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First cover — Comrade ENVER HOXHA submitting the report «On the Activity of the Central Committee of the PLA». Second cover — The delegates to the 7th Congress of the PLA and the guests meet with applause and cheers comrade ENVER HOXHA coming to the Great Palace of Culture where the Congress held its proceedings. Third cover — A view of the hall of the Congress. Fourth cover — Festive Tirana.



This issue of the magazine «ALBANIA TODAY» is dedicated to the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania held from 1st to 7th November 1976 in Tirana. It includes:

- **The report «ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA» submitted to the Congress by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, comrade ENVER HOXHA.**

- **The report «ON THE DIRECTIVES OF THE 7th CONGRESS OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA FOR THE 6th FIVE-YEAR PLAN FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY AND CULTURE OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA FOR THE YEARS 1976-1980» submitted to the Congress by the Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, comrade MEHMET SHEHU.**

- **The Closing Speech of the Congress by comrade ENVER HOXHA.**

- **Other materials dedicated to the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania and the 35th anniversary of its founding**

EVENT OF GREAT IMPORTANCE IN OF THE PLA AND OF THE ALBANIA

From 1st to 7th November 1976 the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania was held in Tirana. This was a great and historic event, not only for the communists, but for all the Albanian people.

The Congress was held in an atmosphere of extraordinary enthusiasm that swept the broad masses of the working people throughout the country an account of the jubilee of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Albania (now the Party of Labour of Albania), and the great people's discussion of the draft-Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania that was held in the beginning of this year as well as that on the draft-directives of the 6th five-year plan for the development of the economy and culture of the People's Republic of Albania, approved by the 9th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, in July this year.

These important events as well as the call of the 7th Congress of the Party raised the revolutionary drive and mobilization at work of all strata of the population, to new, unprecedented heights, further increased their love for the Party of Labour of Albania, the organizer and inspirer of all the victories of the Albanian people, and strengthened and steeled their unity around the Party, with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head.

Eight hundred forty-three delegates representing 88,000 party members and 13,500 candidate members took part in the Congress. Present at the Congress were 103 out of the 200 foundation members of the Party (those of 1941) either as delegates or guests.

The following delegations invited by the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania also attended the Congress as guests:

The Delegation of the Workers' Party of Korea led by comrade So Chol, Member of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and Chairman of the Control Commission of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea; the Delegation of the Workers' Party of Vietnam led by comrade Hoang Van Hoan, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Vietnam; the Delegation of the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos led by comrade Phoune Sipraseuth, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Peoples' Revolutionary Party of Laos, Deputy-prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs; the Delegation of the Communist Party of Australia (M.-L.) led by comrade Edward Hill, Chairman of the Party; the Delegation of the Communist Party of Italy (M.-L.) led by comrade Fosco Dinucci, Secretary General of the Party; the Delegation of the Communist Party of Brazil; the Delegation of the Communist Party of Germany (M.-L.) led by comrade Ernst Aust, Chairman of the Party; the Delegation of the Communist Party of Britain (M.-L.) led by comrade Reg Birch, Chairman of the Party; the Delegation of the Communist Party of Argentina (M.-L.) led by Gabriel Valdés, Member of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee; the Delegation of the Communist Party of Spain (M.-L.) led by comrade Raul Marco, Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Party; the Delegation of the Communist Party of Ceylon led by comrade San-mugathasan, General Secretary of the Party; the Delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Communists of France, led by comrade Jacques Jurquet, leader of the Marxist-Leninist Communists of France; the Delegation of the Communist Party of Ecuador (M.-L.); the Delegation of the Communist Party of Indonesia; the Delegation of the Communist Party of Bolivia (M.-L.); the Delegation of the Workers' Communist Party of Norway (M.-L.) led by Paul Steigan, Chairman

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of the Party; the Delegation of the Communist Party of Columbia (M.-L.); the Delegation of the Communist Party of Sweden, led by comrade Roland Pettersson, Chairman of the Party; the Delegation of the Peruvian Communist Party led by comrade Antonio Fernandez, General Secretary of the Party; the Delegation of the Communist Party of Japan (Left) led by comrade Haruo Kageyama, Member of the Political Bureau; the Delegation of the Communist Party of Portugal (reconstituted) led by comrade Eduardo Pires, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party; the Delegation of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile led by comrade Guillermo Fuentes, Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Party; the Delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria led by comrade Franz Strobl, First Secretary of the Party; the Delegation of the Communist Party of Paraguay led by comrade José Ramos, Member of the leadership of the Party; the Delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Holland led by comrade Pieter Petersen, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party; the Delegation of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Uruguay; the Delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Belgium led by comrade Jacques Thauvoye, Member of the Central Committee of the Party; the Delegation of the Communist Party of the Philippines; the Delegation of the Communist Party of Switzerland (M.-L.); the Delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Communist League of Denmark led by comrade Morten Meisner, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee; the Delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Groups of Finland led by comrade Tomas Brunila, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Groups of Finland; the Delegation of the Central Committee of the «Bandera Proletaria» Marxist-Leninist Organization of the Dominican Republic led by Juan Mejia, Member of the Central Committee.

Amid a great ovation, one of the veterans of the communist movement in Albania, the former chairman of the Communist Group of Korça, Miha Lako, declared the Congress open. On his proposal, the Congress stood in one minute's silence to honour the memory of the four members of the Central Committee of the Party who had died in the period between the two congresses, as well as the memory and the work of comrade Mao Tsetung, Chairman of the Communist Party of China, the great leader of the fraternal Chinese people, and dear friend of the Albanian people.

Besides the 57 delegates unanimously elected, the leaders of the foreign delegations invited to attend the Congress also took their places in the presidium.

The agenda for the proceedings at the Congress was:

1) The Report «On the Activity of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania».

2) The Report of the Central Control and Audit Commission.

