of Korça, Elbasan, Shkodra, Durrës, Vlora, Berat, Fier and Lushnja, taken together.

This, in broad outline is the program for the economic and social development of the country during the 5th five-year plan period which is being submitted to the Congress for approval.

THE STRENGTHENING OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

A key problem of the revolution has been and will remain till the attainment of the victory of communism the problem of the state power, of the dictatorship of the proletariat. What

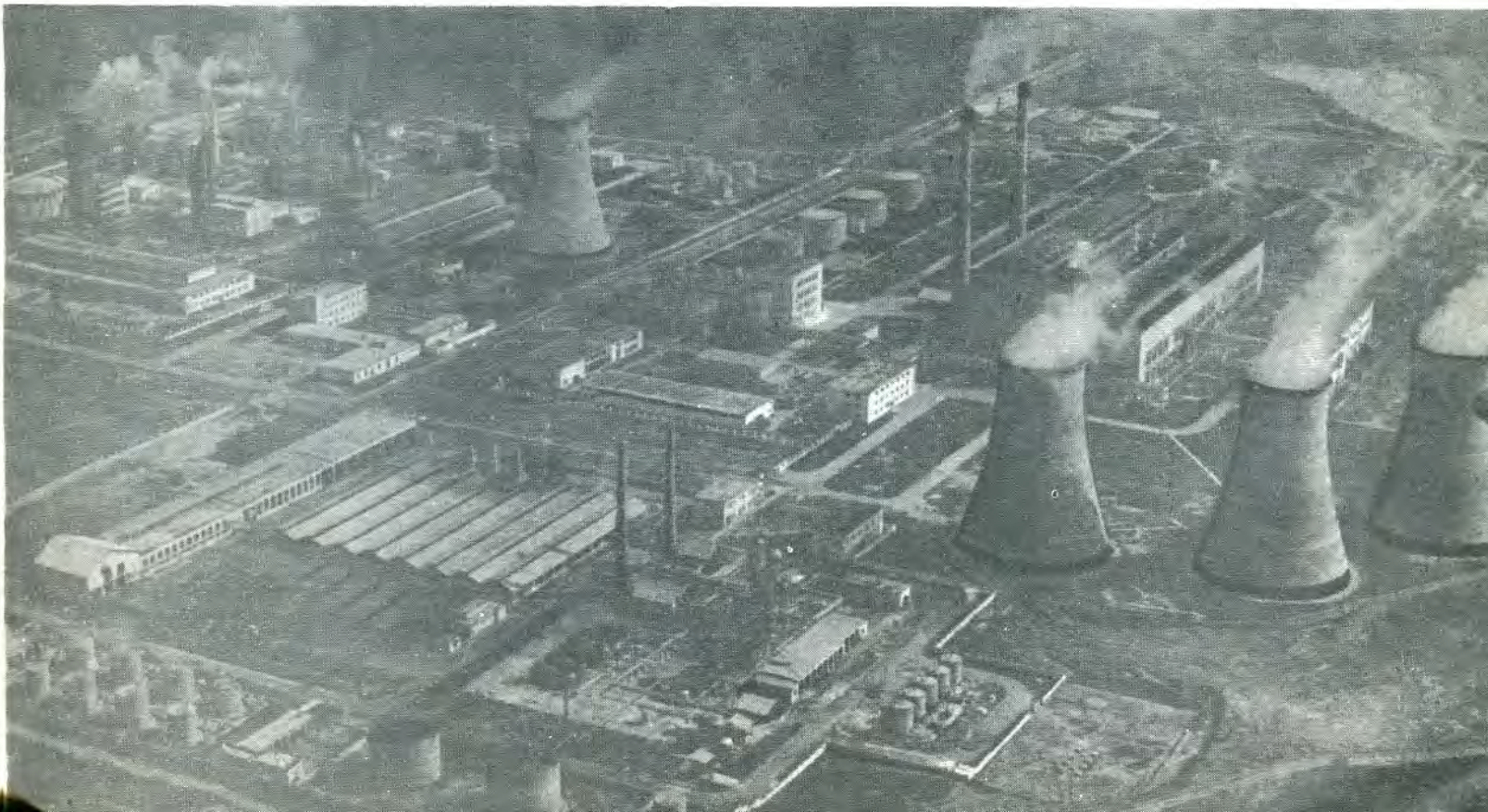
ever the field in which the class struggle between the two roads – socialist and capitalist, is waged, whether political or economic, ideological, cultural or military, it is, in the final account, a struggle around the question of whether the dictatorship of the proletariat will be preserved and strengthened, or will degenerate and be overthrown as occurred in the Soviet Union and several other countries.

Our experience, and especially that accumulated in these recent years of rigorous political life, full of originality, has shown that in circumstances where the party is giving correct leadership the dictatorship of the proletariat can withstand all tests and successfully perform its historic mission.

But we are conscious that the results achieved in the implementation of the orientations and measures adopted by the party have not eliminated all the dangers once and for all. The fight against bureaucratism and all its manifestations, as one of the most important expressions of the class struggle in the conditions of socialism, remains a permanent task of the party, of the socialist state and of all the working people.

This fight is of vital importance to the future of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for bureaucratism is a great and deeply rooted evil. As the negative experience of the Soviet Union and of some other countries shows, it leads to the separation of the state power from the masses of the people, to placing the leading organs and cadres above the

Industrial Albania



masses and beyond their control, to the erosion of socialist democracy, to the creation of bureaucratic centralism, to the degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The general road to the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the entire socialist order, is the development of mass democracy. Without socialist democracy there is no dictatorship of the proletariat, just as there can be no real democracy for the working people without a dictatorship of the proletariat. Under the guise of extending democracy the Khrushchevite revisionists liquidated the dictatorship of the proletariat and in its place they have established their bureaucratic dictatorship, as a weapon of the domination of the new bourgeois class over the working masses. Just as in the classical bourgeois countries, the so-called «democracy» in the countries ruled by the revisionists, is a privilege of the exploiting minority and a shameless fraud for the masses of the people.

The broadest possible drawing in of the masses into running the country has been and remains the unwavering line in the whole activity of our Party of Labour and our proletarian state for the building of socialism. We consider this participation as the main direction of the deepening of socialist democracy in action, as an indispensable condition to secure the experience of the broad working masses in the building of socialism, to multiply the strength of the state apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to make the working people ever more conscious that they themselves are the absolute masters of the country, that they ought to have the decisive say about everything.

The check up by the masses from below, as a question of principled importance and one of the main aspects of the development of socialist democracy, has been continually in the center of attention of the party. But its deepening and improvement in the most suitable forms always remains a current, primary task.

The direct control of the working class is decisive in this. The worker control from below is a necessity and a basic principle of social life during the whole historic period of socialism. This control, which is carried out under the leadership of the party, is one of the concrete expressions of the leading role of the working class and of proletarian democracy in action. It constitutes a sharp weapon in the fight against bureaucratism and alien influences in social life and in the consciousness of the working people, a very effective form of the proletarian education of the working class itself and is a powerful incitement to carry socialist construction forward. We regard the worker control as one of the fundamental guarantees to avert the danger of revisionism and turning back to capitalism.

It is of special importance to the working class that it itself should understand in the first place, not only its role as the decisive productive force, but also its political role as the vanguard class in our society. With its struggle, stand and example, it draws in behind it the whole mass of the rest of the population, induces in everybody the proletarian spirit, discipline, and culture, in work and life. In order to live up to this mission it is indispensable that the worker

control should develop as self-control of the working class also, as criticism and self-criticism in its ranks, as a persistent struggle against manifestations of self-complacency, indifference, and of running after narrow personal interest, against any spirit of becoming reconciled to the phenomena which hinder our forward march.

In the fight against bureaucratism and for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat the relationship between the cadres and the masses is of first importance.

Our party and our people's power, enlightened by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, especially during the period following the 5th Congress, have adopted a series of political, ideological and economic measures for the improvement of relations between the cadres and the masses so that the cadres will always remain consistent revolutionaries and devoted servants of the people.

Our party is constantly concerned with the problem that all the cadres should be developed and tempered as revolutionaries, that they should think and work as such till the end of their lives. Socialism does not need bureaucrats and technocrats who believe only in their own «genius» in technology, in the power of decrees, but it needs cadres that merge themselves and live with the masses, think and feel in the same way as the working class and cooperated peasantry. In the party line, in the majestic work and spiritual world of the working class and cooperated peasants the cadres will always find strength and inspiration.

The building of socialism in our country is being done in conditions of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement. Therefore the defence of the fatherland, of freedom and national independence, without which there is neither people's power nor socialism, has always been and is considered by our party as its supreme and permanent duty.

Preparation for the defence of the fatherland is a permanent and continuous task which is carried out in good times and bad, irrespective of the events occurring in the world. We base the defence of our country not on international political conjunctures, but mainly on the internal factor which we consider decisive. We base it on the strength, heroism and iron resistance of our people courageously led by the Party of Labour, on the fighting readiness of our country to cope with any situation or aggressor.

The fatherland and socialism, the life and work of the people, are defended arms in hand, by equipping the army and the people with up-to-date means, training them continually so they know how to use these means perfectly and with the greatest effectiveness. The fatherland belongs to the whole people, therefore it is defended not only by the regular uniformed army, but by the entire people, armed, organized and militarily trained.

The party and the government have always devoted the greatest attention to the increase, education and tempering of the armed forces. Our people's army is prepared, at any time and in any situation, however difficult it may be, to perform with honour its lofty duty of the defence of the socialist fatherland.

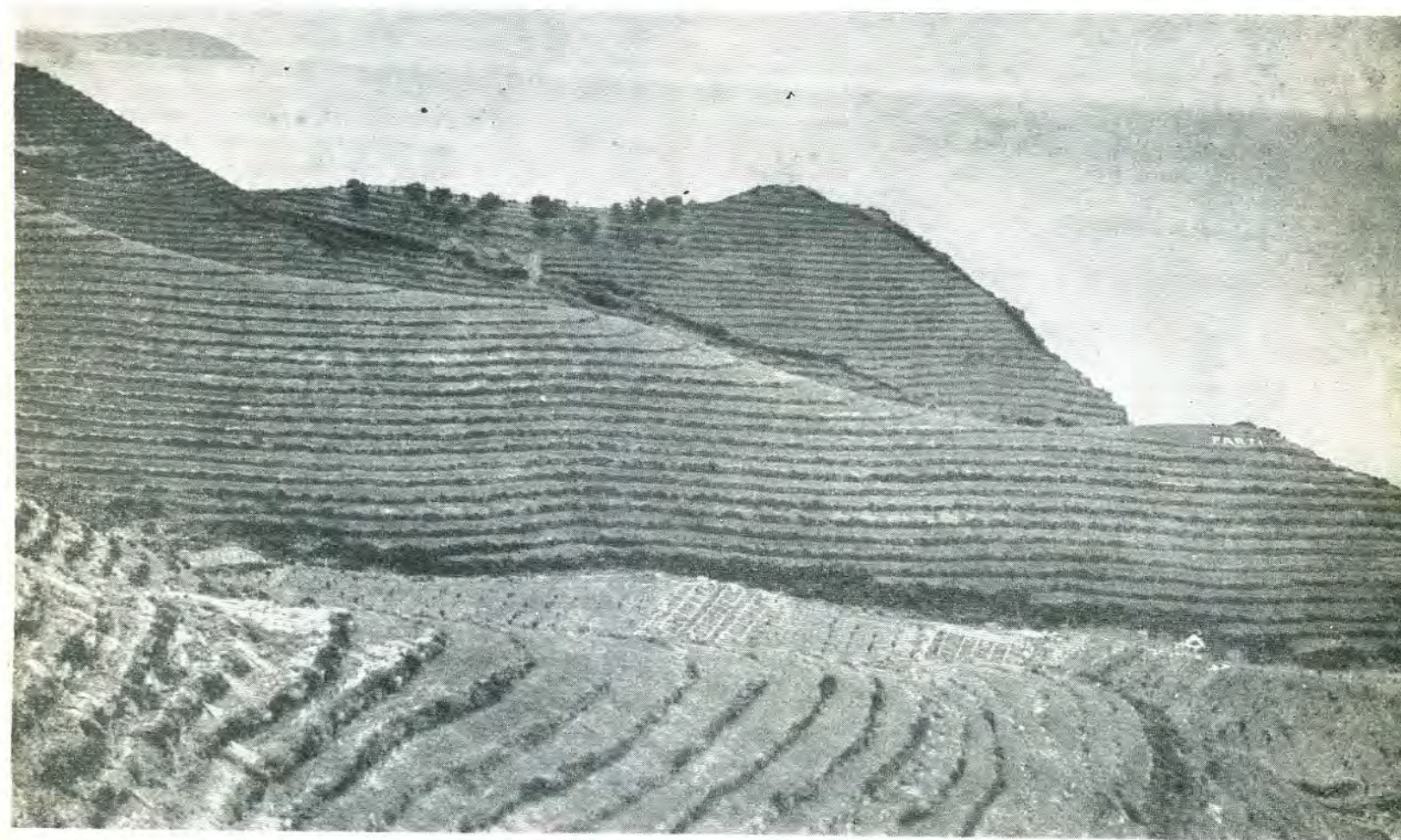
The party has devoted all its care, and it will continue to do so, without permitting any sort of vulgar stand of the sound military training, the profound assimilation of the military art of people's war, the perfect mastering of modern arms and equipment by the fighters, the strengthening of proletarian military discipline and order.

The party has been and remains the spirit of the army, the brain guiding it on the right road, the life-giving force which makes it invincible. In our army, at the head of our defence, the party is in command.

In every action they carry out, in every problem they solve

the party committees and organisations in the field should never forget their duties concerning the strengthening of the defence of the fatherland. They should carry out intensive ideological and political work for the education of all the working people in the spirit of vigilance, a high level of preparedness and the greatest seriousness in military training, bearing in mind in a most realistic way the conditions and exigencies of the war of today.

27 years have elapsed from the time when our people, under the firm Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Party of Labour, in armed struggle overthrew the hated power of



New terraces in the Albanian riviera
planted with citrus fruit and olive trees

foreign imperialists and of the local reactionary exploiting classes, and, for the first time in their long history, established the people's power in Albania.

From that time a quarter of century has elapsed. This is the period of the great revolutionary transformations to lay and consolidate the foundations of the new order in all fields. The great ideas of Marxism-Leninism about the new society, free from any sort of oppression and exploitation, and the programme of our party for building the foundations of socialism became a reality.

Viewed through the prism of these deep revolutionary changes, the constitution in force, in spite of later amendments and additions, has become outdated in many fundamental aspects and no longer reflects the socialist reality in Albania today. Therefore, the Central Committee of the Party proposes the drafting of a new constitution appropriate to the present stage of the country's development, to the new reality, so that, as a component part of the political superstructure, it may serve the economic base, the whole socialist development of society, better.

The reframing of the constitution will be a step of great theoretical and practical importance for the strengthening and further improvement of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country. The new constitution will serve as a juridical basis for the state organisation and legislation required by the present stage of our socialist construction. It must be a juridical, political, and ideological document which completely reflects the line of the party embodied in our revolutionary practice, and inspires the working people in the struggle for the complete construction of socialist society.

The drafting of the new constitution is a job of great responsibility. It will be the constitution of socialist Albania, of a country which stands loyal to the principles of scientific socialism and which implements and develops them in a creative manner.

THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AND THE EDUCATION OF THE NEW MAN

The development of the revolution in the field of ideology and culture has been characterized by a frontal class struggle against all forms of alien ideology, beginning with the old hangovers from distant centuries and ending with the present-day influences of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology. The basic aim of this struggle is the revolutionization of the minds and consciousness of people, of their entire spiritual world, to affirm the Marxist-Leninist ideology, proletarian morality and socialist culture.

Though our revolution overthrew the old relations of production and thus liquidated that material basis which gives birth to, keeps alive and nurtures the various forms of ideology of the exploiting classes, we still encounter many

traces and influences of them. The new socialist society and its further development can no longer reconcile itself with these alien hangovers. They not only hinder the forward march of revolution, but contain in themselves the danger of turning back. The bitter experience of the emergence of revisionism in the Soviet Union and other countries has confirmed that to fail to undertake the deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution with all our might, would mean to abandon the socialist revolution half way, to endanger its achievements in the economic and political fields, and to pave the way to bourgeois degeneration in all fields.

The struggle which our party is carrying out for the education of the new man is broad and complex. This education is done not only through propaganda work and agitation, it is not confined to the struggle against old ideas and concepts on the academic plane. It is realised also through the creation of such economic, social and political conditions that cultivate socialist concepts and norms among the people. It is realized in the process of the practical activity of men and women, in their struggle and work for the building of socialism. During the recent years, our party has been fighting with rare courage to work out Marxist-Leninist guide-lines in all these fields and to throw the masses into revolutionary actions. In the process of the deepening of the socialist revolution our party has now accumulated valuable theoretical and practical experience.

An unprecedented attack is being launched, especially against the most antiquated forms of the ideology of the exploiting classes, patriarchalism and conservatism, religion and backward customs, which for the known reasons of the profound backwardness inherited from the past still have roots and have not been absolutely wiped out.

One action with great results is the fight to smash the influence of religion. Within a very short period, this struggle succeeded in definitely stripping of their function all the institutions and preachers of religion who spread and kept alive the most profoundly obscurantist and anachronistic mysticism and idealism. Albania became a country without churches and mosques, without Christian or Muslim priests.

Of course this does not mean that the complete liberation of the working people from the influence of religious opium has been achieved; on the contrary, a long process of education and reeducation is needed for this. However, this was a decisive blow and a victory which creates a new and powerful premise for the further emancipation of people's consciousness, for their complete liberation from religious beliefs and prejudices.

This victory did not come of itself, nor was it achieved by administrative measures. For this all the conditions were brought to maturity and the working people of their own free will decided the fate of the religious institutions that have always maintained an antinational stand, have served the feudals, the bourgeoisie and foreign occupationists, irrespective of the fact that there have been patriotic clergymen of all beliefs, who have fought for the freedom and



Young pioneers meeting
the Presidium of the Congress

independence of Albania. This anti-national and anti-popular stand of religion and its institutions had long been in opposition to the patriotic and freedom-loving feelings of the Albanian people.

Our party has never permitted the feelings of the people to be trifled with. But as a Marxist-Leninist party, it is quite clear that during its triumphant march, when all the objective and subjective conditions have matured, the socialist revolution must not fail to cut and root out all those threads which keep the masses bound to the old world and hinder their march ahead.

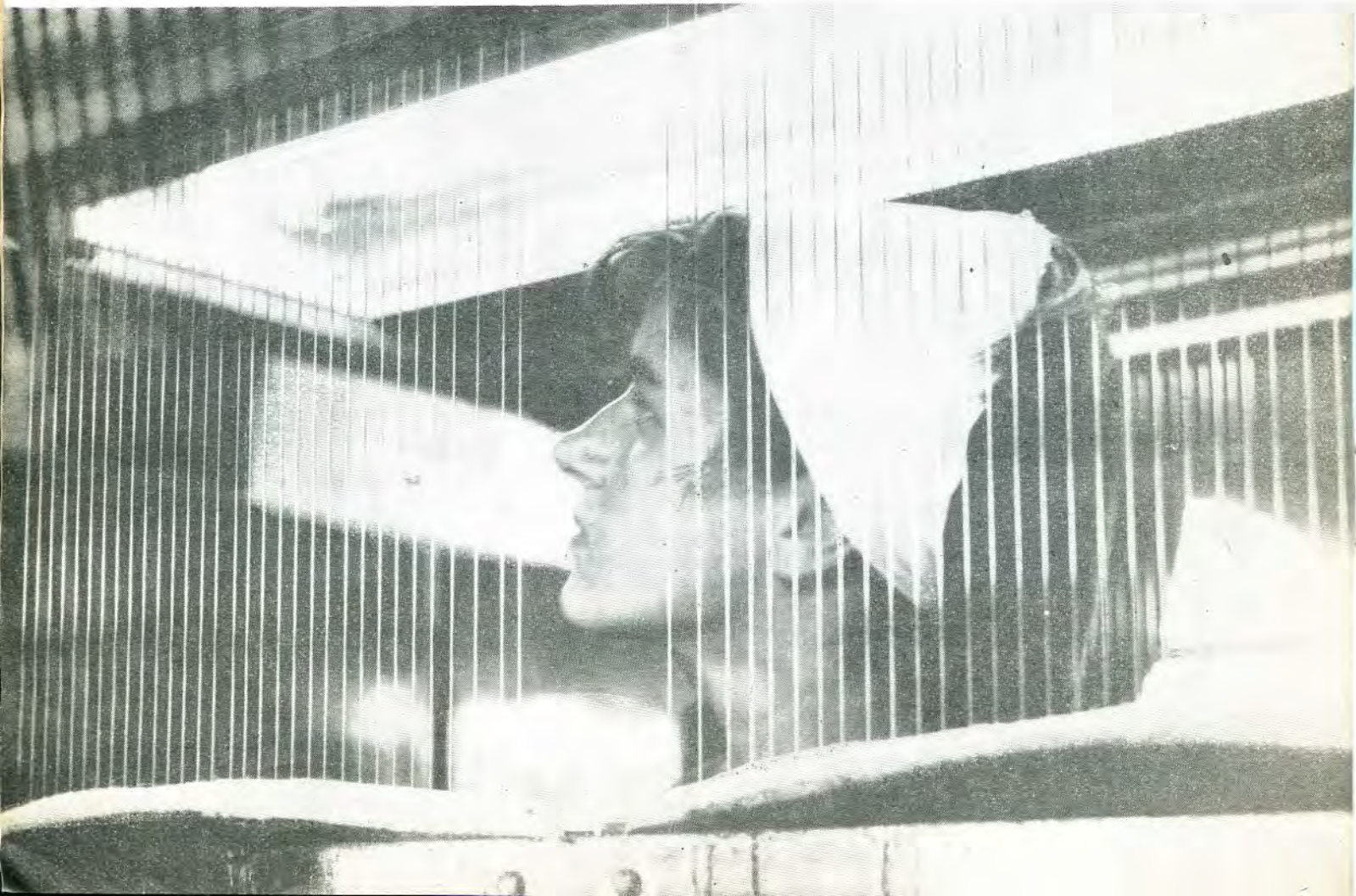
Look what is happening in the countries where the imperialists are in power! On the general background of bourgeois degeneration, for the sake of internal and external political conjunctures and even using the church for social-imperialist aims, religious propaganda is being extended, churches

and clergymen are being increased, the reactionary and obscurantist rubbish of medieval times is being activated.

At the present stage of the revolution, life has forcefully raised the very acute problem of the complete emancipation of women. In our country today there is no activity in which women do not militate. There is no new project in which their physical and mental work is not embodied. They constitute about 45 per cent of all the people employed in town and countryside.

The successes are great. But the complete emancipation of the woman still remains for the future one of the most important tasks of our party. The emancipation of the woman means not only liberated woman, but an entire society finally liberated from prejudices and alien concepts about the woman. This emancipation also implies the creation of

Wires of light



all the material and spiritual conditions for the establishment of an effective and full equality between the man and the woman in all fields of life.

Our party has carried out a continuous struggle also against petty-bourgeois mentality and psychology. But now the time has come to sharpen the edge of our attack on them. Petty-bourgeois concepts and inclinations are still preserved and kept alive. They manifest themselves not only in the countryside, but also in the city, to this or that extent, in all strata of the population. Petty-bourgeois vestiges are interwoven with all forms of the ideology of the exploiting classes, with backward and patriarchal customs, as well as with bourgeois and revisionist influences.

As revolutionaries and Marxists we understand the danger of the replacement of an old enslaving ideology with a new enslaving ideology, of an old poison with a new one, which, no matter how much of a sugar coating it may have, or what disguise of «modernization» and «liberalism», is always lethal. In the present conditions this is a great danger. While smashing the influences of alien ideology from the farback centuries, while liquidating the old social and ideological wounds inherited from old feudal-bourgeois society, our party fights to prevent the creation of new social and ideological wounds, which are characteristic of the present capitalist and revisionist world.

The whole of our struggle of recent years, the whole process of the revolutionization of our country's life are, at the same time, powerful blows at bourgeois and revisionist ideology. Their aim is to form an active barrier to the penetration of this ideology.

The struggle on the ideological front, as our party has always emphasized, is a very important component part of the class struggle which continues uninterruptedly in all the fields—political, economic, ideological and cultural. The successful development of the revolution, the defence and consolidation of its victories depends on this struggle. Life has already fully confirmed that any deviation from the class struggle, any weakening of this struggle, any misconception and distortion of it, is fraught with very serious consequences. Here we should seek and recognise one of the most important causes of what happened in the Soviet Union and in some other countries, the very essence of the revisionist treachery.

So long as the class struggle continues, and this is not instigated artificially, but exists objectively as a struggle between the two roads of development — the socialist and the capitalist roads, there is no room for any spirit of placidity, self-satisfaction or liberalism, because we have allegedly done away with all evils and have escaped any danger. On the contrary, the edge of the class struggle should always be kept keen, because it is our powerful weapon, which defends us from the enemies, cleanses us of evils and tempers us as proletarian revolutionaries. We must wage this struggle consistently, while always making clear the character of antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions and relying firmly on the masses.

In our country political power is in the hands of the working class, which, through the party and the proletarian sta-

te, leads the whole life of the country. Its leading and controlling role is decisive. Without it there is no dictatorship of the proletariat, no socialism. For this reason our party has devoted and devotes its full attention to the all-round education of the working class, to the enhancement of its political consciousness and to increasing its capability, to make it fully capable not only of understanding its mission as leading class in power, but also of realising it in practice.

The bourgeois technocratic theories which try to deny the necessity for the socialist revolution of the proletariat and replace it with the technical-scientific revolution, which aim at rejecting the consistently revolutionary character and historic mission of the working class are absolutely alien to us. The technical and scientific revolution cannot change the nature of either capitalism or socialism, nor the objective laws of the development of society. In our country the technical and scientific revolution develops under the leadership of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The bureaucrats and the technocrats cannot be and will never be in power, but the working class and the laws of the dictatorship of the proletariat will rule until the withering away of the state, until the complete victory of communism.

While fighting bureaucratic, technocratic and intellectual concepts, our party fights at the same time against vulgar concepts that deny and disparage the work and the role of the intelligentsia. The aim of our party is to keep the intelligentsia pure and revolutionary, to link it closely with the workers and peasants, to make it able to cope itself with foreign bourgeois and revisionist influences, so that it can fight resolutely, as it has fought until now, for the great cause of the working class and the people.

The party has done fruitful work in the struggle for the education of the new man, especially for the communist education of our youth. Our youth are closely linked with the party, politically clear and morally pure, correctly orientated and secure in life, bold and courageous fighters, who pour out their precious energies for the benefit of the socialist revolution and the all-round progress of the people.

We see quite another picture in the capitalist and revisionist world. There, the problem of the youth today is one of the most disturbing problems. The youth feel the crisis of this rotten society and seek a way out. Time after time they throw themselves into various revolutionary actions in this struggle. But they are benumbed, fed with the feeling of spiritual emptiness and futility, led on to the road of dissipation and degeneration, their energies consumed in a life devoid of ideals or prospects.

The bourgeois and revisionist ideologists try to convince the youth and the masses that it is useless to fight and seek a way out from the deep contradictions eroding their society. The only alternative they offer is to plunge into pessimism and corruption. Herein lies the source of the unscrupulous incitement, with disastrous social consequences, to alcoholism, narcotics, sexuality, and many low and beastly instincts which have become the fashion in the capitalist and revisionist world.

In absolute contrast to this situation, the younger generation, rallied in our country round its own militant organization, the Labor Youth Union of Albania, under the leadership of the party, has come out on the arena of ideological class struggle as a courageous initiator and unyielding fighter, as a revolutionising shock force, driving ahead in the field of social, ideological and cultural transformations. Our heroic youth, guarding itself against the influences of bourgeois and revisionist ideology, has at the same time marched and is marching boldly in the front ranks of the struggle against all those traditions of the old world, which have become outdated, against everything alien that hinders our advance. In this struggle the personality of the youth has increased and is increasing every day, its courage and revolutionary initiative are growing, its experience is being enriched.

But we should not forget that the bourgeois and revisionist ideology is spearheaded in the first place against the youth, which, from lack of experience, may become more vulnerable. Therefore our party will fight, in the future, too, to throw the youth into struggle against any influence of alien ideology, to nurture it consistently with the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist ideals, to widen the scope and horizons for its inexhaustible energies in every field, to encourage its initiative and self-action on a large scale.

Our society is in a period of impetuous ascent. Centuries-old traditions, norms and customs are being overturned, the ideologies of all the classes whose star has waned are being attacked, new norms and customs, which liberate the minds and consciousness of the working people are coming into being, the ideology of victorious proletariat is triumphing. But the positions won by the socialist ideology need to be further consolidated and deepened, until they are dominant everywhere, throughout our whole society.

The ideological struggle as one of the most complicated and sharpest forms of class struggle, is a life and death struggle between our ideology and hostile alien ideology, between the new and the old, between the revolutionary and the reactionary.

In this struggle to the old, which we negate and want to smash, we always counterpose the new which is arising and asserting itself. To the bourgeois and revisionist concepts and ideas we counterpose our Marxist-Leninist views. To the old petty-bourgeois psychology we counterpose the new socialist psychology; to the manifestations of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois individualism and indifference we counterpose socialist collectivism and solidarity, to bourgeois liberalism and patriarchal conservatism, we counterpose our sound progressive spirit; to the trends of personal ease and arrogance we counterpose the spirit of sacrifice and action, the practical spirit, modesty and demands upon oneself.

In the deepening of the ideological class struggle, the formation of the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook assumes first rate importance. Now, new objective and subjective conditions have been created which enable us to raise the whole work for a creative mastering of Marxism-Leninism by the communists and the working masses, for putting the struggle against idealist and metaphysical concepts on a still more

scientific basis, for achieving the mastering of the Marxist-Leninist theory in still closer connection with revolutionary practice.

Marxism-Leninism is a theory which is revolutionary to the end. Throwing light on the new problems emerging from life, it is developed in struggle with the views of its ideological opponents. Only in the process of this struggle can it be thoroughly mastered, can the living Marxist-Leninist ideas be implanted and transformed into conscious militant conviction. The confrontation of views and debate should be used on a broad scale within the party and the whole of society, in struggle against any manifestation of conformism, against tendencies to cover up contradictions. Only in this way can we lay the basis of an active immunity to alien ideology, can we achieve a truly revolutionary education.

During the recent period, a tremendous job has been done to further revolutionize education and culture, literature and the arts, to put them ever better in the service of the cause of socialism and the people.

The further revolutionization of the school is one of the biggest actions undertaken by the party. The broad popular discussion which was held on this question made a great contribution to combatting bourgeois and revisionist concepts and influences and to the elaboration of Marxist-Leninist concepts on the school. Now a frontal struggle is being waged to carry out the party's instructions in this field, and life itself is confirming their correctness day by day. The new educational programs are being implemented successfully. A major job, in which thousands of teachers have been activated, is being done in drafting the new school text books. Likewise, work is going on to revolutionize teaching and educational structure, methods and forms. The aim of these measures are to achieve the Marxist-Leninist ideological axis in the whole teaching-educational work of the school, in the application in unity of its main components - teaching, productive work and physical and military education, in its close and allround connection with revolutionary practice.

We should take more care also for the life of the youth and the working people, for their all-round culture, for their rest and recreation, for games, for sports grounds, and equipment for the publication of books, for the artistic movement, etc. The better harmonization of the work at school with the whole system of out of school education and mass culture, as well as the formation of a correct concept on the broadness of the content and means of cultural work, are very important and actual problems.

Our socialist life is and should be culture. This means that parallel with the school, the book, artistic activity, etc, the whole of life, production, the way of living and behaviour, the creation of environments in the plants, schools or the countryside, the way we build and arrange our villages and towns, our architecture and town planning, road maintenance, even the way of serving the people, all this, everything in our country, should serve the cultural formation of the new man.

Considerable results of great educational value have been achieved in recent years also in the development of literature and art. They acquired greater ideological maturity

and a higher artistic level. The artistic creative work has increased as never before and all genres of art and literature. New talents have been and are being added to the recognised talents day by day. Besides the qualitative rise of professional creative work, there has been an unprecedented flowering of the people's creative work and of the amateur artistic movement.

The further flourishing of the arts of socialist realism will be achieved by consolidating the positions won in struggle against any alien influence which is incompatible with our socialist ideology, against both modernist trends and conservatism, by reflecting still more deeply from the ideo-artistic point of view, the all-round life and struggle of the people for the construction of socialism, by centering the creative work on the heroes of our time, by strengthening the proletarian partisanship and the popular character of our arts, in struggle against any influence of bourgeois objectivism and abstract humanism, by continually increasing the educational role of literature and arts.