3) The Report «On the Directives of the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania for the 6th Five-year Plan for the Development of the Economy and Culture of the People's Republic of Albania for the years 1976-1980».

4) Elections to the central organs of the Party.

The Report «On the Activity of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania» was delivered by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, the beloved leader of the Party and the entire Albanian people, comrade Enver Hoxha. The report, which made a profound scientific analysis of the results achieved in the period between the two congresses,

of the current problems of the complete construction of socialism on the basis of self-reliance, in the conditions of the savage imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement, as well as of the present international problems, was followed with great interest and attention and was interrupted with stormy applause and enthusiastic cheers which frequently turned into ovations for the Party of Labour of Albania, its Central Committee, comrade Enver Hoxha, Marxism-Leninism, and the complete triumph of socialism and communism.

The Report of the Central Control and Audit Commission was submitted by comrade Ibrahim Sina, and the Report «On the Directives of the 7th Congress of the PLA for the 6th Five-Year Plan for the Development of the Economy and Culture of the People's Republic of Albania for the years 1976-1980» by the Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, comrade Mehmet Shehu.

Both these reports were followed with great interest and attention and were warmly applauded.

A broad discussion around the reports ensued. Delegates from all the regions of the country, from the major work and production centres, from the agricultural cooperatives, scientific institutions, military units and the schools contributed to the discussion. Among the contributors there were rank-and-file party members and members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party, ordinary workers and cooperativists and top functionaries of the Party and State, young people and veterans, men and women, writers, artists, and scientists. All of them whole-heartedly endorsed the report and expressed the determination of the communists and all the working people to march constantly forward on the road charted by the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha, on the difficult but glorious road of socialism and communism.

With enthusiastic applause and cheers for the unbreakable Albanian-Chinese friendship the delegates welcomed the telegram of greetings addressed to the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania from the Communist Party of China. The messages from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Malaysia, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Thailand, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Burma, the National Committee of the communist Party of New Zealand, the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Peasant Party of Turkey, the Central Committee of the Communist League of Unity (Marxist-Leninist) of Ireland, the Communist Party (M.-L.) of San Marino, the Central Leadership of the Irakian Communist Party and of the Central Leadership of the Iranian Marxist-Leninist Organization, Tufan, were also read.

The Congress was also greeted by the leaders of the foreign delegations that were present. Like the messages of greetings, they expressed in the warmest words their admiration for the majestic successes the Albanian people have achieved under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania and its Central Committee led by comrade Enver Hoxha, for the determined and persevering struggle of the PLA and comrade Enver Hoxha to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism against revisionists of every shade and description, and made a high appraisal of the proceedings of the Congress, which they described as an experience of great value for the Marxist-Leninist parties.

The warm and heart-felt greetings of the dear comrades and friends added still more to the enthusiasm of the delegates who frequently burst into cheering for Marxist-Leninism and proletarian internationalism which closely unite all the true revolutionaries in their struggle against US-led imperialism, Soviet-led modern revisionism, and all reactionaries, for social progress and the complete triumph of socialism and communism all over the world.

The proceedings of the Congress were followed with interest not only by the delegates, but also by all the communists and working people of Albania. From the meetings which they lis-

tened to, or read collectively, the reports and other materials of the Congress, they sent messages and telegrams of greetings to the Congress in which they informed it of their new victories at work and assured it that they would mobilize all their forces to put its historic decisions into practice.

The 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania also aroused interest beyond the borders of Albania. On the eve of the Congress and during its proceedings, the Central Committee of the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha received a great number of messages, telegrams and letters from associations of friendship with Albania in many countries of the world, such as Italy, Germany, Greece, Austria, Belgium, France, Luxemburg, Angola, Tanzania, Malagasy, Ethiopia, Azania, Dahomey, Ecuador, Santo-Domingo, Japan, Nepal, the United States of America, Canada, etc., which expressed their warmest revolutionary and fraternal wishes for the success of the 7th Congress of the PLA and their congratulations on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of its founding. They availed themselves of this opportunity to express their gratitude for the internationalist support which the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people have given and continue to give the just cause of the working people and the struggle of the peoples for national and social liberation.

The delegates were deeply moved when a group of young pioneers, from all the regions of the country, entered the congress hall. With their beautiful songs and recitations they brought into the hall the freshness of the ever brighter future awaiting Albania. The children thanked the Party and uncle Enver for the happy life they have ensured for them and promised that, according to their instructions, they will always carry forward the torch of the revolution, always keep Albania the radiant beacon of socialism and communism.

The Congress also received a message from the younger generation of Albania. The message was dispatched from the factories, construction sites, agricultural cooperatives, schools and military units, was handed on as in a relay from one regions of the country to the other, and reached Tirana on November 6th. In this message the young men and women of Albania promised the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania that they will honourably fulfil all the tasks with which it charged them.

On November 6th the Congress unanimously and fully approved the political line and the activity of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the report presented by comrade Enver Hoxha, as well as the report «On the Directives for the 6th Five-year Plan for the Development of the Economy and Culture of the People's Republic of Albania for the Years 1976-1980» submitted by comrade Mehmet Shehu, the report of the Central Control and Audit Commission of the Party submitted by comrade Ibrahim Sina, as well as the draft of some amendments to the Constitution of the Party, and took the relevant decisions.

Finally the Congress elected the leading organs of the Party: the Central Committee consisting of 77 members and 38 alternate members, and the Central Control and Audit Commission made up of 21 members. The Ballot Commission announced that all those elected had received one hundred per cent of the votes.

On November 7th, the first meeting of the new Central Committee and that of the Central Control and Audit Commission of the Party were held. The Central Committee of the PLA elected the Political Bureau made up of 12 members and 5 alternate members, and the Secretariat of the Central Commission made up of 5 members. The Central Control Commission elected its leadership.