Today science has become a very important factor in the development of production and all the other sectors of social activity. It has been transformed into a direct productive force, on the results of which the increase of the country's economic power depends to a considerable degree. The progress of present-day science is colossal and any negligence in this field would be reflected negatively on the overall rate of the country's construction. The ever more intensive development of the national economy and culture can be stepped up further only by relying on modern science and technology, by promoting the technical and scientific revolution. At the present stage of our country, there is no field in which we can advance rapidly unless profound immediate and prospective scientific studies are made, which clarify the objectives we want to achieve and the ways through which they can be realized. This demand for raising the management of all work to a still higher scientific level can be carried out successfully if we base ourselves firmly on science and utilise its achievements intensively.

The organs of the party, the state and the economy, should support and rely more actively on the scientific thought of our specialists and the working people. They should assess every positive experience and encourage every useful proposal by courageously opening the way to the new, by giving up routine and the old manner of work, by opening the path to the impetuous creative energies and spirit of innovation of our people.

WE MUST CEASELESSLY STRENGTHEN AND REVOLUTIONISE THE PARTY

The party comes to this congress stronger than ever before, with a steel-like Marxist-Leninist unity of its ranks, linked as close as flesh to bone with the working class and

the working masses, ready to undertake still greater tasks, and determined to carry them out honorably as it has always done.

Without a revolutionary party of the working class, a party loyal to Marxism-Leninism, organized and capable of leading and mobilizing the working masses, neither the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, nor the successful construction of socialism can be thought of. Precisely because we have always kept this principle in mind and remained loyal to it, the retrogressive process that occurred in the Soviet Union and in some other countries, where the emergence of revisionism and the re-establishment of capitalism began with the degeneration of the party, with the alteration of its class character, with the loss of its revolutionary qualities and spirit, did not take place with us. Precisely because we have followed the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the party consistently, and fought relentlessly for its uninterrupted tempering and revolutionization, in our country the dictatorship of the proletariat stands steel-strong and invincible, socialism marches ahead, ever triumphant.

Our party upholds the Marxist-Leninist principle, that with the development and consolidation of socialism, far from being weakened, the leading role of the party becomes ever more strengthened and perfected.

The leading role of the party as the guiding force of the entire life of the country extends to every field: ideology, politics, organisation, the economy, education, military affairs, and so on. These sectors of the life of the country, which together make up a whole, are led by the party through all its members, wherever they work, be it in party or state apparatus, in the mass organisations, in production or in the scientific and cultural institutions.

The leading role of the party is not achieved through decrees, nor is it imposed through administrative measures. It is won through its correct line, which expresses and defends the vital interests of the working class and the masses as a whole, and through its resolute struggle to carry this line out in actual life. This role is ensured through the revolutionary activity of every communist who, by his personal example and activity, inspires, educates and mobilizes the masses in the struggle for socialism.

The party, as a living political organism which grows and is strengthened in struggle and revolution, reflects in its ranks the changes that take place in the social-economic sphere, in the class structure and in the spiritual life of society.

During these last five years, thanks to the great allround political, ideological, and organizational work for the further revolutionization of the whole life of the country and of the party itself, important quantitative and qualitative changes have taken place in the party.

The considerable growth of the party membership and, especially, the further improvement of the class composition of its ranks testifies to this. On October 1, 1971 there were 86,985 communists in the ranks of the party, including 18,127 candidate-members, compared with 66,327 communists

at the time of the 5th party congress. Thus, during this period 20,658 communists have been added to the party.

It is a great joy and victory for the party and all the people that now for the first time in the history of our party, the worker communists occupy the first place in party membership. At present they make up 36.41 per cent of all the communists.

In order to preserve and continuously strengthen its proletarian class character the party has devoted special attention to the improvement of the composition of its leading organs with workers. Today 55 per cent of the members of the plenums of the party committees in the districts, 85.2 per cent of the members of the bureaux of the basic organisations in the economic enterprises and 86.3 per cent of their secretaries, are workers by origin, background or present position.

The growth of the party in the agricultural cooperatives, from the 5th congress onward, has gone normally in conformity with the tasks arising from the socialist construction in the countryside. Communists from the agricultural cooperatives make up 29.70 per cent of the party membership. Today there is no village without communists, and we have organised basic party organisations in all the sectors of the agricultural cooperatives.

The great revolutionary struggle that has been developed, especially in recent years, for the complete emancipation of the woman, for setting free her inexhaustible creative energies, has been successfully reflected in the composition of the party. The fact that women comprise 22.05 per cent of the total party membership as against 12.47 at the time of the 5th congress, cannot but arouse our enthusiasm.

For our party, as its entire history proves, the quality of its members, their political and moral characteristics, their ideological formation and revolutionary tempering, their determination to defend and carry out the line of the party always and under any circumstances, are of decisive importance.

Each stage of the revolution demands new qualities and virtues from all the working people, qualities and virtues which should be embodied, first of all, in the communists. Besides their political loyalty and devotion to the cause of the party, besides their untiring work for the good of the people, besides their internationalist convictions and hatred of the enemy, today it is more than ever necessary for the communists to be advanced people, with new concepts about work, life, family, society, people who love knowledge and culture, who have a thorough understanding of their profession and support technical and scientific progress with all their might, who do not tolerate routine and ignorance, who wage a courageous struggle against anything that becomes an obstacle hindering the impetuous march of socialist society.

The sound composition and the good qualities of those who are admitted to the party are not everything. In order to have a strong revolutionary party capable of playing its vanguard role, it is indispensable that all its members should be educated constantly with the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the policy and teachings of the party, uninterruptedly

tempered in the fire of revolutionary struggle and work. This is a vital necessity if the communists are not to become sclerosed, bureaucratized, and degenerate as in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, but are to remain always resolute and consistent fighters for the cause of communism.

The educative work of the party should aim not only at arming the communists with the laws of development of society, at equipping them with the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook, but also at tempering their consciousness, keeping the revolutionary spirit, the moral figure of the party member high so that thought and action constitute an indissoluble unity, so that the communists think, live and act everywhere and always as revolutionaries.

Throughout its life our party has fought unceasingly to keep the party norms unblemished and have them become an integral part of the daily life of the organizations and the communists. This has made our party invincible, able to face its various enemies and to lead the Albanian people successfully on the brilliant road of socialism.

Having in mind both the positive experience of our party and the negative experience of the revisionist parties, we should give full attention to this great vital question and must resolutely fight any manifestation of formalism in the interpretation and implementation of the Leninist norms in party life.

These norms are not an end in themselves nor are they administrative rules. Thus internal democracy, as a very important norm in party life, is not reduced simply to democratic procedure in holding meetings, for taking decisions by majority vote, etc. Democracy in the party, has a profound ideological and practical meaning and content. The essence of it is that every communist should take an active part in formulating and implementing the party line, freely express his ideas about the work and the people, openly criticize shortcomings and make self-criticism of his own weaknesses. Understood and implemented in this way, democracy serves the strengthening of the party, the education and tempering of the communists, the enlivenment of the organizations and the solidarity of the party ranks on the basis of the fundamental principle of its structure and functioning – democratic centralism.

Democracy is strengthened through debates, the clash of opinions and viewpoints, the putting forward and overcoming of contradictions.

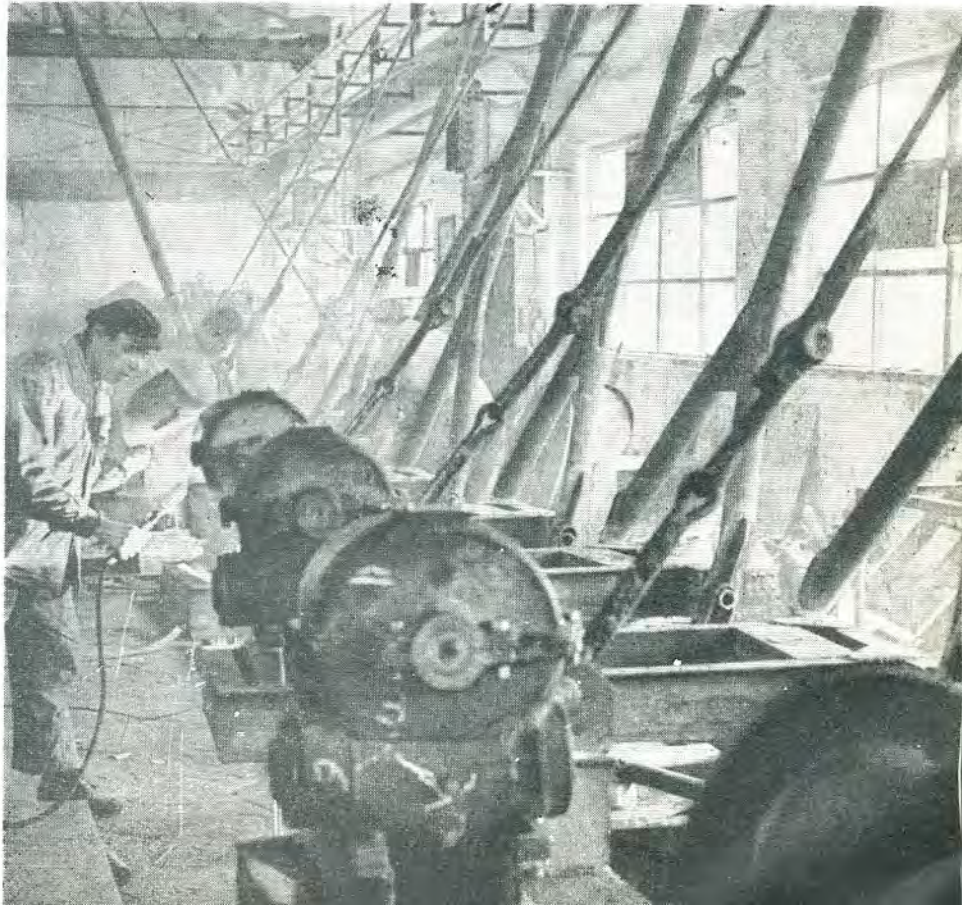
But democracy would still remain formal, were it limited only to discussions and debates. It becomes effective and serves the strengthening of the party when the communists consistently carry the decisions taken through to the end, when they act like a single body and have a common will. This is how the unity of thought and actions is realized in practice.

The party cannot stand in the forefront of the struggle and forge ahead without mobilizing the masses, without relying upon them, because the work of the party is broad, boundless, and it can never be done by a limited number of communists. Its links with the masses is another important norm and principle of the party.

Middle school pupils
take part in production work



Serial production of
«Pionier» cranes for construction



Placing the entire activity of the party organizations and communists under the control of the working class and the working masses is a question of great principled importance to prevent the separation of the party from the class and the masses, if we want it to remain to the end a revolutionary party loyally serving the interests of the people. The lack of these reports, departure from the mass line, turning party work into something closed, beyond the control of the class and the working people, made it possible for the revisionists to take the masses by surprise and face them with an accomplished fact.

The deepening of the mass line cannot be understood without further improving the work of the party with the organizations of the masses and its leadership in these organizations.

The party has always had a high appreciation of the great role the organizations of the masses play in the system of proletarian dictatorship, therefore it has devoted and continues to devote full attention to them. This attention should in no way be diminished in the future, either. On the contrary, it should be increased, combatting any manifestation of underestimation of the organization of the masses which is still to be found among some party organizations, cadres or communists.

Our party opposes both the viewpoints of the modern revisionists who preach the independence of the mass organizations from the revolutionary party of the working class so as to make them dependent on the bourgeois parties, and the bureaucratic concepts according to which the mass organizations should be mere appendages of the state apparatus, thus denying them any initiative and self-action, with the aim that everything should be dictated to them from above.

The leadership of the party is a political and ideological leadership, which means that the activity of the mass organizations is based on the ideology and general political line of the party, that its directives and decisions are the only source that inspires and guides them in all their activity.

In the conditions when the ideopolitical, cultural and educational level of the masses has been raised and when their organizations have gained rich experience, it is also necessary to improve the forms and methods of party leadership, which should aim, not at stifling, but at all-round development, of the initiative and self-action of the mass organizations, just as they themselves should further improve their style and method, finding more independent, more flexible and more varied forms of work.

By its careful work over the years the party has created an army of loyal and able cadres who, tempered in struggle against difficulties and obstacles, enlightened by the Marxist-Leninist line of the party, work as revolutionaries in all sectors.

Today about 44 per cent of all categories of cadres are up to 30 years of age, while over 50 per cent range from 30 to 50 years of age. These indices are very positive. They testify to the fact that the party has pursued a correct policy in the advancement of cadres, harmoniously combining the old cadres with the young ones, preparing and training a

new generation of cadres for the purpose of gradually and continuously renewing the leading organs of the party, the state, the economy and culture.

The party will continue to follow this correct policy in the future, too.

MARXISM-LENINISM AN EVER YOUNG AND SCIENTIFIC DOCTRINE

The struggle against the most dangerous anti Marxist trend, Soviet-led modern revisionism, has been continually in the center of attention of the party. Conscious of the historic necessity of this struggle, our party has exposed the anti-Marxist viewpoints and theses and the counter-revolutionary activity, the demagogy and deceitful tactics of the Khrushchevite revisionists. It has fought resolutely to tear off their masks one after another, to reveal their traitorous and social-imperialist features.

As a logical result of the development of the betrayal, revisionism, which was born as an opportunist and anti-Marxist trend in the ranks of the communist movement, has now been transformed into a bourgeois trend in the labor movement, a trend similar to social-democracy. The countries where the revisionists came to power have been turned into bourgeois states which oppress and exploit the working people in the same way as the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries. The head of revisionism, the Soviet Union, has been transformed into an imperialist power which follows an expansionist and aggressive policy, which fight for hegemony and world domination.

To the Marxist-Leninists, to the consistent revolutionaries, revisionism remains a great enemy, no less dangerous than the imperialist bourgeoisie. No illusions whatever should be entertained on this issue. The fight against modern revisionism headed by the Soviet leaders, must be continued, intensified, and carried right through to the end. Nothing can correct them, except the revolution, and it will wipe them from the face of the earth.

The present situation makes the need for the intensification of this struggle of historic importance even more imperative. We are living in a period of the mounting of the revolutionary upsurge.

But, while there is a powerful upsurge of the masses and peoples in struggle and revolution, the weakness of the revolutionary movement in many countries and areas consists precisely in the lack of scientific strategy and tactics to open the revolutionary perspective to masses, and to guide them on to the right road for the attainment of their objectives. The situation is such that the practical movement of the masses has marched and is marching ahead, whereas the subjective factor, consciousness, their organisation and direction in many countries has lagged behind, and does not respond to

the tasks of the times. In this, a direct role of undermining and sabotage is being played by the modern revisionists, who, having abandoned the revolutionary ideals, have turned themselves into scabs and firemen to quell the revolution, and with their opportunist and anti-Marxist viewpoints and activity strive to disarm the working class and to sow ideological and political confusion in the ranks of revolution.

The Khrushchevite revisionists trumpeted and continue to trumpet noisily that with their theoretical viewpoints and theses the «foundations» were laid for the struggle and the «right» road to socialism. In reality this was a road and a struggle to extinguish the struggle for socialism, to turn the masses from the road of revolution, to perpetuate the capitalist order and to undermine the gains of socialism everywhere.

The counter-revolutionary theories and practices of the revisionists serve as nourishment for the most diverse hostile ideological trends, ranging from the most reactionary bourgeois trends, to the trotskyist and petty-bourgeois ones. The bourgeois ideologists deliberately try to present the revisionist betrayal as a failure of socialism and Marxism-Leninism, as if communism is unable to provide a positive alternative for the solution of the problems of the world today. Justifying the capitalist order, they claim that today, it has become capable of overcoming its social contradictions and conflicts, of creating a society of «general well-being», that allegedly the present-day technical-scientific revolution is replacing the social revolution, is bringing capitalism nearer to socialism and that it is allegedly merging them into a new and single «industrial» or «post-industrial» society. This is the most reactionary wing, the openly anti-communist wing in the present-day ideological struggle.

The various anti-Marxist trends of the Trotskyists and anarchists have been activated as never before. Infiltrating into various mass movements, especially of youth and intellectuals, they are trying to fish in troubled waters, with a view to diverting the masses from the right road and throwing them into dangerous adventures which lead to heavy defeats and disillusionment. Although they frequently come out with ultra-revolutionary and anti-revisionist slogans, in fact they are playing the revisionists' game, and they are undermining the cause of revolution together.

There are also some petty-bourgeois ideologists and people of sincere revolutionary inclinations who, being disillusioned by the revisionist betrayal, question the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and try to create new theories or to revive old ones. They preach that Marxism-Leninism is incomplete and inaccurate, that allegedly it no longer responds to the new historical conditions of various countries or continents.

In this situation when the ideological confusion which the modern revisionists caused and are seeking to keep alive, has become more pronounced the great importance of the struggle of all the Marxist-Leninists for the liberation of the working class and laboring masses from all the influences of bourgeois and revisionist ideology and of the various pet-

ty-bourgeois trends, the arming of them with the only scientific ideology, Marxism-Leninism, emerges very clearly.

The ideological struggle which is being waged in the world today is very broad and complex. But the most fundamental problems being discussed are those about hegemony in the revolutionary movement, about the essence and the roads of development of revolution and about the concept and structure of socialist society.

The Leadership Of The Working Class And Its Marxist-Leninist Party, A Fundamental Condition For The Defeat Of The Bourgeoisie And Imperialism

The ideological opponents of Marxism-Leninism, from the bourgeois and revisionist down to the radical and petty-bourgeois ones, are seeking, in words and deeds, to deny the world historic mission of the working class, its role and hegemony in revolution. All of them together, in this way or that, are trying to prove that the ideals of Marxism-Leninism on this issue have become obsolete.

The question of hegemony in the revolution is of great principled importance, for it is on who is at the head of it, who is leading it, that its direction, its consistent development and its very fate depend. The attitude towards the working class and its leading role is a touch-stone for all revolutionaries. The rejection of the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolutionary movement today, as Lenin emphasized, is the most vulgar expression of reformism.

The conditions that make the working class the decisive force in contemporary social development, the leading force in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of the capitalist world, have not changed in the least.

All the revolutionary forces that fight for the overthrow of the bourgeois order can achieve victory only if they merge their efforts with the struggle of the working class, if they acknowledge and accept its leading role and that of the proletarian Marxist-Leninist party. This is objectively indispensable. Any alternative leads to adventurism and defeat.

In the contemporary revolutionary movement the youth, the students and the various strata of the intelligentsia occupy an important place. In many countries, such as France and Italy, the U.S.A. and Japan, Spain and Latin America, they have shown themselves very active and have given proofs of their courage, selflessness and revolutionary spirit. But it must be admitted that in the leftist movement of the intellectuals and students great ideological and political confusion exists. The character of their programs and slogans, which are frequently utopian, the lack of patience and spon-



We sing to the new life

taneous outbursts, have their source in the influence of alien ideologies and the heterogeneous class composition of these movements.

The Marxist Leninists give full attention to the leftist movements of the youth and intellectuals and, without ignoring the weaknesses of these movements, strive to draw them onto correct revolutionary positions, to liberate them from the influences of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and revisionist ideology.

The youth, the students and the progressive section of the intelligentsia, are close allies of the working class, but not the only ones. The hegemony of the working class extends over other strata of the population which are also interested in the revolution, especially the peasantry, which, in the overwhelming majority of the countries and areas of the world, represents its main, most powerful and resolute ally.

The modern revisionists strive to negate the great importance of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry under the pretext that the latter does not play any separate role, especially, in advanced capitalist countries, and instead

bring to the forefront the alliance of the working class with the intelligentsia. In some other countries, the revisionists replace the alliance between the working class and the peasantry with the alliance between the working class and the other petty-bourgeois strata of the city and its surroundings. By means of such theories and practices they aim to detach from the working class its closest and most resolute ally in struggle. The Leninist thesis that the alliance of the working class with the peasantry is the social force capable of overthrowing the bourgeoisie and of building socialism, is completely valid in our time, too.

The basis for alliances becomes even further extended when it is a question of the democratic anti-imperialist revolutions, in which, besides the peasantry and the petty-bourgeoisie of the cities, the national bourgeoisie can take part as well. But whatever their weight in any revolution, they cannot play the role of hegemony and leadership which is played only by the working class.

Therefore, the working class as the most revolutionary class of society can and should come to the forefront and

take the lead not only of the struggle for socialism but also of the struggle for democracy and national independence.

The small number of the working class in some countries is no argument to negate its leading role, because the strength and the leading role of a class does not depend on its numbers. The working class plays its leading role through its party, which, as the example of our country demonstrates, can be founded and emerge in the forefront of the revolutionary struggle even when the working class is small in number and unorganized.

Today the various theories which preach spontaneity in the revolutionary movement, which disparage the role of the conscious factor, which negate the role of theory and of the party of the proletariat, are being activated. There are also those who pose as pure revolutionaries, who go so far as to declare that in «Marx's theory about the revolution there is neither a place nor the need for a party», that «the vanguard of socialist revolution cannot be equated with the Marxist-Leninist party», that the role of the party can be played «by the active minority» which emerges as a «ferment» in the spontaneous movement, that «the consciousness of the revolutionary organization» emerges from the «revolutionary action itself».

All these «theories» cause incalculable harm to the revolutionary movement, for they befuddle the minds of the working class and leave it disarmed before the onslaught of the bourgeoisie, which, on its part, has reached the acme of perfection in its propaganda methods and means and the organization of the struggle against the revolution and communism.

It is now historically proven that without its party the working class, under whatever conditions it may live or work, cannot achieve consciousness on its own. What turns the working class from a «class by itself» to a «class for itself» is its party.

Even when some of the various revisionists and opportunists admit the need for the existence of a party, they badly distort its role and the organizational principles on which it is built. They proclaim Lenin's ideas on this matter to be obsolete and left behind. In particular they assail the principle that the party is not only the conscious vanguard of the class but also the highest form of its organization, characterized by a unity of thought and action, and to which belongs the leading role in all revolutionary activity in whatever field it may take place. Some of them reduce the party's role to that of an organization of political and ideological guidance and education, or a centre coordinating information. Others identify it with the guerilla unit or favour equal «partnership» of the Marxist-Leninist party with the other parties and organizations of the working class and the laboring masses.

The struggle for socialism has as its theoretical foundation the ideology of the working class, Marxism-Leninism, which is the scientific doctrine that provides the only correct conception of socialism and of the ways to attain it. No other party can uphold, work out, and implement this theory, except the communist party of the prole-

tariat, the party of the class to which the socialist and communist future belongs, which defends the fundamental interests of the workers and all the progressive forces of society and fights for them, the party of the class which, as Marx said, cannot liberate itself without liberating all mankind. If the fate of the revolution is left to a center of general guidance, to a simple coordinating or guerilla organization, it will turn into a blind alley and suffer defeat.

The Revolution - The Road To The Liberation Of Mankind

The idea of revolution as the sole means of transforming the world, the only road to escape the yoke of national and social bondage, has gripped the minds of millions of people on all the continents. Now everybody speaks of revolution. But the concepts about the content, the motive forces, and the ways and forms of carrying it out, are most diverse. All these things are the subject of great ideological struggle and polemics.

In this matter of vital importance, too, the Soviet-led modern revisionists have come out in defence of the interests of the bourgeoisie and in their service. They have reduced the entire theory and practice of revolution to reforms within the capitalist order, and are trying to persuade the workers that in our days the boundary between revolution and reform has allegedly been wiped out altogether. They loudly propagandize that the working class has the possibility of bringing about radical transformations in the economic basis of capitalism, of occupying important positions, of seizing all power and realizing socialism without violent revolution, without smashing the bourgeois state machine and without establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In their practice, the revisionists take up only day to day demands. They have concentrated all their efforts on broadening the bourgeois democracy, on improving its institutions, sacrificing their final aims for the sake of these things. The best demonstration of this is provided by the entire activity of the Italian, French and other revisionists, who have turned themselves into appendages of the bourgeoisie, into defenders of its order, have betrayed the vital interests of the working class, even going so far as to fiercely denounce any revolutionary action of the masses which affects the domination of the bourgeoisie. While they come out against the revolutionary violence of the masses, and justify the violence of the bourgeoisie, the modern revisionists themselves resort to counterrevolutionary violence where they are in power, as in the case of Czechoslovakia and Poland, where they suppressed the Czechoslovak people and the revolt of the Polish working class with fire and sword. It is here that their betrayal and complete degeneration are most evident.



Collective reading of Comrade Enver Hoxha's report to the 6th Party Congress at an advanced production brigade of the State Industrial Enterprise of Chemical Products

The failure of the peaceful evolutionist theories of the modern revisionists is confirmed also by the present development of events in the world. The anti-imperialist and liberation wars that have broken out in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the revolts of the workers and laboring masses in the advanced capitalist countries themselves, prove that the revisionist reformist alternative does not respond to reality, to the aspirations of the masses. As a matter of fact, the present revolutionary activity is taking place without the revisionists and against their wishes. Nevertheless, the danger and harm done by the revisionist theories and practices should not be underrated. Many persons, including some sincere revolutionaries, while rejecting the reformist path of the revisionists and criticizing it, have adopted some other erroneous concepts on the revolution and the ways to develop it. This is connected with their petty-bourgeois class position, their lack of Marxist-Leninist ideological development and with the influence that anarchist, Trotskyite and putschist views exert on them. Some of them imagine the revolution as a military coup, as the deed of a few «heroes». They over-rate and absolutise the role of «subjective activity» and think that the revolutionary situation as a condition for the outbreak of the revolution can be created artificially by the «active operations» of a militant group, which serves as a «starter motor» which sets in motion the «main motor» of the masses. According to them, the revolutionary potential of the masses in capitalist society is ever ready to erupt provided it receives an impulse from outside, enough that a guerilla hotbed is created and the masses will follow it automatically.

The armed struggle of the group of professional revolutionaries can exert an influence on the upsurge of the masses only when it is coordinated with other objective political, social and psychological factors, which determine the birth of the revolutionary situation, when it is based on the broad masses of the people and enjoys their active sympathy and support. Otherwise as the tragic practice of certain Latin American countries indicates, the activity of the armed minority, be it ever so heroic and self-sacrificing, comes up against the misunderstanding of the masses, is isolated from the masses and suffers defeat.

The revolution is the deed of the masses. Without their conviction, training, mobilization and organization, no revolution can triumph. The subjective factor is not prepared by the actions of the guerilla «hotbed» or by propaganda and agitation alone. For this, as Lenin and life itself teach us, it is essential that the masses are convinced through their own practical experience.

The concept of the decisive role of the armed minority is associated also with the view of conducting the struggle only in the countryside or only in the cities, that we should rely only on the armed struggle and only on illegal work. The Trotskyite thesis, too, which views the revolution as a sudden act and the general political strike as the only form of carrying it out, is also very widespread.

The revolution is not carried out by the working class alone and, even less, by its vanguard party alone. In order to

effect it, the working class, according to the nature and stages of the revolution, enters into alliances with other social forces. Having common basic interests, it sets up broad popular fronts with a definite political program, in which the party of the working class joins, but without merging itself and losing its organizational and political independence. Narrow and sectarian elements consider all these erroneous tactics which allegedly open the door to the peaceful reformist road.

But no less harmful are the dogmatic concepts of those who disregard the national-specific features, deviate from analysis of the real situation, build up schemes into which they try to introduce the reality of various countries, absolutise the experience of one country and present it as universal, speak of a continental revolution and deny the possibility of the victory of revolution in one or in several individual countries.

In our days, when the tide of the revolution is mounting, when the revolution is on the agenda in many countries and regions, the correct understanding of its content, of the ways and forms of its development, is decisive. The struggle against rightist and leftist, revisionist and anti-Marxist concepts, the struggle for a creative application of the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism on this question, is a component part of the class struggle, an indispensable condition for the victory of revolution.

Socialism Can Be Built Only On The Basis Of Marxist-Leninist Theory

The triumph of the October revolution in Russia marked the beginning of the great epoch in the history of mankind, that of the transition from capitalism to socialism. Since that time socialism has been transformed from a scientific theory into a living reality, which, despite the revisionist betrayal, has fully demonstrated its indisputable superiorities over the capitalist order in all fields. All the victories of socialism have been achieved on the basis of the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism.

Being a new social order, built in conditions of a fierce class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on a national and international scale, socialism cannot develop smoothly, without difficulties and contradictions. The struggle between the two roads of development, the socialist and the capitalist roads, is a protracted struggle, and so long as it continues, there always exists the danger of the restoration of capitalism. But this restoration is not inevitable, as the bourgeois ideologists try to present it.

The turning back of the Soviet Union and some other countries is linked precisely with the fact that the teachings of Marxism-Leninism were abandoned there and the fundamental principles of socialist construction rejected. The vic-



tories of the revolution there were smashed and the road was opened to the restoration of capitalism. But this is not the only great damage that the revisionists brought to socialism. To pave the way to their treachery, they frenziedly attacked the revolutionary line pursued by the bolshevik Communist Party headed by Stalin and the whole historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat; they raised doubts about the vitality of the Marxist-Leninist science for the solution of the present-day problems, about the ability of the working class to bring about the revolutionary transformation of the society and about the leading role of the communist party.

The confusion is made even worse because the Khrushchevite revisionists try to sell the line that the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and elsewhere is socialism. This demagoguery misleads many honest people, who, while they rightly criticise many negative phenomena in the life of the Soviet Union and of other revisionist countries, identify the order there with socialism and attribute the consequences of the restoration of capitalism to socialism. The other revisionist trends, which have contradictions with the Soviet leadership, criticise «the Soviet model of socialism», as «bureaucratic and totalitarian», and propagate their own so called «democratic and humanitarian» model, which is nothing but another variant of capitalism. The Trotskyite elements and groups also, try to exploit the bourgeois degeneration of socialism in the countries where the revisionists are in power to spread their slanders against socialism, which the revisionists themselves have encouraged with their anti-Marxist theories and practices.

In these conditions, the defence of the theory and practice of scientific socialism from the attacks and distortions of the modern revisionists of different colours and odours and of the other bourgeois and petty-bourgeois trends, is one of the most important tasks in the ideological struggle today. First of all the socialist disguise in which the ruling revisionists, especially the Soviet chiefs, have decked themselves out, must be torn to pieces.

All this shows that the present-day Soviet Union can no longer be called a socialist country, but a capitalist state and an imperialist power. The evils of its internal and external policy are not the evils of socialism, as presented by the bourgeois propaganda and those who have fallen victims to it or echo it. They are precisely evils of the capitalist system, which has been restored in the Soviet Union. They cannot be corrected by partial repairs. Any illusion about this would be very dangerous. They will be liquidated only when the revisionists have been overthrown and the dictatorship of the proletariat reestablished.

In the situation created by the betrayal of the Soviet revisionists and the anti-communist propaganda of the bour-

Youth in the
construction of the rail road

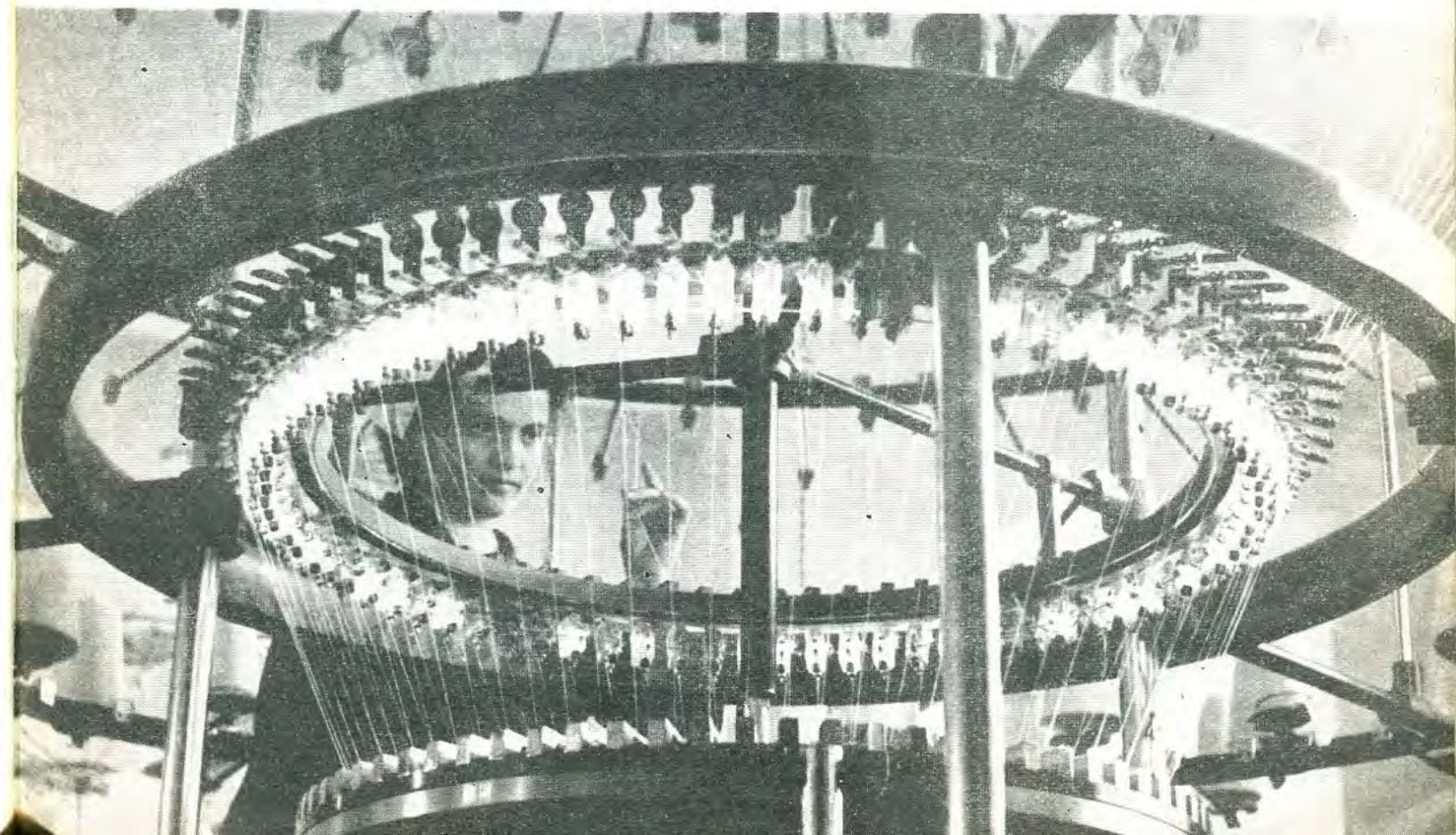
geoisie, the Yugoslav «system of self-administration» in particular is being loudly advertized as the best road for the building of socialism. In particular many revisionists in the western capitalist countries are partisans of this road. It has its sympathizers in the revisionist countries of Eastern Europe as well. The theoreticians of «self-administrative socialism» claim that they express and carry out the authentic ideas of Marx and Lenin about socialism, allegedly distorted in practice to date by «Stalinism». In reality they have revived and come out in defence of the old anarcho-syndicalist and Bukharinist theories criticized by Marx and Lenin respectively. Their theoretical arguments are quite baseless, while the present-day Yugoslav reality is the clearest proof of the failure of «the system of self-administration».