The decisions of the Plenum were announced to the Congress by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, the beloved leader of the Party and all the Albanian people, comrade Enver Hoxha, who delivered the closing speech of the Congress.

The hall resounded for whole minutes with enthusiastic applause, cheers and ovations for the Party of Labour of Albania, its Central Committee and comrade Enver Hoxha.

The Congress closed to the strains of the «International» sung by all the delegates. —

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*A view of the presidium
of the 7th Congress of the PLA,
with comrade ENVER HOXHA
submitting the Report
on the Activity
of the Central Committee
of the PLA.*

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ENVER HOXHA

REPORT ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE PARTY OF L

DEAR COMRADES,

FIVE YEARS HAVE ELAPSED SINCE THE PARTY GATHERED AT ITS 6th CONGRESS AND LAID DOWN THE GUIDELINES OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY FOR THIS PERIOD. THE IMPORTANT TASKS IT UNDERTOOK IT HAS ACCOMPLISHED SUCCESSFULLY. TODAY OUR PARTY COMES TO ITS 7th CONGRESS FULLY PREPARED AND DETERMINED TO UNDERTAKE NEW AND MORE DIFFICULT TASKS, TO CARRY THE CAUSE OF SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM IN ALBANIA CONSTANTLY FORWARD TO VICTORY.

OUR PEOPLE AND PARTY COME TO THIS CONGRESS FULL OF VITALITY AND DYNAMISM, PROUD OF THE SUCCESSES THEY HAVE ACHIEVED AND WITH UNWAVERING CONFIDENCE IN THE FUTURE. LIFE HAS PROVED AGAIN THAT THE MARXIST-LENINIST COURSE OF THE PARTY IS COMPLETELY CORRECT THAT THE ROAD ON WHICH IT IS LEADING OUR PEOPLE IS THE RELIABLE ROAD OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM, THE ROAD OF THE FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF THE FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE HOMELAND.

OUR INTERNAL SITUATION IS HEALTHY AND STABLE IN ALL FIELDS AND ON ALL FRONTS. THE MARXIST-LENINIST LINE OF THE PARTY, THE MAGNIFICENT ACHIEVEMENTS ATTAINED, THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE CORRECT WAY, HAVE BROUGHT ABOUT THE FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF THE MORAL AND POLITICAL UNITY OF THE PEOPLE AND THEIR UNBREAKABLE LINKS WITH THE PARTY, AND THE CREATION OF A VIGOROUS REVOLUTIONARY ATMOSPHERE.

UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY, THE WORKING CLASS, THE COOPERATIVIST PEASANTRY AND THE PEOPLE'S INTELLIGENTSIA HAVE, ON THE WHOLE, SUCCESSFULLY CARRIED OUT THE FUNDAMENTAL TASKS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY AND CULTURE LAID DOWN BY THE 6th CONGRESS OF THE PARTY. DURING THE PAST FIVE-YEAR PERIOD, THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES HAVE DEVELOPED IN ALL THE BRANCHES OF THE ECONOMY, THE MATERIAL AND TECHNICAL BASE OF SOCIALISM HAS BEEN STRENGTHENED AND THE SOCIALIST RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION HAVE BEEN FURTHER IMPROVED.

The program of the Party for the building of a complex heavy and light industry, its expansion with new sectors of modern production has been proved by practice to be fully capable of realization. Now we note with satisfaction that with rapid industrialization the Party's objective of transforming Albania from an agricultural-industrial country into an industrial-agricultural one is coming ever closer to attainment. With the workers' skilful hands, with their spirit of perseverance and keen minds, the great Metallurgical Combine at Elbasan has begun to pour the first steel in the history of Albania. The Oil Refinery at Ballsh will soon be commissioned and the oil wealth of our prosperous soil will be processed into products for which the economy of our country has great need. The Fierza Hydro-power Plant on the Drin River is advancing towards completion, together with many

other projects. With the new factories and plants that have been and are being commissioned, another major objective of the Party, namely, the most rational utilization, the further processing and increasing of the value of our raw materials, is being successfully attained.

We are all witnesses of the radical change that is taking place in our agriculture. Responding to the call of the Party, with their fiery patriotism, tireless work and unshakable confidence in their own strength, this year, for the first time, the cooperativist peasantry and the workers of state farms produced all the bread grain the country needs. As a result of the special care of the Party, the mechanization of agriculture has been stepped up and a rapid increase of all agricultural and livestock products has been secured. Upon the instruction issued by the 6th Congress, higher type cooperatives have been set up,

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and the organization and management of agricultural economies have been further improved. The measures taken have led to a further narrowing of distinctions between town and countryside. The plains and mountains of our country are now seething with the great work of transformation to make them still more fertile, to make our homeland more prosperous, more beautiful, and more powerful.

Important victories have been achieved also in the deepening of the socialist revolution in the field of ideology and culture, in all the work of the Party for the revolutionary education of the masses. The line of the Party for the development of schooling on the basis of linking lessons with life, of training a younger generation tempered with the proletarian ideology, equipped with knowledge and culture, capable in work and defence, is being implemented consistently and yielding ever better results. Our socialist culture, which is developing in compliance with the teachings of the Party, has been raised to a higher level as a culture with a lofty revolutionary content and clear national and popular form. A vivid expression of this reality is the cultural and artistic creativeness of the masses of which there has been a great upsurge, particularly in recent years, and which sings with feeling to the happy socialist life, the Marxist-Leninist correctness and wisdom of the Party, and the heroism of our people.

Under the special solicitude of the Party and its direct leadership, the defence potential of the country has been further increased and strengthened. With might and main our worker and soldier people are striving to make Albania an impregnable socialist bastion, training and on guard so as to be always ready to defend the revolution and its achievements against any threat from the enemies.