The basis of the theories of the Yugoslav revisionists is the Bukharinist idea about the integration of capitalism into socialism. In the international arena, according to them, post second world war capitalism, parallel with its stabilization and evolution into state capitalism, is being gradually transformed into a «state type socialism», thus wiping out the demarcation lines between the two systems and paving the way to a broad and all-round collaboration between them, in fact, to undermine true socialism.

Within the country the Yugoslav revisionists, and the Gomulka variety, abandoned the collectivization of the countryside, left the kulaks free to exploit and accumulate, pretending that, in this way they would be integrated into socialism and, with the capital supplied by them, the industrialisation of the country would be carried out. On the other hand, the Yugoslav revisionists cut up the state property of the whole people, and, by transforming it allegedly into the property of the group, paved the way to the birth of a new bourgeoisie, which took the reins of the country in its hands and now rules the working class and the peoples of Yugoslavia. Meanwhile, the revisionists bluffed, by presenting this line as a proletarianisation of the regime, as a struggle against «bureaucratic state forms of socialism», as a «new road» for the construction of the true socialist society. But all this has been unmasked and life has proved how rotten it is.

Present-day Yugoslavia has all the features of a bourgeois country and suffers from the same grave chronic ills typical of capitalism, such as the deep economic crises, unemployment, competition, anarchy and inflation, severe social-political conflicts and national squabbles. This situation has led to the creation and strengthening of bourgeois nationa-

At the knit ware factory of Korcha



list groupings and tendencies, to the aggravation of the struggle for hegemony among themselves as well as between them and the republics.

The Yugoslav revisionists have placed the peoples and the working class of Yugoslavia in the grip of a powerful pincers, the pincers of the internal bourgeoisie and of foreign capitalism, which is becoming master of the house in Yugoslavia. Nothing can save them from this plight, neither the economic and political reforms acclaimed by the revisionists, nor their hopes and illusions about this or that nationalist grouping. The evil is deep-rooted and can be eradicated only when the peoples of Yugoslavia, on a Marxist-Leninist road, smash the pincers which has gripped them.

Today, there is some talk of socialism in certain countries freed from the old colonial rule of imperialism. A different content in the idea of «socialism», or «socialist society» is introduced in different countries. In these theories there are many obscure, confused, eclectic points, a mixture of the principle of socialism with those of capitalism, of socialist ideology with bourgeois, nationalist and religious ideology.

The Soviet and other revisionists also echo these non-scientific theories. They have even discovered a new road, the so-called «non-capitalist road of development» which allegedly leads to socialism without the leading role of the working class and of the communist party, without the Marxist-Leninist theory, without the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Marxist-Leninists welcome and support any sincere inclinations and tendencies towards socialism, but at the same time they stress that in any country, socialism has won or can triumph only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and under the leadership of the working class and of its party armed with the proletarian world outlook.

In our time, the problem does not arise of copying the revisionist pseudo-socialist theories, or of inventing new socialist theories. Socialism exists and develops both as a theory and as a practice. It has accumulated rich historic experience, summed up in the Marxist-Leninist theory the vitality of which has been confirmed in life. By relying on this scientific theory and applying it in the conditions

of each country, the revolutionary forces will find the correct road to socialism.

In the struggle for the great cause of the liberation of the working class and the peoples, the ranks of the Marxist-Leninist forces are growing and becoming strong. Today, almost everywhere the old communist parties degenerated into revisionist ones, new Marxist-Leninist movements and parties have been formed which have taken up the banner of revolution and socialism, abandoned by the modern revisionists.

The participation in our congress of so large a number of delegates representing the genuine revolutionary communists from the countries of Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania, is a living testimony to the vigorous development of the Marxist-Leninist movement, an eloquent expression of its international character and unity.

The Marxist-Leninist movement is developing in the conditions of a fierce class struggle on a national and world scale. The new parties and groups are faced with numerous enemies, with bourgeois reaction, revisionist betrayal, social democratic reformism, petty-bourgeois adventurism. But they are coping with these pressures, intrigues and provocations with vigilance, ideological clarity and revolutionary determination.

In this struggle, what is important and constitutes the general tendency of development, is that the Marxist-Leninist forces are growing, becoming tempered, organized, and asserting themselves more strongly from day to day, as revolutionary political forces in the life of their country.

On behalf of the delegates to the Congress and of all the Albanian communists, we express to the Marxist-Leninists, to all the genuine revolutionaries, wherever they are, ardent greetings and best wishes for ever greater victories for the good of our great common cause. We assure them that the Party of Labor of Albania will support and back up the Marxist-Leninist movement, all those who fight against imperialism and revisionism, with all its strength and possibilities for the victory of revolution and socialism. We consider this as a prime internationalist duty, just as we appraise the solidarity and support which the revolutionary parties and forces give our party and country as a very important factor for the cause of socialism in Albania.

FOR THE FURTHER AND UNINTERRUPTED DEVELOPMENT OF THE REVOLUTION, FOR THE SUCCESSFUL CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM IN ALBANIA

FROM COMRADE MEHMET SHEHU'S
REPORT AT THE 6th CONGRESS OF THE
P.L.A. FOR THE FIFTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN (1971-1975)
OF ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT
OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA

Follows a summary of the report on the directives of the sixth Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania for the fifth five-year plan (1971-1975) of economic and cultural development of the People's Republic of Albania submitted at the 6th Congress of the P.L.A. by the member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the P.L.A. and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the P.R. of Albania, comrade Mehmet Shehu.

The 6th Congress of our party which is being held during the days of our great jubilee – the 30th anniversary of the founding of our glorious party – is an event of major historic significance in the life of our party and people. The decisions of this congress will play a great role in the strug-

gle for the further uninterrupted development of the revolution and the successful construction of socialism in our country.

The Congress is drawing up the balance-sheet of the achievements of the Albanian people during one of the most glorious periods of their history, and their struggle to complete the building of socialist society, and is opening up brilliant prospects for the triumphant advance of our socialist revolution.

The struggle for the all-round development of our country during the preceding five-year period has not been easy for our party, government and people. Our party and people have had to face innumerable great obstacles and difficulties in stern struggle with savage enemies – the impe-

realists and modern revisionists – and to defeat their schemes and blockades. The recent five-year plan was characterized by the mass heroism of our party and people in the complicated and difficult struggle to build socialism in the country in the conditions of encirclement. And this heroic struggle led to the honorable discharge of the basic tasks set for us five years ago by the 5th party congress in all the fields of our activity.

The programmatic report submitted by the leader of our party and people, comrade Enver Hoxha, to this Congress which we approved unanimously, makes a deep scientific analysis of the road through which our party and people have passed, not only during the last five-year period but also during the whole 30-years of the life and activity of our heroic party. Comrade Enver Hoxha's report throws brilliant light on the correctness of the general line of our party and on the bright perspective which has been opened to our country on its road to socialism and communism.

After having generally spoken of the political, economic and social results achieved during the fourth five-year planned period, comrade Mehmet Shehu emphasized that during this period of time our economic and social order has become more consolidated. Our productive forces have developed at a high rate and in a revolutionary way. The defense potential of our fatherland has increased, the international positions of our People's Republic have been consolidated, its authority, role and prestige in the world have increased.

The 4th five-year period, comrade Mehmet Shehu said further on, concludes a whole decade of heroic struggles and efforts of our people in the socialist construction of our country, in the conditions of the two-fold, imperialist and revisionist, encirclement. During these ten years, the Soviet revisionists and their servitors left no stone unturned in order to humiliate socialist Albania, to force it to give up and capitulate to them. Their mean and unscrupulous propaganda, their most ruthless economic blockade, pressure, blackmail, intrigues, spying, alternated with cajolery, hypocritical smiles and subsequent pressure – these are the vile and disgusting methods these champions of treason have resorted to against us. But they met with shameful failure in Albania thanks to our party and our people. And they will meet with equal failure in the days to come.

Through concrete data and a scientific analysis, the speaker presented a picture of the economic and social development of our country during this decade and at the same time rejected the slanders of the Soviet modern revisionists and their supporters that allegedly from the year 1960 and onward Albania has made no progress, that allegedly its rates of development have declined.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu presented in the report some of the main indices of economic and social development of our country during the ten-year period 1960-1970. In 1970 as against 1960, the social production increased 2,2 times, the over-all industrial production 2,5 times, the over-all agricultural production 1,8 times, the volume of capital investments 2,1 times, the volume of goods transport 2 times, the national incomes 2 times, real incomes per capita of population 1,2 times, turn over of goods in retail sale 1,8 times,

turn over of goods in foreign trade 1,8 times, number of pupils and students 2,1 times, etc.

The above indices express not low rates of development, but the highest ones. They clearly testify that, contrary to the desires, aims, slanderous propaganda and hostile activities of the Khrushchevite revisionists to force our party and people to their knees, to sabotage the development of the economy and the construction of socialism in Albania, to present black as white, we have marched ahead with unyielding determination, smashing their blockade and sinister plans.

Thus we may justly claim that the past decade is the most glorious period for our party and people, second only to the period of the national-liberation war. This period brought out in its full magnificence the great political and moral strength of our party and people and the justice of the cause they are fighting for, the great vitality of the Albanian people, the boundless loyalty of our party to Marxism-Leninism, its steel-like unity, its revolutionary capacity for the organization and principled concrete leadership of our struggle for the construction of socialism.

During the 4th five-year plan, in conformity with the directives of the 5th Congress of the party, the socialist industrialization of the country was continued both in breadth and in depth. The main characteristic of this process during this period was the high rate of increase of industrial production from year to year, the further improvement of its structure and the priority development of production of the means of production.

In 1970, over-all industrial output increased by 83 per cent in comparison with 1965, instead of the 50-54 per cent set by the directives of the 5th Congress, at an average annual rate of 12.9 per cent instead of the 8,7 per cent envisaged by the directives. In 1970, production of means of production was more than doubled, as compared with 1965, at an average annual rate of 15,8 per cent, whereas the production of consumer goods grew 58 per cent at an average annual rate of 9,5 per cent. The target for industrial production for the five years taken together was fulfilled in four years and seven months, whereas the level of over-all industrial production for 1970 was attained as early as 1968.

In the general course pursued for the industrialization of the country, the development of the branches of industry producing means of production (group «a») has been an object of special attention. Oil extraction in 1970, as compared to 1965, increased by 81 per cent, oil processing increased by 154 per cent, coal extraction increased by 83 per cent, the production of electric power increased 2,8 times, the output of the chemical industry increased 7 fold and the building materials industry 2,6 times, etc.

The consistent application of the line of priority development for production of means of production has, at the same time, enabled the rapid development of the branches concerned with production of consumer goods (group «b»). The output of light industry in 1970 as against 1965 increased by 73 per cent, the output of the food-processing industry increased by 32 per cent.

The development of industry during the fourth five-year planned period has been made through the harmonisation of the exploitation of the existing productive capacities with



Comrade Mehmet Shehu
speaking at the 6th Congress of the PLA

the creation of the new production capacities, through the development of the great production with the middle and small production, further developing the concentration, specialisation and cooperation and further deepening the technical and scientific revolution.

Speaking of the results achieved in the field of agriculture during the fourth five-year planned period, comrade Mehmet Shehu pointed out that this period has been characterized by the consolidation of the stability of agricultural production from year to year, by its more rapid advance towards intensification, by the strengthening of its material-technical base and by the raising to a higher level of the management of agriculture by the organs of the party, the state and the economy.

Total agricultural production in 1970 grew 33 per cent in comparison with 1965, at an average annual rate of growth

of 5,8 per cent. The production of field crops grew by 55 per cent, of which: bread grain 65 per cent, potatoes 5 fold, rice 46 per cent, sunflower 2,9 times, vegetables 62 per cent, milk production 26 per cent, eggs 31 percent, etc.

The great task set for the production of bread grain was successfully accomplished in general. This is an important victory for the economic policy of the party in the field of agriculture, and a success for the cooperative peasantry and all agricultural workers, who worked with persistence and a high spirit of mobilization.

During the fourth five-year planned period the collectivisation of agriculture was completed even in the mountain zones, within a very short period of time there was further strengthened the cooperated order and democracy, there was deepened the process of uniting the cooperatives and there was increased the scale of collectivisation of coopera-

led property on the basis of transformation of the agricultural cooperatives into large-scale agricultural production units and voluntary reduction of individual plots.

The 4th five-year plan was characterized by major investments and construction in the productive and social-cultural sectors. The volume of investments during the 4th five-year plan, according to prices of 1961, was 10,1 billion leks, or approximately equal to all the investments made during the 2nd and 3rd five-years plans reckoned together. 79 per cent of the investments were made in the production sector, and 21 per cent in the social-cultural sectors.

200 important economic and social-cultural projects were completed and commissioned during the 4th five-year plan.

The successful carrying out of the recent five-year plan in the field of investments and capital construction, has led to the further improvement of the territorial distribution of the forces of production and of the structure of the branches of the economy and has greatly assisted the improvement of the living conditions of the working masses.

In his report comrade Mehmet Shehu emphasized that the other branches of material production, too, assumed a further development. On the basis of the development of production it became possible the further increase of the national incomes. In 1970, compared with 1965, national incomes increased by 55 per cent, as against 45-50 per cent envisaged by the directives of the 5th Congress at an average annual rate of 9,1 per cent, instead of 8,4 per cent that the target was. The growth of national income at such rates is a concentrated expression of the general strengthening of the people's economy, of the increased level of mobilisation of the factors bearing on the development of social production, and of the harmonisation of the different aspects of the extended socialist reproduction.

During the 4th five-year plan the funds directed to accumulation comprised about 34 per cent of the national incomes. They have been used first and foremost for the extension of the main productive funds. For this purpose there have been used about 58 per cent of the total fund of accumulation. The growth of the funds of accumulation and the fast rate development of the means of production has served and is serving the best possible fulfilment of the ever rising needs of our society. In 1970, as against 1965, the portion of national income used for the consumption fund was increased by 30 per cent, the real per capita income of the population, as a whole, was 17 per cent higher than in 1965, equal to the target set. Our people's economy, which formerly used to import the overwhelming part of consumer goods, today turns out more than 70 per cent of consumer goods needed by the country and this percentage increases with every passing year. This is a great success for us.

In 1970, as against 1965, the turn over of retail goods increased by 45 per cent, instead of 25-27 per cent that the task was, the number of medical institutions with beds grew over 2,3 times, there were extended the communal services both in the city and countryside, the electrification of the villages concluded a year ahead of schedule set by the 4th plenary session of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and 15 years ahead of the time limit envisaged in the perspective plan of the electrification. This is a very great success of a special political, economic and so-

cial importance. There was carried out a grand program of construction work for the improvement of lodging conditions of the working people.

In the course of the 4th five-year plan, under the direct care of the party and according to the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha, with the broad participation of the working masses, there were carried out important measures for the further revolutionisation of our school and educational system in general, as a component part of ideological and cultural revolution. A series of new problems, theoretical and practical, ideological and scientific, pedagogical and organisational, were elaborated and presented for solution with the purpose of raising our school and people's education to a qualitative higher level in conformity with the tasks of the stage of the complete construction of socialist society. The whole aim and content of the revolutionisation has been and is: Our school should equip our rising generation with the materialist-scientific Marxist-Leninist world-outlook, properly combining the education with the productive work and physical and military training.

During the 1970-1971 school year the number of pupils and students of all categories of schools amounted to 661,000 or 120,000 more than the target. In 1970 the total number of cadres with higher education amounted to 15,000 and that of cadres with secondary education to about 38,000.

The 4th five-year plan was rich in literary and artistic production in all genres of literature and arts, on the basis of the method of socialist realism. The scientific research work was raised to a higher level and assumed more of a mass character in all branches of scientific activity.

Then comrade Mehmet Shehu dealt with the directives of the 6th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania for the fifth five-year plan (1971-1975) of the economic and cultural development. He said:

The draft-directives of the 5th five-year plan of the country's economic and cultural development for the years 1971-1975, which the Party's Central Committee presents for examination to and approval by this Congress, are a continuation of the party's general line for the complete building of socialist society. They are founded on the material and technical base created, on the conditions, needs and actual possibilities of the country's economic and social development, on the correct leadership of our party and on the inexhaustible energies and creative abilities of the working class, the co-operative peasantry and the people's intelligentsia. The draft-directives take account of the concrete internal and external circumstances in which our party and people are working and fighting for the construction of socialism.

As has already become a tradition in our party's method of work, the draft-directives have been carefully sifted through the vigorous mass discussion of the working class and the other laboring masses, more intensively than ever before, and they are a summing up of the advanced experience of the working masses, of their efforts, revolutionary drive and creative practical spirit to march more rapidly forward in the country's socialist construction. The fundamental task of the 5th five-year plan for the years 1971-1975, as envisaged in the report delivered by Comrade Enver Hoxha, is the following:

To ensure the all-out strengthening of the national economy through the transformation of Albania from an agricultural-



At the Fieri
industrial complex

industrial country into an industrial-agricultural one, with the aim of increasing the degree of autonomy of the national economy, of further strengthening the socialist order, of raising the material wellbeing and the cultural level of the population, narrowing down, especially, the essential differences between city and countryside, and upgrading the defense potential of the country.

For this purpose:

To strive for the further development of the industry by improving its structure with new branches and productions, especially, the structure of the heavy processing industry so as to expand the power and fuel basis and exploit the sources and the wealth of the country more rationally;

to ensure a bigger increase of the agricultural production through its further intensification by relying on the strengthening of the scientific organization and management of production and on the broadening of the material-technical base of agriculture;

to promote the impetuous development of the technical-scientific progress in all the branches of the national economy, to continuously perfect the socialist relations of production, to deepen the socialist revolution in the field of ideology and culture, to carry out resolutely the principle of self-reliance.

Further on, comrade Mehmet Shehu presented these main features that characterize the 5th five-year plan:

First, the development in breadth and depth of the heavy extracting and processing industry, marking an important chan-



In building new water reservoirs for the irrigation of fields

Assembling
of new industrial units



ge in the structure of industrial production and of the entire people's economy.

Second, the further increase of the role of industry as the leading branch in the allround and rapid economic and social development of the country, especially of its role in the further development of agriculture.

Third, a more rapid development of agricultural production through its intensification and modernization.

Fourth, the greater intensification of the economy and the further increase of the efficiency of social production, on the basis of the acceleration of the rate of growth of the national income, of the acceleration of technical and scientific progress, of the increase of the productivity of social labor, and of the strengthening of the savings regime.

Fifth, the vigorous growth of capital investments and construction, by concentrating the forces and means on the

construction and putting into operation of big industrial projects, of special importance to the people's economy.

Sixth, the deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution and the further improvement of the socialist relations of production in the field of ownership, distribution, exchange, etc., the further growth of the wellbeing of the working masses of town and countryside.

Then comrade Mehmet Shehu presented the main targets and tasks of the economic and cultural development of the country for the five-year period 1971-1975 in general and of every branch of people's economy. Analysing the tasks of the rapid development of industry, he said:

In accordance with the party's policy for the socialist industrialization of the country, the development of industry is to be carried out through the following: the fullest possible

utilisation of the existing productive capacities: the expansion of productive capacities by means of the reconstruction and modernization of technological processes, as well as by bringing new productive capacities into use, with the construction of big, medium and small projects; the combination of the development of modern mechanized production with the development of simple and very simple production; the most correct harmonization of the ways of increasing industrial production through the uninterrupted increase of labour productivity and the extension of new production fronts, on the basis of the fullest possible exploitation of internal reserves and resources.

In 1975 total production will reach about 11,6 billion leks, an increase of 61-66 per cent over 1970. Compared with 1960, total industrial production in 1975 will be about 4 times larger. During the 5th five-year plan industrial production will grow at an average annual rate of about 10,3 per cent, as against an average of 9,8 per cent during the ten years 1960-1970. In 1975 as compared with the year 1970, the production of the means of production (group «a») will increase by 78-83 per cent and its specific weight will be about 62 per cent, while the production of the consumer goods (group «b») will increase by 40-44 per cent and its specific weight will be about 38 per cent.

In 1975, the following will be produced: crude oil 2.700.000 tons, coal 1.250.000 tons, chromium ore 900.000 tons, copper ore 600.000 tons, blister copper over 9.000 tons, iron-nickel ore 650.000 tons, chemical fertilizers over 330.000 tons, electric power over 2 billion kWh, cement 1 million tons, bricks and tiles 370 million pieces, woven fabrics 64 million linear meters, shoes about 5 million pairs, etc.

Then the speaker presented the targets and tasks of the development of oil and gas industry, of extracting industry, geology, metallurgical industry, of smelting and processing industry of copper ore, of chemical, electric power, engineering, building materials, timber and paper, light and food processing industries.

The further socialist development of agriculture during the 5th five-year plan, he said, is one of the fundamental questions of the country's overall economic and social development, based on the principle of standing «on both feet», both on industry and on agriculture.

The 5th five-year plan will be one of a general drive on a wide front for the rapid and all-round development of agriculture. In this five-year period agricultural and livestock products will register considerable increases. A fundamental economic and political task remains the rapid increase of the production of bread grain, as an indispensable condition for the development of agriculture itself, and of the people's economy as a whole. An important place among the field crops will be occupied by industrial crops: cotton, oil crops, tobacco and sugar-beet. A turning-point will be made in the development of livestock farming and in the increase of its productivity, especially in milk, meat and eggs. Fruit-growing will assume a mass qualitative development through a better exploitation of the climatic and soil conditions of the country and by harmonizing the branches of agriculture.

In conformity with these tasks, total agricultural production in 1975, as against 1970, will be raised 65-69 per cent, at an annual average rate of 10.8 per cent. Production of field crops in 1975 as against 1970 will be raised 70-74 per cent. Production of livestock will grow by 60-64 per cent and fruit-growing 73-77 per cent.

The sector of agriculture, comrade Mehmet Shehu said, should have the constant attention and care of the entire party, the state, and of all the working people. In agriculture, we should have a firm grasp on its three branches, at the same time, developing the production of field crops and live stock, farming and fruit growing in unity and in the correct proportions. We should fight against onesided development, not only in the main branches of agriculture, but also within each branch.

In the fifth five-year plan as against the fourth five-year plan the total volume of investments will increase 70-75 per cent, out of which the productive investments about 80 per cent and social-cultural investments about 55 per cent. About 83 per cent of the total volume of investments will be used for the development of productive forces and 17 per cent for the social-cultural sectors.

Investments in the sphere of industry occupy the main place in capital investments. This is linked with the continuation of the course of the socialist industrialization of the country and the carrying out of the fundamental task of proceeding resolutely on the road towards the transformation of the country into an industrial-agricultural country. Direct investments in agriculture will be raised about 28 per cent over the level of the 4th five-year plan. But, if we also take into account the industrial projects that will be built for agriculture, the increase is even greater.

In the total volume of investments the main place is taken by construction and assembly work which takes 41 per cent. In comparison with the 4th five-year plan, the volume of construction work will increase about 42-45 per cent. It is expected that in 1975 national income will be 55-60 per cent greater than in 1970, increasing at an annual average of about 9,5 per cent as against 9.1 per cent in the 4th five-year plan, whereas the average annual increase of the population during the 5th five-year plan period is forecast as only 2.7 per cent. This is a concentrated expression of the rapid development of the extended socialist reproduction and the increase of the country's material and financial resources.

Then comrade Mehmet Shehu dealt with the tasks in the sphere of distribution of social product and national income.

The policy of the party in the sphere of distribution and use of the social product aims at ensuring the rapid economic and social development of the country, the further improvement of the socialist relations of production, the systematic raising of the material wellbeing and cultural level of the working masses and the strengthening of the defence capacity of our socialist fatherland.

Of the national income to be distributed it is envisaged that 34-37 per cent of the total resources of the development of the country will be used for accumulation as against 34 per cent during the 4th five-year plan. The policy of increasing the rate of accumulation has served and will serve the cons-

truction of the material-technical base of socialism, the all-round development of the social and cultural sectors, the strengthening of the defence power of the country, as well as the creation of conditions for a more rapid increase of consumption for the whole people.

During the 5th five-year plan the fund of accumulation will increase 72-75 per cent compared with 63 per cent during the 4th five-year plan as compared with the 3rd five year plan. The overwhelming part of the accumulation will serve the expansion of socialist production. About 64 per cent of the accumulation will be used in the sphere of material production compared with 58 per cent during the 4th five-year plan.

The increase of the accumulation fund used for the expansion of socialist production constitutes the material basis for the fulfilment of the ever rising needs of the population, at present and in the future. The policy of the party on this question is based on the Marxist-Leninist theory of extended socialist reproduction for the priority development of the means of production and the uninterrupted rise of the productivity of social labour, keeping in mind the concrete conditions of the socialist construction in our country. The funds for individual and social consumption of the national income will increase 50-55 per cent in comparison with the 4th five-year plan, exceeding the rate of growth of the population three fold. The consumption fund will comprise 63-66 per cent of the national income.

Among the measures for raising the wellbeing of the working people, the party devotes particular importance to the increase of both individual and social consumption. In 1975 the fund of individual consumption will constitute 85 per cent of the total fund of consumption in the national income, while the social consumption fund will constitute 15 per cent.

On the basis of the further development of the economy and of a fair distribution of the national income, in 1975, as against 1970, the real per capita income of the population will be raised 14-17 per cent, whereas the goods turnover of retail trade will go up 36-39 per cent.

Relying on the expansion of industrial and agricultural production the supply of the population with foodstuffs, clothing, footwear and other articles will be increased and improved. In 1975 as against 1970 the sale of some of the main articles of food and clothing will increase as follows: Meat 73 per cent, fats 39 per cent, sugar 36 per cent, rice and beans 59 per cent, milk 97 per cent, cheese 88 per cent, woven fabrics about 37 per cent, all types of footwear 43 per cent, etc.

Important tasks have been envisaged for the strengthening of the medical service, for the construction of dwelling flats, for the development of communal services, etc.

In 1975 there will be 70-72 per cent more health institutions than in 1970. In the countryside alone we shall have 5,900 hospital beds in health centers, maternity homes or wards, that is about 3.5 times as many as in 1970.

The number of university level medical cadres will be increased 58 per cent as against 1970. In 1975 it is envisaged to have one doctor for every 850 inhabitants as against one for every 1,180 inhabitants in 1970.

There will be constructed by the state and voluntary contribution about 40,000 dwelling flats. At the same time, the cooperated peasantry, having also the aid of the state, is envisaged to build up during this period of time about 40,000 new houses.

In 1975 the number of pupils and students is envisaged to surpass the 780,000 mark or 18 per cent more than in 1970. During the 5th five-year plan in our higher schools, both with full time courses and with courses taken while continuing in their jobs, about 20,000 cadres will be trained, or about three times the number trained during the 4th five-year plan.

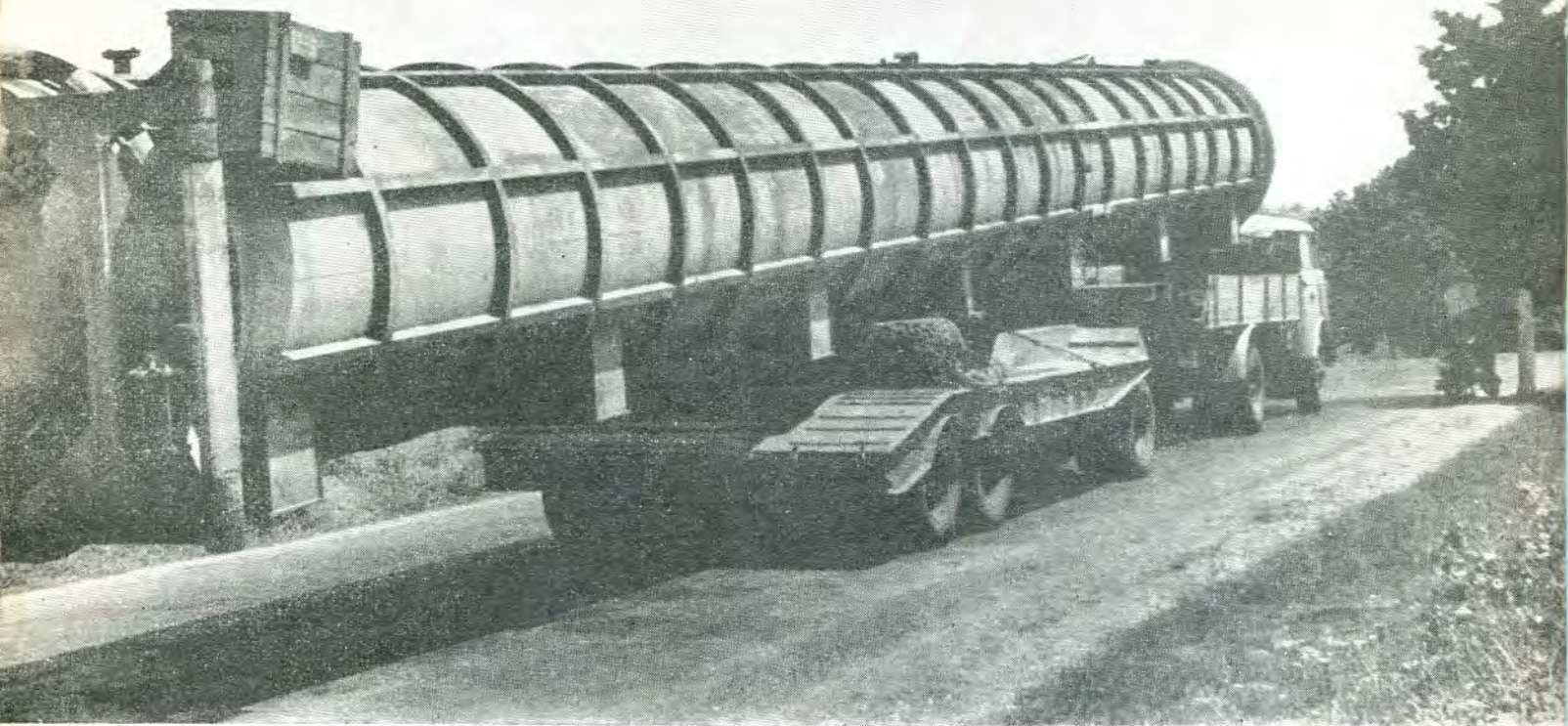
The great revolutionary transformations have created the conditions for a new advance of our socialist culture and art, for the further deepening of their class character. They should give a better reflection of our new man, the new socialist phenomena, the seedlings of the future, intimately linked with the struggle of the people and the party, and serving the communist education of the working people better and better.

The great tasks we are facing within the context of the new five-year plan, comrade Mehmet Shehu said further on, the ever wider proportions assumed by the people's economy, the high rate of development of the productive forces, the continual improvement of socialist relations of production, the deepening of relations between the various branches and aspects of the process of socialist reproduction, dictate the need for raising the system of the organization and management of the people's economy to a higher level.

The scientific management of the economy requires the most profound knowledge of the objective laws of development, knowledge, mastery and creative application of the party's economic policy and analysis, explanation and implementation of its directives.

The forms of organization and management of the people's economy are not and cannot be static. They are not fixed once and for all, nor are they uniform in all links. Therefore, we should constantly improve these forms, further increasing the efficiency of production. In the future, too, we should not for one moment relax the struggle against manifestations of bureaucracy in the economy and in our state apparatus, against routine, the empiricism and slowness of artisan methods, against subjectivism in the solution of economic problems. We should courageously carry on scientific experimentation in the field of improvement of the forms and methods of organization and management, always guided by Marxist-Leninist principles.