The 6th Congress charged the Party, the working class and all the masses of the working people with the task of further strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat as a fundamental condition and guarantee for attaining the majestic objectives put before the Party and the people. Now we can say that the measures which were taken and

carried out by the Party have further strengthened our state, have extended and improved our proletarian democracy, have raised the level of the direct participation of the working people in governing the country.

The rise in the capabilities of the working class and in its consciousness of the leading role it must play in socialist society, the establishment of worker and peasant control, the struggle of the Party to root out bureaucratic, technocratic, and liberal distortions and tendencies, have further enriched the experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the struggle to defend and consolidate our socialist order. They have contributed greatly to barring the way to the danger of bourgeois and revisionist degeneration and of a switch back to capitalism. This is a major victory for the Party, the working class, and the entire people.

The unbreakable unity of the people, their unity around the line of the Party, is a distinctive feature of our internal situation. A brilliant expression of this unity, which is based on the close alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry, is the determination and mobilization of our working masses to fulfil the tasks of socialist construction and to defend the freedom and independence of the homeland, is the outburst of the creative energies of the working class, cooperativist peasantry and people's intelligentsia in all fields. Another obvious expression of this unity is the lofty spirit of fraternal solidarity and sincere mutual help that exists among our working people, between the working class and the peasantry, among all the strata of our people. The slogan of our Party, «All for one and one for all», has become a new norm of socialist morality.

The revolutionary atmosphere and spirit that prevails in our country is in complete contrast with what is happening all around us. In this period of grave crises that have gripped the capitalist and revisionist world, the strength and stability of socialist Albania, our political and economic stability, are evidence of the superiority of socialism,

of the wisdom of the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, and the correctness of the principle of self-reliance. The fact that small socialist Albania, with all these great political, economic, financial, and other storms beating against its shores, is in a position to cope with all the difficulties and march constantly ahead, fills the hearts of all of us with legitimate pride. But, at the same time, the situation in which we are living and working demands that we mobilize all our strength and energies, all our knowledge and creative spirit, just as we have done up till now, to carry out all the tasks to the letter, so that our socialist ship will sail on steadily towards safe shores.

The internal situation of our country has been strengthened and consolidated through a sharp class struggle which our Party and people have waged with determination on all fronts, against the allround pressure of the hostile imperialist revisionist encirclement, against the savage ideological aggression hurled against our country day by day, as well as against the dangerous enemy activities inside the country and in the ranks of the Party itself. Against the steel-like solidarity of our Party and people, the attacks and plots of the external and internal enemies against our Party and our socialist order, against the freedom and independence of our homeland, have been reduced to dust and ashes.

The communists and our entire people know that in recent years the Party has uncovered and foiled the treacherous and conspiratorial anti-party activities of Fadil Paçrami and Todi Lubonja, of Beqir Balluku, Petrit Dume and Hito Çako, of Abdyl Këllezi, Koço Theodhosi and Kiço Ngjela, who, in collusion with the external, enemies, aimed to open the doors to revisionism, to destroy the dictatorship of the proletariat and liquidate the independence of the homeland.

But the activities and plots of these dangerous enemies suffered utter defeat. Thanks to the revolutionary vigilance and struggle of the Party and its leadership, thanks to the Marxist-Leninist unity of the ranks of the Party and the unbreakable strength of our proletarian dictatorship, the anti-party conspirators were exposed. The Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat hit them with an iron fist and threw them into the dustbin, where all the traitors to the revolution belong.

Cleared of thorns and poisonous weeds, the Party emerged from this struggle stronger and more monolithic, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the positions of socialism were even further consolidated. The entire people powerfully supported the Party and its Marxist-Leninist line, and closed their ranks around it and the people's power still more tightly. The Party took all measures to completely eliminate the harmful consequences of the hostile activity and sabotage, and to root out those shortcomings and weaknesses which the enemies had exploited. An even higher revolutionary spirit swept the entire country. The working class, the cooperativist peasantry, the people's intelligentsia, the youth and the women set to work with a new drive and enthusiasm to carry out the tasks of the socialist construction and the defence of the homeland, to come to the 7th Congress of the Party with new and greater successes. This is a vivid proof that the external and

internal enemies will never find a breach in our Party and our people, that no evil-doing, by anyone at all, will ever escape the keen vigilance of the communists and the masses of the working people, that the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania is strong and ready to hit hard and destroy any enemy.

It is our duty to further consolidate the healthy internal situation existing in our country as a result of the work done by the Party and under its leadership, through the self-denying efforts of the entire people, so that our homeland will progress and flourish, so that socialism will always march triumphant and the life of our people will become better and more beautiful with each passing day.

The 7th Congress is taking place in the days of an important jubilee, the 35th anniversary of the founding of our glorious Party of Labour. This great day, on which our people's hope of salvation and assurance of the victory was born, is a joyous celebration for us all, a day that reminds us of the heroic road traversed and encourages and mobilizes us for new battles and victories. For our people the founding of the Party of the Albanian communists marked a decisive turning point in their centuries-old history, and laid the steel-like foundations on which the new socialist Albania is being built.

The thirty-five years of revolutionary activity of the Party are thirty-five years of heroic efforts and battles at the head of the Albanian working class and people, for the liberation of the homeland and the triumph of the Revolution, to free Albania from poverty and raise it from its ruins, and to build this life, so rich in content, so just and happy, which we enjoy today. This is a period of victorious struggles against numerous enemies, both internal and external, against the US imperialists and the modern revisionists, headed by the Soviet revisionists, a period of struggle to defend our right to live always free and independent, to defend the road of true socialism and communism. The strong international position of socialist Albania, the high prestige it enjoys in the world, the support and solidarity it has among the revolutionary peoples and its numerous friends, are a result of the correct line of the Party in its foreign policy, of the consistent and principled struggle our Party and people have waged unceasingly against imperialism and revisionism. We can affirm with full conviction that the Albanian communists have always honourably done their duty towards their own working class and people, just as they have always done their internationalist duty towards international communism and the peoples to the letter.

Our Party has succeeded in attaining these brilliant victories because it has always stood loyal to the interests of the working class and its own people, because it has stood loyal to the immortal teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, because it has never separated its words from its deeds. At every moment and at every stage it has maintained the closest links with the masses, has stood in the front ranks of the struggle and, through its correct line, has united all our people around itself and has guided them with a sure hand.

The successes achieved during these years, which our people call the years of the Party, the great battles won,

make us look to the future with optimism. We are aware that many difficulties have already been overcome, that many objectives have been attained, but ahead of us there is even greater work, which our 7th Congress will discuss and decide upon, and many battles, which we must wage with determination and win, await us.

Comrade Enver Hoxha devoted the first chapter of his report to the new Constitution, which is a great historic victory of the Party and the Albanian people and is the

reflection of a genuinely socialist society which is being built according to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, embodied and tested in the revolutionary practice of Albania.

Comrade Enver Hoxha said that the endorsement of this Fundamental Law of our socialist state by the People's Assembly would give another powerful boost to all the work and struggle of the Albanian people for the construction and defence of socialism.

II

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY AND THE TASKS OF THE PARTY

Under the leadership of the Party and inspired by its correct Marxist-Leninist line, our working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, mustered all their energies, and in general, successfully fulfilled the tasks set by the 6th Congress for the development of the economy and culture.

By implementing the Party's directive that the economy must be developed in a proportionate and harmonious way, further growth and strengthening of all its branches was ensured in the 5th five-year period. In 1975, as against 1970, social production increased by 37 per cent and the national income by 38 per cent, at an average rate 3 times higher than the increase in the population.

During this period, proceeding on the road of socialist industrialization, the role of industry as the leading branch in the overall economic development was further enhanced. Now industrial production makes up about 65 per cent of total industrial and agricultural production. In 1975, as against 1970, industrial production increased by 52 per cent, at an average annual rate of 8.7 per cent.

During these years, vigorous revolutionary work was done to put into practice the correct policy of the Party for the rapid development and modernization of socialist agriculture, as the basic branch of the economy. Agricultural production increased by 33 per cent, at an average annual rate of 5.9 per cent.

In this five-year period the volume of investments was 50 per cent greater than in the previous five-year period. Work was done on 310 important economic and social projects, half of which have already been commissioned.

On the basis of the overall growth of production, a further rise in the material wellbeing and the cultural level of the people was ensured. The real income per capita increased by 14.5 per cent, the target set by the 6th Congress. The purchasing power of the population has increased and supply has steadily improved. Eighty-five per cent of the people's needs for industrial and agricul-

tural goods of everyday use were met by local products. During the past five-year period, 62,000 flats and dwelling houses were built in towns and villages. The educational and cultural level of the masses of the people was raised higher. In the last five years, over 12,500 people graduated from higher schools, and 72,000 others from secondary schools. The rise in the wellbeing and the cultural level, the extension and improvement of the health services, resulted in the extension of the average life-span and a high rate of increase in the population.

This allround material and cultural development has been accompanied with the adoption of important measures for the strengthening of socialist property, the further revolutionary improvement of relations of distribution and exchange.

The results achieved in carrying out the tasks laid down by the 6th Congress of the Party for the development of the economy and culture speak clearly of the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, the superiority of our socialist system, the high level of consciousness and creativeness of our people.

In making a correct assessment of the major results achieved, we must not fail to point out that in the struggle for the fulfilment of the five-year plan, apart from some objective difficulties, there have also been a series of shortcomings and weaknesses in the management and organization of work, bureaucratic and liberal stands and actions, technocratic and intellectualistic views, which caused the creation of appreciable deficits in some sectors. The planned targets in the extraction of oil, chromium, copper and coal, in the production of bread grain and industrial crops, were not fully attained. The construction of some industrial projects was not completed on schedule. The sabotage activity of the hostile groups exposed and condemned by the Party also had a direct influence on the failure to achieve these targets.

But neither the savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement and allround blockade, the pressure of the economic-financial crisis of the capitalist-revisionist world,

nor the activity of enemies, was able to stop the triumphant march of socialist Albania.

The major victories attained in the material and spiritual development of our society have created a powerful basis which opens up great prospects for our irresistible drive forward.

Proceeding from the Marxist-Leninist general line for the construction of socialism, the Central Committee of the Party has drawn up the draft-directives for the new five-year plan of the development of the economy and culture for the 1976-1980 period, which it now puts forward to the Congress for consideration.

These draft-directives have been discussed by the working masses, who expressed their opinions, discovered new reserves and possibilities, and made very valuable proposals for advancing the indices of the plan and defining the ways to ensure the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the targets.

The 6th five-year plan is a mobilizing and realistic plan. It is based on the efforts, energies and mental and physical capacities of the people, on the possibilities and resources of the economy, on the internal socialist accumulation. The achievements to date, the material-technical base created, the great experience gained, the enthusiasm, readiness, and ardent patriotism shown by our people, are a reliable guarantee that it will be fulfilled successfully.

In compliance with the guidelines provided by the Party in the draft-directives for the development of the economy and culture in the 1976-1980 period, the following basic task is laid down:

«To go on at rapid rates with the socialist construction of the country for the transformation of socialist Albania into an industrial-agricultural country, with advanced industry and agriculture, according to the principle of self-reliance, for the further allround strengthening of the economic independence of the country; to further improve the socialist relations of production and the superstructure; to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and enhance the defence potential of the homeland; to raise the material and cultural level of the working masses higher by carrying further the narrowing of distinctions between town and countryside. This is to be achieved on the basis of the consistent waging of the class struggle and the mobilization of all the forces and energies of the people under the leadership of the Party.»