The main tasks in the domain of the improvement of the management of the people's economy are: the further and constant deepening of mass line in the mapping out and implementation of the economic tasks, the further deepening of the understanding and implementation in practice of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance, the rooting of a strict saving regime everywhere and on everything and the further improvement of the quality of production, the uninterrupted increase of labour productivity, the strengthening of proletarian organisation and discipline at work, the constant strengthening of the control on production and distribution, the keeping always aloft of the ban-



**Transport
in service of socialist industry**

ner of class struggle in the field of production and distribution, the raising to a higher degree of socialist emulation drive and of the production propaganda, the resolute march on the traces of good and better examples, the grasping after the advanced experience and its summing up with a revolutionary vigor and in an organized manner, the further strengthening of the leading role of the communists and party organisations in the struggle for the implementation of the tasks of the five-year plan.

Pointing out the need of the further deepening of the understanding and implementation in practice of the principle of self-reliance, comrade Mehmet Shehu said that the implementation of this principle has been and is the decisive factor in all our activity for the construction of socialist society.

Reliance on our own forces is a great and permanent principle which revolutionizes the consciousness and actions

of the people, increases their optimism and confidence in their own possibilities, in the future, multiplies their efforts for the maximum results in the shortest possible time.

To develop the implementation of the principle of relying on one's own efforts has nothing at all to do with shutting ourselves off, or retiring into our national shell, which the bourgeois ideologists and modern revisionists shamelessly attribute to us. It is a principle which in itself organically upholds proletarian internationalism, making possible the harmonization of the internal factor, as the decisive one, with the external factor, as an auxiliary factor, for accelerating the rates of the country's socialist construction, as it is in our case with the internationalist aid we receive from the People's Republic of China.

Under the existing conditions of our socialist development it is indispensable to implant in the consciousness of all a deep and broad understanding about the savings regime, as

an objective necessity for the complete building of socialist society. This means that we must raise higher the banner of savings, fighting for saving everywhere and in everything, so that we can economize as much as possible in raw materials and substances, fuels, monetary funds, so that nothing is wasted, and the resources and riches of our country are used with the greatest possible economic and social effectiveness.

The improvement of the quality of the work and its results in every economic and social activity expresses a synthesis of the saving of living and materialized labour and the level of consciousness of the working people. It expresses the revolutionary understanding and implementation of the party's policy in production, in service for the public, and in the sphere of management. It expresses the level of the organization and management of the economy, the efficiency of social production and, in the final account, the level of the effective fulfilment of the real needs of the broad masses of the working people, by harmonizing production with consumption correctly. Regarded in this way, quality must be one of the main directions for strengthening the savings regime.

Then comrade Mehmet Shehu spoke of the tasks for the uninterrupted increase of labour productivity and of the strengthening of the proletarian organisation and discipline at work.

He said that, from the increase of labor productivity, during the 5th five-year plan we will ensure 56 per cent of the increase of industrial production, 90 per cent of the growth of the volume of construction, 46 per cent of the growth of the volume of transport, while about 80 per cent of the increase of agricultural production must be ensured from the increase of the rates of yield of agricultural and live-stock products. Therefore, the increase of the productivity of labor, as a combined qualitative index should draw the attention of all the party, state and economic organs.

For the systematic rising of labor productivity, great importance should be attached to problems of the socialist organization of work, to utilisation of working time, raising the level of mechanization, qualification of the workers, improvement in providing material and technical supplies, etc.

One of the most important tasks is the strengthening of proletarian discipline at work everywhere, inculcating in everybody sound concepts on order and organization, for the most effective use of the working time.

The strengthening of discipline should have as its aim that each individual feels his own responsibility for carrying out his task properly, develops the spirit of self-criticism and correction, of rendering account and of chek-up on others.

Our country's socialist development is a process of complex and continuous struggle waged by the working masses, under the leadership of the party. The struggle for the socialist construction of our country is a complicated class struggle, its subject and object is man, with his views, convictions, morality and consciousness, with his interests and relationships, both as an individual and as a member of society.

The production of material values and their distribution constitute the decisive field of the activity of man. They are an arena of class struggle between socialism and its enemies, between the new and old, the progressive and the conservative,

between Marxist-Leninist revolutionary concepts and bourgeois and petty-bourgeois concepts. This is an unceasing struggle, which develops not only between us and our enemies, but also within the ranks of the people themselves. Viewing the question from this angle, we are faced with the task of fighting continually, without concessions or turning a blind eye, against any violation of our state and social laws and rules, which regulate production and distribution. We must combat the blemishes and hangovers from the old society, struggle against our shortcomings in the direction of organisation and of state and social discipline and in accounting and chek-up, against manifestations of petty-bourgeois liberalism and spontaneity, against the trend to take from society more than one's proper share and to give society less than one's possibilities.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu emphasized further on:

The draft-directives of the 5th five-year plan of the economic and cultural development of the People's Republic of Albania for the years 1971-1975, which are before this Congress for examination and approval, are an embodiment of the general Marxist-Leninist line of our party for the building of socialism.

The achievement of the objectives defined in these directives will speed up our triumphant march towards the high peaks of socialism. In the political field this will further strengthen the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and intelligentsia, will increase the importance and leading role of the working class, will further steel the unity of our people, will make the dictatorship of the proletariat more unshakable and our socialist fatherland more invincible. In the ideological field it will lead to the consolidation of our revolutionary ideology in all fields of activity, will further enhance the consciousness of the working people, will further revolutionise their concepts in struggle against alien hangovers and manifestations. In the economic field the carrying out of the tasks of the 5th five-year plan will bring about the general strengthening of our people's economy, the further improvement of socialist relations of production, the narrowing of the essential differences between town and country and the raising of the material wellbeing and cultural level of the people.

The guarantee for the achievement of the objectives, which this Congress is defining, is the correct Marxist-Leninist leadership of our Party of Labor, headed by comrade Enver Hoxha, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the steel-like unity of the people round our party, the vigorous, conscious and self-sacrificing creative activity, the sweat and talent of the working masses, headed by the working class; it is the material-technical base created and its use with greater effectiveness from the economic-social point of view, the socialist relations of production, which are being improved incessantly, the militant readiness of our people armed for defence of the victories achieved, the optimistic general atmosphere prevailing throughout our socialist fatherland.

Moreover, in the 5th five-year plan also, we are relying as before on the generous, powerful and internationalist aid of the People's Republic of China. Allow me, on behalf of the delegates to this congress, of all the communists and the whole Albanian people, to express our deep gratitude to our comrades-in-arms, the multimillion-strong fraternal Chinese people, to the glorious Communist Party of China and the great leader

of the Chinese people, the great Marxist-Leninist and the most respected friend of our people and party, comrade Mao Tse-tung, for the aid they have given and continue to give our country.

We have entered the period of the struggle for the fulfilment of the 5th five-year plan in circumstances of an international situation favourable to the forces of revolution and socialism. While the revolutionary movement of the proletariat for social emancipation is rising and the struggle of the people for freedom and national independence is mounting ever more resolutely, U.S.-led imperialism and Soviet-led modern revisionism are struggling in the web of antagonistic contradictions in which they have become inextricably entangled. They have sown the wind and are reaping the whirlwind.

Facing U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, facing these two big international gendarmes of our century, stand the forces of the revolution, of real democracy and progress, stand the anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist front, in the front ranks of which the People's Republic of China and the People's Republic of Albania have taken their fighting position, linked by their unbreakable friendship.

The friendship between the Albanian and Chinese peoples, founded and tempered by our leaders, comrades Mao Tse-tung and Enver Hoxha, is a great and invincible friendship. It has withstood the heavy tests of the time and there is no force on earth which can break it.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has said:

*"This friendship, which was born and strengthened in the common struggle for the cause of the revolution and socialism, which has been tested in the revolutionary storms and heroic battles against the common enemies, imperialism and modern revisionism, for the defence and triumph of Marxism-Leninism, is unbreakable. It will live through the ages, for the good of our two peoples, for the good of the great cause of communism, which unites us. No storm can shake its granite foundations"*¹

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said:

*"... Irrespective of what happens in the world, our two parties and our two peoples will certainly stand together, fight and win together"*²

Social justice is with us, with the forces of the revolution, democracy and progress, with the genuine Marxist-Leninists and with the peaceloving people, and time is working for us.

1) Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech at the reception given by the embassy of the P.R. of China «Zëri i Popullit», October 1, 1968.

2) From the greeting of the CC of the C.P. of China to the fifth Congress of the P.L. of Albania, «Zëri i Popullit», November 3, 1966.



The ratio of forces on the international arena is changing in favour of socialism, of the peoples, against imperialism and modern revisionism. Today on both the national and international scale we are stronger than we were five years ago. And this process of the changing of the ratio of forces will continue to develop in the same direction in the future, too.

The outburst and triumph of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China, the achievement and consolidation of the victory of the revolutionary line of the great Marxist-Leninist, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, in People's China, against the reactionary and revisionist line of Liu Shao chi and his black band, is a great victory for the cause of socialism. The China of Mao Tse-tung has become the powerful and invincible base of world revolution.

The People's Republic of Albania, led with determination and boundless loyalty by our Party of Labour headed by comrade Enver Hoxha, stands like a granite island of Marxism-Leninism in the storm-swept imperialist-revisionist ocean of Europe. It lives, works and fights in the conditions of the double concentric encirclement and will always hold high and defiant the red flag of Marxism-Leninism.

The successful carrying out of the tasks of the 4th five-year plan and the further deepening of the all-round revolutionization of our country's life, have brought us to the 5th five-year plan more tempered, more powerful, more prepared, more united, more determined and more optimistic than ever.

The tasks of the 5th five-year plan are truly great, but their fulfilment is entirely possible, and we shall achieve this without fail through our tireless work, guided by the teachings of the party and of comrade Enver Hoxha.

The greeting of the Chinese Communist Party, which has come to our Congress, the participation in this Congress of so many delegations of the parties and groups of the true international communist movement as well as the greetings of the other parties, are a testimony to the strengthening of the positions of Marxism-Leninism on a world wide scale, and of the internationalist solidarity which our party and people enjoy at this movement.

Our people and party, faithfully putting into effect the immortal ideas of Marxism-Leninism in the concrete conditions of our country and the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha, will, as always, carry out their national and international tasks with honour.

It is clear to us that the political situation in the Balkans, in Europe and in the world is pregnant with danger. But this does not find us unprepared; it has always been clear to us that these times require that along with the pick and the book we should keep a firm grip on the rifle, too, constantly enhance our vigilance and readiness to defend our socialist fatherland from any threat that may come from the external enemies, even in the most difficult conditions.



The students
town in Tirana

The encirclement does not intimidate us, but tempers us and makes us more militant. The great tasks of the five-year plan do not intimidate us, but inspire us and make us more active in work and in struggle. The flattery of the western bourgeoisie cannot deceive us, but strengthens our vigilance. The appeals of the modern revisionists, of Brezhnev and his lackeys for «reconciliation» seem to us like the wolf calling to the deer to convince the latter of his good intentions. They revolt us, add to our revolutionary hatred of them, and make us increase our fighting readiness even more.

The «limited sovereignty» of the revisionists and imperialists does not exist, and will never exist in the vocabulary of socialist Albania. Our sovereignty has been, is and will always remain complete and inviolable and the Albanian people guarantee it with their own lives and blood against any enemy and in whatever circumstances.

Socialist Albania, headed by the party and comrade Enver Hoxha, forges always ahead on the road of socialism and communism. She will never kneel or bow to imperialism and revisionism, reaction and great-state chauvinism; there is no force in the world that can force socialist Albania to submit and give up the road of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, she will defend her correct Marxist-Leninist road in every situation regardless of any sacrifices.

We know what war is, therefore we want peace; of course, not any sort of peace, but a just and genuine peace; we will never sell our freedom and socialism for the sake of peace. And if the aggressors attack us some day in the name of NATO or the Warsaw Treaty, then, as befits a socialist country, we shall tie the banner of the people's war on the barrel of

a rifle and raise it high to liquidate the enemy and to defend our freedom.

Comrade Mehmet Shehu said we have never been the ones to cling to a multiplicity of banners, but there is one banner which we shall uphold as we have always done – the banner of Marxism-Leninism, anti-imperialism and anti-revisionism. We will never allow ourselves to be put in the same fold as the wolves, and we do not base our policy on any axis whatever. We have gained ample experience to distinguish good from evil, to see clearly the demarcation line between the people and reaction, revolution and counter-revolution, socialism and capitalism, Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism.

In conclusion comrade Mehmet Shehu said:

We shall march forward on our correct road. No force on earth can turn us from it. Faith in and the will for victory, determination to fight through to the end with arms, if need be, for our great cause, for socialism and communism, profound loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and the steel-like unity in the ranks of our people and the party; iron will and sound discipline at work and the burning desire to learn; revolutionary honesty and the unyielding stand in the face of any difficulty and danger, – these are the main qualities, with which our party and comrade Enver Hoxha have educated and moulded the communists, the working class, the laboring peasantry, the people's intelligentsia, our youth, our entire people.

United as one man round our Party, the Central Committee with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, let us set to work with might and main to put into effect the historic decisions of the 6th Congress of the Party.

ELECTIONS TO THE LEADING ORGANS OF THE PLA

At its first meeting, the Plenum of the Central Committee, comprised of 79 members and 31 alternate members, and elected with full unanimity by the Congress, decided that the Political Bureau should be made up of 13 members and 4 alternate members whereas the secretariat

of the Central Committee should be made up of 4 secretaries, one of them first secretary of the Central Committee. The following comrades have been unanimously elected to the Political Bureau and Secretariat of the Central Committee:

Members of the Political Bureau:

ABDYL KËLLEZI
ADIL ÇARÇANI
BEQIR BALLUKU
ENVER HOXHA
HAKI TOSKA
HYSNI KAPO
KADRI HAZBIU
KOÇO THEODHOSI
MANUSH MYFTIU
MEHMET SHEHU
RAMIZ ALIA
RITA MARKO
SPIRO KOLEKA

Alternate members of the Political Bureau:

PETRIT DUME
PILO PERISTERI
PIRRO DODBIBA
XHAFER SPAHIU

Secretaries of the Central Committee:

ENVER HOXHA
HAKI TOSKA
HYSNI KAPO
RAMIZ ALIA

First Secretary of the Central Committee:
Comrade ENVER HOXHA

Likewise, at its first meeting the Central Control and Auditing Commission elected as chairman comrade Ibrahim

Sina and as vice-chairmen the comrades Gafur Çuçi and Hajdar Aranitasi.

Resolution of the 6th Congress of the PLA in Support of the Liberation Struggle of the Heroic Vietnamese People

The 6th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, expressing the internationalist feelings of all the communists and working masses of the People's Republic of Albania sends fiery militant greetings to the fraternal Vietnamese people, to all the heroic fighters of the glorious southern and northern Vietnam who, as one man, are waging a legendary just war for the salvation of the homeland against the U.S. imperialist aggressors, their stooges and collaborators.

At the cost of innumerable sacrifices, the courageous Vietnamese people have written glorious pages of heroism, have dealt smashing political and military blows at the barbarous U.S. aggressors and have won the respect and ardent sympathy of the peoples throughout the world. By their consistent armed struggle, they have foiled the criminal plans of U.S. imperialism to enslave the whole of Vietnam and to turn it into a base for the domination over and aggression against the other peoples of Asia, have refuted the myth of the invincibility of the military might of U.S. imperialism and have demonstrated that under present conditions a small country can beat a superpower if it is determined to make

any sacrifice and to forge courageously ahead on the road of freedom and revolution. The Vietnamese people together with the valiant peoples of Laos and Cambodia are transforming Indochina into the field of the heaviest and most shameful defeat for Yankee imperialism.

The liberation war of the Vietnamese people has now assumed a world historic importance and inspires all the oppressed peoples, all the freedom-loving and progressive people throughout the world. The support to and the solidarity of the peoples with heroic Vietnam and its just cause have grown as never before.

Now the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Indochina cannot be avoided either by military strength or propaganda campaigns and various diabolic manoeuvres. The Nixon doctrine of «Vietnamizing» the war has completely gone bankrupt, just like the other hostile plans of his administration will fail. The heroic Vietnamese people will foil all the plots and tricks of U.S. imperialism and its stooges, successfully.

Following to the letter the recommendation of their great leader Ho Chi Minh, the fraternal Vietnamese people have

made it clear that they will not cease their determined struggle as long as the last U.S. soldier is not withdrawn from Vietnam, as long as the last U.S. base is not evacuated.