To carry out this basic task, the 6th five-year plan envisages a further allround development of socialist industry, giving priority, as before, to the development of heavy industry, the vanguard of the whole process of socialist industrialization of the country. With the commissioning of new projects with a high level of concentration of production and technical equipment, industry will assume new qualitative dimensions and features.

Overall industrial production will increase by 41-44 per cent, of which the production of means of production by about 60 per cent. The total value of industrial production in the 6th five-year plan will be greater than that realized during the four five-year plans, from 1951 up to 1970.

The directives of the Party for the intensification and modernization of agriculture, for the vigorous growth of agricultural and livestock production, find full reflection in the tasks assigned to this branch of vital importance. Overall agricultural production in 1980, as against 1975, is envisaged to increase by 38-41 per cent, and in the five years it will be nearly equal to the production realized in the first, second, and third five-year periods taken together.

The volume of investments is envisaged to be 35-38 per cent larger than that of the previous five-year period. It is nearly equal to the total volume of investments made during the 20 years from 1951 to 1970 taken together.

National income is envisaged to increase by 38-40 per cent. The supply of foodstuffs and industrial products for the people will mark further improvement. Retail goods turn over will increase 22-25 per cent, and real income per capita of population 11-14 per cent. Education, culture, health and science will make important steps forward. In 1980, about 730,000 pupils and students will attend schools of all categories, 18,000 students will graduate from higher schools, and 91,000 from secondary schools.

These brilliant perspectives opened up to the country with the new five-year plan, inspire all the working people, strengthen their confidence, encourage and give them fresh energies to undertake and carry out ever greater tasks for the good of the people and the homeland, for the progress of socialist Albania.

These are some of the main objectives of the 6th five-year plan. Comrade Mehmet Shehu, who is going to deliver the report of the Central Committee on the draft-directives for the development of the economy and culture in the 1976-1980 period, will speak about them in greater detail. Here we shall dwell on some current fundamental questions of the economic policy of the Party.

Comrade Enver Hoxha spoke about the further development of the industry as the chief factor for the strengthening of the economy, about the raising of agriculture, as the basic branch of the economy, to a higher level, the utilization of fundamental investments with high effectiveness, the further growth and improvement of the people's wellbeing, the necessity to raise the scientific management of the economy higher as well as about the correct concept and implementation of the principle of self-reliance.

The complete construction of socialist society, said comrade Enver Hoxha, is closely connected with the understanding and implementation of the principle of self-reliance in every step and every field of life. This great Marxist-Leninist principle of profound revolutionary content is not only a law for the construction of socialism but also, in the present conditions, an urgent necessity for our country to cope successfully with enemy blockades and encirclement.

The principle of self-reliance has always been a guiding principle of our Party and people since the time of the National Liberation War, when we fought under the slogan, «Freedom is not donated, but won by the people themselves». Likewise, in the struggle for the construction of socialism and the defence of the homeland, the Party follows and consistently implements this principle. The freedom won, all the successes achieved so far, our socialist

and independent life, are practical verification of the Leninist conclusion that self-reliance, the internal factor, is the decisive factor, both in the struggle for the triumph of the revolution and the seizure of power, and in the struggle for the construction of socialism and the defence of the homeland.

Our Party has always defended the view that self-reliance is not a temporary policy imposed by circumstances, but an objective necessity for every country, big or small, developed or underdeveloped, a principle applying both in liberation wars and the proletarian revolution, and in the construction of socialism and the defence of the homeland. The implementation of this principle bars all paths to the inflow of bank credits from bourgeois and revisionist states, by means of which the imperialists and the social-imperialists enslave countries and nations, and fatten on their blood and sweat. The so-called aid of the imperialists and social-imperialists to the developing countries constitutes a great fraud and is aimed at exploiting the economies of these countries and dictating their imperialist policy to them.

The bourgeois-revisionist propaganda endeavours to spread and cultivate among the peoples, especially in the developing countries, the sense of bowing and submission to the big imperialist powers. The Soviet revisionists, in particular, distort the revolutionary essence of the principle of self-reliance, labelling it as «slipping into positions of narrow nationalism», as «departure from the position of proletarian internationalism», as «rejecting reciprocal aid among socialist countries». With these anti-Marxist theses they seek to justify their policy of imperialist expansion and their practices of capitalist exploitation of other countries. Their aim is to undermine the confidence of peoples in the possibility of building an independent life, and generally, in their existence as free nations.

While working for the construction of socialism according to the principle of self-reliance, our Party has never dreamed of creating an autarkic economy, isolated within itself. At the same time, while combating any feeling of inferiority and worshipping everything foreign, it has not negated the value of progressive world thinking, of the achievements of science and technology in other countries. It has always prized the revolutionary experience of all peoples, everything that serves the cause of the emancipation and progress of mankind.

Far from excluding reciprocal collaboration and aid among the revolutionary and socialist forces, self-reliance

presupposes it. The aid which the victorious revolution gives the countries and peoples fighting for national and social liberation, the mutual aid among countries building socialism, is an internationalist duty. It is devoid of any sort of selfish interest and inspired by the lofty interests of Marxism-Leninism. This aid is to the advantage not only of the country which receives it but also of the country which gives it, because the triumph of socialism in any country serves the triumph of revolution in the other countries, too, its triumph over capitalism and revisionism.

Day by day, the road traversed by our country has steadily strengthened the conviction and trust of the people in the correctness of the course steered by the Party, in the great possibilities which exist to carry forward the complete construction of socialist society by relying on our material and human resources.

The principle of self-reliance demands, first of all, firm reliance on the creative mental and physical energies of the people guided by the Party. Socialism is the work of the masses, therefore, everything produced and created is the fruit of work, of the sweat and brains of the people.

Understanding of the principle of self-reliance is complete when every collective and individual fulfils and overfulfils the tasks with which they have been charged without asking the state and the society for supplementary means. Hence, the task of striving, first and foremost, everywhere, and with determination to increase work productivity, to increase production and reduce costs, to preserve, increase and use the machinery and equipment with high efficiency, to raise the technical-professional abilities of the working people and deepen the technical-scientific revolution.

The principle of self-reliance is correctly understood when it is implemented in every field of social activity, on a national and regional scale, when it is extended to every link and cell of our life, to every enterprise and cooperative, to every institution and army unit, when people work and live everywhere as in a state of siege.

Comrade Enver Hojha spoke about the further development of industry as the chief factor for strengthening the economy, about raising agriculture, as the basic branch of the economy, to a higher level, about the use of fundamental investments with maximum effect, the enhancement and further improvement of the wellbeing of the people, about the necessity of raising the level of scientific management of the economy, and a correct understanding and implementation of the principle of self-reliance.

III

WE MUST CONSTANTLY STRENGTHEN THE PARTY AND FURTHER ENHANCE ITS LEADING ROLE

The architect of all the victories achieved by the Albanian people in their struggle for national liberation, in the people's revolution, and the socialist construction of the country, is the Party of Labour of Albania.

For 35 years on end, our Marxist-Leninist Party has been leading the Albanian people with courage and wisdom along the path of revolution and socialism. Overcoming innumerable difficulties and obstacles and defeating savage

internal and external enemies, it has led our country from victory to victory.

The mighty work and allround efforts to implement the tasks set by the 6th Congress have further strengthened and revolutionized the Party, steeled the ideological and organizational unity of its ranks and raised its leading role in the entire life of the country to a higher level. The struggle to put its decisions and programmatic tasks into practice in all directions, the struggle for the revolutionary implementation of its principles and norms, the struggle against the class enemies and the allround imperialist-revisionist pressure have made our Party more militant, more mature, and more farsighted.

The targets of the 6th five-year plan, the major tasks facing the country in general, at the present stage of its development, raise the need to further strengthen the Party and lift its leading role to a higher level. A party armed with the Marxist-Leninist ideology and with its own experience, equipped with unity of thought and action, and closely linked with the masses constitutes the fundamental condition for the mobilization of the people around its line and the carrying out of its revolutionary program. The Party is the conscious force which imbues the everyday struggle of the masses with political and ideological content, defines its aims, makes its objectives clear and shows the ways to attain them.

1. — PARTY LEADERSHIP IN THE ENTIRE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY — A GUARANTEE FOR THE COMPLETE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY

The theory and practice of socialism, the revolutionary life and activity of our Party have always proved completely that the constant preservation and strengthening of the leading role of the Party is decisive to the fate of the people and the revolution. Only under the leadership of the Party can the people's state power be strengthened and consolidated, can the country be defended, the socialist economy developed, culture promoted, the new man educated, and the non-stop march towards communism ensured. It is no accident that all the enemies, internal and external, at all times have spearheaded their struggle against the Party and its leading role in the first place. This has been borne out in recent years by the activity of the enemy groups exposed and condemned by the Party, which, wherever they acted, endeavoured, first and foremost to weaken the party organizations, to displace them from their leading role.

In the past five-year period the leading role of the Party has been enhanced and strengthened from every point of view, in every field and in all directions, at the base and in the superstructure.

This reality is embodied in all the progress made and the successes achieved in the great voluntary drive at work and the struggle in which the masses of the people are engaged to implement the line of the Party, the tasks of socialist construction and the defence of the homeland.

The strengthening of the leading role of the Party in

the state power has endowed this power with greater leading and executive abilities, shaken from it the dust of liberalism and bureaucracy, brought it closer to the masses, and placed it more thoroughly under their control.

The enhancement of the leading role of the Party in the economy has further strengthened the socialist base, made the prospects of its rapid development clearer, boosted the confidence of the masses and their mobilization in carrying out the tasks of the plan, and raised the scientific level of management of the economy on a Marxist-Leninist basis, forestalling the danger of bourgeois-revisionist distortions.

The sound leadership of the Party has given culture and education, literature and art a development, a direction and a more profound revolutionary class content, a greater educative and mobilizing force, and has linked them more closely with the people, the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, with the major tasks of our socialist revolution.

The strengthening of the leadership of the Party has also raised the defence potential of the homeland to a higher level, by improving, from every point of view, the implementation of the Marxist-Leninist teaching of arming and training the entire people for defence, by strengthening the popular character of the armed forces.

The enhancement of the leading role of the Party is reflected in the further improvement of the great work it is doing for the ideo-political class education of the masses, for raising the level of their consciousness as closely as possible to the level of its own consciousness, as well as for the organization and mobilization of the masses in struggle for the implementation of its programmatic tasks.

The leading role of the Party is not ensured and affirmed automatically, simply from the fact that the Party is in power. The enhancement and strengthening of the leading role of the Party is ensured through the persistent political, ideological and organizational struggle to apply its general line, its decisions and directives, its principles and norms. It is strengthened through stern class struggle against any violation and distortion of them, against bourgeois and revisionist ideology, against internal and external enemies, as well as enemies within its own ranks. This role is strengthened and consolidated in the daily struggle of the Party at the head of the masses for the socialist construction of the country.

The leadership of the Party is one and indivisible. It is achieved only when its Marxist-Leninist ideology and policy, its decisions and directives are successfully implemented in all fields and in all directions, in the state power and the economy, in culture and the army, when all the state institutions, social organizations, all the cadres and working people are guided by this ideology and policy, by these directives and decisions in all their activity.

The edge of the struggle to strengthen and perfect the leading role of the Party is directed especially at two major dangers, which may benumb and then completely eliminate this role, at liberalism and bureaucracy as well as their offspring, technocratism and intellectualism.

The Party has combated the symptoms of these dis-

eases, wherever they have emerged, with revolutionary class methods, it has exposed and unhesitatingly attacked errors and distortions, any action and stand that damage its correct line and norms.