The 6th Congress of the PLA, reaffirming its determined support for the correct stands of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the provisional revolutionary government of the Republic of South Vietnam on the withdrawal of the U.S. troops and the settlement of the Vietnamese conflict, expresses its unshaken conviction that the Vietnamese people, through their armed struggle will for sure triumph and U.S. imperialism will suffer utter defeat.

The PLA and the Albanian people, as until now will be wholeheartedly with the valiant Vietnamese people and support through to the end their just struggle for the defense of the North, the liberation of the South and the re-unification of the homeland.

Glory and victory to the heroic Vietnamese people. Long live through centuries the friendship and militant unity between the Albanian and Vietnamese peoples.

THE 6TH CONGRESS OF THE PLA

Our Common Road Is The Road Of The Revolution, Of Socialism And Communism

Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech
at the reception given in the Palace of Brigades

Dear comrades and friends,

We are gathered this evening at this fraternal dinner of Albanian communists and communists of Marxist-Leninist parties from all the continents. You came to socialist Albania to attend the congress of our Party, to become acquainted with its life and activity, to express your internationalist solidarity with us, to support us in our struggle and work. But your presence here is at the same time an expression of the steel-like unity characterising the Marxist-Leninists of all the countries, the soldiers of revolution, the ardent fighters against imperialism, revisionism and reaction.

At a time when the revisionist parties are swept over by a great disintegration and decadence, by the spirit of grouping, factionism, careerism and struggle for power, when they have lost every proletarian aspect and revolutionary feature, when the relations among them are characterised by dictate and subjugation, by bourgeois chauvinism and nationalism, our unity, of Marxist-Leninist forces, is rising and ever more strengthening on the sound basis of the revolutionary ideology of the working class and proletarian internationalism.

Our unity and cohesion are based on our common ideals, on the struggle we are waging against imperialism and revisionism, on the efforts for the defence of the vital interests of the working class and working masses, on the determined support we give to the peoples for their national and social liberation. Our common road is the road of revolution, socialism and communism. The banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, which the revisionists threw away, is now held by the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties,

to which belongs the great historic mission of leading the working class and all the working masses in revolution.

Natural and understandable are the difficulties and obstacles with which the Marxist-Leninist movement is faced. Now the bourgeoisie with its repressive and propaganda apparatus, the various revisionists and opportunists with their demagoguery and undermining work, the pseudo-revolutionaries and pseudo-socialists have thrown themselves against them. But now there is no force on earth that can stop the victorious march of Marxism-Leninism and communism. The revolutionaries have never retreated in front of difficulties and obstacles. The conviction in the justice and victory of the cause for which they are fighting, the firm confidence in the inexhaustible revolutionary forces of the working class, their loyalty to the principles give them life and make them invincible.

The whole of our party and people feel this force and determination in your participation in the congress and in the ardent greetings full of revolutionary inspiration, that you brought to our party and which were an expression of the militant internationalist unity binding us.

The revolutionaries never, and in no circumstance whatsoever, conceal their unity, but they affirm and uninterruptedly steel it.

In front of the enemy let us stand united like a granite rock, let us strengthen our ranks and thus united to a man, let us march always onward in the struggle towards the sure victory of our great common cause.

I avail myself of the opportunity to assure you that the new Central Committee elected by the 6th Party Congress,

will consistently defend and implement the revolutionary line of our party. The Albanian party and people will tirelessly work to honourably accomplish their high task in the complete construction of socialism in Albania, will fight without sparing their forces so that the banner of socialism and Marxism-Leninism always flutter invincible in our homeland. In full unity with the Communist Party of China, with all the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces, our Party, just as heretofore, will fight with determination against U.S.-led imperialism and Soviet-led modern revisionism. The revolutionaries and all the fighters for freedom and independence of the peoples will always find in the Albanian communists and people faithful and indissoluble friends through to the end, sincere brothers in good and bad days. We are fighting in the same barricade and, in full solidarity, will always advance shoulder to shoulder towards new victories.

Allow me, at this dinner of comrades of one and the same ideal and of the same front, where the spirit of proletarian internationalism prevails and where one heart beats, to greet once more our dear comrades and friends and thank them for the great honour they made to us and the pleasure they gave us by coming to Albania and attending the proceedings of the Congress. Allow me, likewise, on behalf of the whole party and Albanian people, to wholeheartedly wish the representatives of sister parties successes and victories in their glorious revolutionary struggle.

Let us raise this toast to the foreign comrades and friends present here and the parties and organisations they represent, to the Marxist-Leninist unity and proletarian solidarity.

The 6th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania Held Its Proceedings On November 1-7

The 6th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania held its proceedings in Tirana on November 1-7.

The holding of this congress, as well as the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Party of Labor of Albania which was solemnly celebrated on the 8th of November, were hailed by the Albanian people as the two greatest events of the year 1971 in the country's life.

The Congress was declared open by comrade Hysni Kapo, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania.

The 6th Congress of the Party – comrade Hysni Kapo said among other things – is convened on the eve of the festive occasion of the 30th anniversary of the founding of our glorious Party.

The importance of our 6th Congress – he went on – consists in the fact that it will draw the balance-sheet of the selfless struggle and work of the laboring masses of the town and countryside for the successful accomplishment of the tasks set forth by the 5th Congress of the Party and will determine the grandiose tasks for the coming period. The directives of the 5th five-year plan, all the decisions which the 6th Congress will approve, will constitute the militant program of work of the Party and of the whole of our people on the road of the full construction of the socialist society, for the defense and the always carrying onward of the victories of the revolution, for the preservation of the purity of all-conquering Marxism-Leninism.

The Party comes to its 6th Congress stronger than ever, tempered in struggles and battles, with a rich experience, with

a steel-like unity in its ranks, united as one round the Central Committee with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, indissolubly linked with our beloved people.

The Party of Labor of Albania as always, today and in the future, too, will continue without interruption and without wavering its class struggle on national and international scale, exposing with determination and courage the sworn enemies of the peoples and of Marxism-Leninism. It has always considered and continues to consider as its internationalist duty the unqualified aid and support to the revolutionary peoples, the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces everywhere in the world, which are fighting to break the chains of capitalist domination, against oppression and exploitation by imperialism and social-imperialism.

Comrade Hysni Kapo said that comrades from the Party organisations, from the State and economic organs, from the mass organisations and cultural institutions, representatives of the press, of the radio, etc., have been invited to attend the Congress.

Our Congress, he continued, has been honored by the participation of 26 delegations from Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations, as well as of a number of foreign friends of our Party and country.

On behalf of the delegates to the Congress, of the entire party and of our people, allow me to thank all the fraternal parties that have sent delegates to our 6th Congress, as well as their representatives staying here, respected comrades and comrades-in-arms, with whom we are united by the great ideal that ins-

pires our parties – the cause of victorious Marxism-Leninism.

Then comrade Hysni Kapo said:

In the period that has elapsed from the 5th Congress the Party has lost many outstanding militants and devoted members of its. We honor with respect their bright memory, of the member of the Central Committee and of the Political Bureau, our unforgettable comrade Gogo Nushi, of the chairman of the Control and Auditing Central Commission comrade Petro Papi, of the member of the Control and Auditing Central Commission comrade Subi Bakiri.

We respectfully recall the delegate to this Congress, the hero of socialist labor comrade Firok Kacorri who fell while on duty, as well as the internationalist hero comrade Chang Pao Y, member of the Communist Party of China, who laid down his life working for the building of socialism in Albania.

We honor with respect the memory of the great revolutionary, the outstanding fighter for the freedom and independence of the peoples, the great son and leader of the Vietnamese people, the respected friend of the Albanian people, comrade Ho Chi Minh; of the general secretary of the Communist Party of Colombia (Marxist-Leninist) comrade Pedro Vasquez Rendon; of the chairman of the Communist Party of Burma comrade Thakiu The Tun; of the revolutionary militant of the French Marxist-Leninist movement comrade François Marty, and of the vice-chairman of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) comrade Patrick Malone.

Our respect and recollection are extended to all the communists, revolutiona-

ries and fighters for freedom who have laid down their lives for the glorious cause of the proletariat and of the liberation of the peoples.

I invite you, comrades, to honor with a minute's silence their memory. (All stand up in silence).

After the election of the working presidium of the Congress and of the other working organs, the Congress approved the following agenda:

1. Report on the activity of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA comrade Enver Hoxha.

2. Report of the Control and Auditing Central Commission, by the chairman of the Control and Auditing Central Commission comrade Ibrahim Sina.

3. Report on the directives of the 6th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania for the 5th five-year plan of the economic and cultural development of the People's Republic of Albania for the years 1971-1975, by comrade Mehmet Shehu, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania.

4. Elections to the Party central organs.

According to the agenda, the floor was given to comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, to deliver the report "On the activity of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania".

Comrade Enver Hoxha's report was listened to with great attention and was frequently punctuated by prolonged applause and acclamation which were turning into enthusiastic ovations from all those present.

Then the Congress passed over to the second item on the agenda. The chairman of the Control and Auditing Central Commission, comrade Ibrahim Sina, delivered the report on behalf of this Commission.

At the third sitting discussions began about the report "On the activity of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania" delivered by comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, and about the report of the Control and Auditing Central Commission delivered by the Commission's chairman, comrade Ibrahim Sina.

Thirty-nine delegates discussed on these reports. They spoke of the excellent

results that have been registered during the period between the 5th and 6th Congresses and expressed the determination of the communists and of all the laboring masses to fulfill ahead of the schedule the new tasks set forth by the Congress.

The Congress unanimously approved the draft-resolution on the approval of the report "On the activity of the Central Committee of the PLA" as well as the draft-resolution on the report of the Control and Auditing Central Commission.

Then the floor was taken by comrade Mehmet Shehu, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the P.R. of Albania, who delivered the report "On the directives of the 6th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania for the 5th five-year plan of the economic and cultural development of the People's Republic of Albania for the years 1971-1975".

The report presented by comrade Mehmet Shehu was listened to with great attention by the delegates and those present who frequently interrupted it by applause and acclamation for the Party of Labor of Albania, for comrade Enver Hoxha, for Marxism-Leninism.

Twenty-five delegates took part in the discussions on this report.

The Congress approved the draft-resolution on the approval of the report delivered by comrade Mehmet Shehu.

Then comrade Abdyl Këllezi, on behalf of the draft-directives Commission, presented to the delegates to the Congress the changes, corrections and supplements made to the text of the draft-directives during the lively popular debate since the time of its announcement in July.

Then the delegates approved unanimously and amidst a great enthusiasm the draft-resolution on the approval of the directives of the 5th five-year plan.

The Congress unanimously approved also the draft on some small amendments to the Party constitution and adopted the relative decision.

The Congress was greeted by many communist parties of various countries of the world through messages and delegations they had sent.

At the third sitting comrade Spiro Koleka, who directed its proceedings, informed the Congress that the Central

Committee of the Communist Party of China, finding it impossible to send its delegation, had addressed to the Congress a message which was read out by comrade Piro Kondi. The message was received with ardent applause and acclamation for the Communist Party of China, comrade Mao Tse-tung, the unbreakable Albanian - Chinese friendship, for the Party of Labor of Albania and comrade Enver Hoxha.

At the Congress the floor was taken by Nguyen Van Tran, head of the delegation of the Vietnamese Workers' Party and secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, who conveyed to the Congress the message of greetings addressed by the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Workers' Party to the 6th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania.

The head of the delegation of the National Front for Liberation of South Vietnam, professor Nguyen Van Hieu, member of the presidium of the Central Committee of the National Front for Liberation, conveyed to the Congress the message of the Central Committee of the National Front for Liberation of South Vietnam to the 6th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania.

In continuation of its proceedings the Congress was greeted by the head of the delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia, Iusuf Agitorop, member of the Political Bureau.

After the end of his greeting statement comrade Iusuf Agitorop handed over to the presidium of the Congress a red banner with the following inscription: "Long live the revolutionary friendship between the two parties and the two peoples of Indonesia and Albania".

The Congress heard the message which the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Korea addressed to the 6th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania.

The floor was taken at the Congress by the head of the delegation of the Communist Party of Poland Kazimiel Miyal, general secretary; the head of the delegation of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) Edward Hill, chairman of the party; the head of the delegation of the Communist Party of Brazil, who read out the message of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil addressed to the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania; the

chairman of the delegation of the Communist Party of Italy (Marxist-Leninist) Fosco Dimucci, general secretary; the head of the delegation of the Communist Party of Malaya, who read out also the message of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Malaya addressed to the Central Committee of the PLA; the head of the delegation of the Peruvian Communist Party Raphael Kaline, member of the Political Bureau, who read out also the message of the Peruvian Communist Party addressed to the Central Committee of the PLA; the head of the delegation of the Communist Party of New Zealand, Wilcox, general secretary.

The Congress heard the messages addressed to the 6th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Burma and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Thailand.

Then the Congress was greeted by the head of the delegation of the Communist Party of France (Marxist-Leninist) Jean Ferre, member of the Political Bureau; the head of the delegation of the Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist) Reg Birch, the Party's chairman, who conveyed also the message sent by the Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist) to the 6th Congress of the P.L.A.; the head of the delegation of the Communist Party of Japan (leftist) Takayuki Anasako, member of the Political Bureau; the head of the delegation of the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist) Raul Marco, member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee; the head of the delegation of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, Ernesto Gonzales, member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee; the head of the delegation of the Communist Party of Ceylon, Shaffie, member of the Political Bureau; the head of the delegation of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of Ecuador, Alfonso Haramilo, member of the Political Bureau; the head of the delegation of the Communist Party of Sudan (revolutionary leadership) Jabir, member of the Central Secretariat; the head of the delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria, Franz Strobl, first secretary of

the Party; the head of the delegation of the Communist Party of Germany (Marxist-Leninist) Ernst Aust, member of the Central Committee; the head of the delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Holland, Kris Petersen, secretary of the Central Committee; the head of the delegation of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of Belgium, Ferdinand Lefevre, secretary of the Central Committee, who read out the message of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of Belgium addressed to the 6th Congress of the PLA; the head of the delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Communist League of Sweden, Kurt Lundgren, League's secretary; the head of the delegation of «Vanguardia Comunista» of Argentina; the head of the delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Communist League of Denmark, Benito Skokoza, the League's president; the head of the delegation of the Central Committee of the Marxist-Leninist groups of Norway, Sigurd Allen, chairman of the Central Committee.

The delegates were informed of the other messages and telegrams received by the 6th Congress of the PLA from parties, groups and Marxist-Leninists of various countries.

The Congress received messages, telegrams, letters and salutes also from the organisation of the Marxist-Leninist communists of Switzerland, from the Communist Party of Iraq, the Iranian Marxist-Leninist organisation of Tufan, the revolutionary left movement of Uruguay, the Executive Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Association of Helsinki in Finland, the Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement of San Marino, the Communist Party of Honduras (Marxist-Leninist), the Marxist-Leninist organisations of the Dominican Republic, the Action Committee of the Gottwaldist communists of Czechoslovakia, the Central Committee of the Madagascan Communist Party, the Congolese Party of Labour, the Central Committee of the Haitian Workers' Party, the editorial staff of the newspaper «L'Humanité Rouge», etc.

The Congress approved a resolution in support of the liberation struggle of the heroic people of Vietnam.

The delegates received with great love a group of young pioneers and children who greeted the Congress.

The Congress was likewise greeted amidst a great enthusiasm by a group of young volunteers of the construction site of the new Elbasan-Prenjas railway who informed that they had successfully realized the pledge they had assumed to conclude the first part of the railway.

At its 12th sitting the Congress passed over to the last item on the agenda: Elections to the central organs of the Party.

The 13th sitting was presided over by comrade Enver Hoxha. The floor was given to comrade Lipe Nashi who, charged by the commission for the counting of votes, reported on the conclusion of the voting for the election of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the P.L.A., made up of 79 members and 31 alternate members, and of the Control and Auditing Central Commission.

The newly elected Central Committee of the PLA and Control and Auditing Central Commission hold their first meetings to elect the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA, the Secretariat of the Central Committee and the chairman and the vice-chairmen of the Control and Auditing Central Commission of the Party.

When comrade Enver Hoxha ends his speech, he goes among the other members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and they, all together, in clasped hands, raise them high. Enthusiastic acclamations, prolonged ovations burst forth.

The sounds of the Internationale powerfully reverberate in the hall. The delegates standing jointly sing this hymn.

Then comrade Enver Hoxha and the other members of the Political Bureau descend from the platform and pass among the delegates being greeted with ardent love. In such enthusiastic atmosphere and steel-like unity of the Party ranks and of the people round the Party, the 6th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania ended its proceedings.



Artistic performance in Tirana in front of the building in which the Congress is holding its proceedings.