Neither are the party apparatuses immunized against bureaucratic influences; like the state and economic apparatuses they, too, can be affected by bureaucracy and become its carriers. Even the party worker can turn into a bureaucrat and technocrat, if he divorces himself from principles and puts technique, paper-work, office routine, in first place. This is not something unknown. The Bolshevik Party was strangled by the notorious «apparatchiki». Together with the other bureaucratized cadres of the state apparatus, who had deviated from the road of the working class and the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, they became the main support of Khrushchev, Brezhnev and the other usurpers, who carried out the counter-revolution, seizing the leadership from the hands of the working class and its party.

Despite the crushing blows dealt to the manifestations of liberalism and bureaucracy which harm the leading role of the Party, they may emerge at any moment if the struggle against them is not waged unceasingly in all the links of the Party, if the principle, that nobody can dictate his will and wishes to the Party, is not thoroughly grasped and implemented in every basic organization and party leading organ, all the time and under all circumstances. In the Party everything is decided solely on the basis of the proletarian ideology and policy of the Party, and its norms.

One of the main factors which has enabled our Party to ensure its leading role throughout its whole existence, to ensure so completely, monolithically and effectively the hegemony of the working class, is its steel-like ideological and organizational unity. This unity has been the most powerful weapon in the hands of the Party to cope with the attacks of the enemies from within and without, to overcome every difficulty and to honourably perform its duties in the revolution and socialist construction.

Against this unity, the enemy groups, which have been exposed in the period between the 6th and the 7th Congresses, were crushed. The elimination of the hostile activity of these groups, has made the ideological and organizational unity of the Party more monolithic and more militant.

Many times in the course of its history the Party has clashed with enemies and traitors who had sneaked into its ranks. All these traitors, together with the external enemies, have hatched up plans and plots against our Party and country, but they have been quite unable to carry them out because they have been discovered and unmasked by the Central Committee and the whole Party, have been thrown out of the Party, attacked and condemned by the Party and the entire people, and when necessary, by the laws of the dictatorship of the proletariat, too. Our Party has not allowed and will never allow the existence of factions within its ranks. It has had and

has one line only, the Marxist-Leninist line, which it has loyally defended and resolutely implemented.

As has been proven by the negative experience of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and a series of other communist and workers' parties, which betrayed the cause of Marxism-Leninism, the bourgeois degeneration of the party of the working class is also directly linked with renunciation of the principles and norms of the proletarian party or with their transformation into lifeless formulae.

Therefore, to preserve and strengthen its unity, to achieve the indisputable leadership of the working class, the faithful implementation in a revolutionary way of the line of the Party, the Leninist principles and norms, in the activity of every leading organ, every basic organization and every communist, is of decisive importance. Only in this way are shortcomings and weaknesses prevented from proliferating and growing into incurable diseases, which the class enemy exploits for its own ends against the Party and socialism.

The unity of the Party is a militant unity, a unity of action, a unity of revolutionaries. The active life of our Party cannot tolerate the existence of such basic organizations with only formal unity, where an atmosphere of «peace and quiet» and a life of ease prevail, where all are in agreement at meetings but fail to mobilize themselves to carry out the tasks outside and remain unconcerned about this. The genuine and durable unity of the Party of the working class and of each of its organizations is preserved and strengthened constantly only through the struggle of opposites in the ranks of the Party, through debate, principled criticism and self-criticism, by implementing the line of the Party, its decision and directives, its proletarian principles and norms, to the letter.

Revolutionary practice to date teaches us that the leadership of the Party is fully achieved and ceaselessly improved, when all the leading organs, of whatever level, and all the basic organizations play their leading role, when the entire body of communists is in the lead,

The party basic organization is of decisive importance in achieving leadership by the Party. Through it, the leading role of the Party is ensured in every cell of the life of the country. The basic organization is the foundation of the Party. The more steel-like this foundation, the stronger, the more steel-like the entire Party.

The role of the basic organizations has been enhanced especially in the process of the class struggle for the implementation of the decisions of the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th Plenums of the Central Committee. Their internal life has been revolutionized, they have taken up the most important problems of work and production centres better, and have stepped up their initiative in carrying out tasks. This strengthening and invigoration of the basic organizations, which constitutes one of the most important factors in the successes achieved by the Party and the masses of the

people in the past five-year period, is a sound guarantee that the tasks which this Congress will lay down will be fully carried out.

Despite the successes achieved, it is essential also to bear in mind the weaknesses which have been observed, in order to prevent the recurrence of those regrettable instances when certain basic organizations left the way open for enemies to act and harm the work of the Party, the state power, the economy, and culture. There have been shortcomings and weaknesses in some other basic organizations, too, which have allowed violations and distortions of party directives and norms, failure to fulfil the tasks and the plan, manifestation of tendencies alien to proletarian ideology, and which have not ensured the vanguard role of every communist.

The Party has fought and will constantly fight for its basic organizations to become and always remain fiery revolutionary hearths where class thinking, proletarian ideology and Marxist-Leninist courage predominate in the solution of every problem. In the basic organization the communists are armed to fight, to carry out the strategy and tactics that carry the Party, the working class and all the masses of the people to victory. There they are tempered with communist qualities, there they are imbued with the proletarian party spirit, with the will to go forward in work and in life undaunted.

The basic organization carries out its leading role when it takes up the most important problems, when it fights to defend and implement the line of the Party properly, when it always acts with initiative, without waiting for everything to be dictated from above, and ensures the leading role of every communist. This must be the greatest preoccupation of the party committees in the districts and the army.

The basic organization can really act as a leading body when there is debate and confrontation of opinions, when rendering of account on the work is demanded, and when all communists have the courage to criticize without hesitation or reserve all those who err, irrespective of their leading function in the Party, state, army, or anywhere else. Every superior, minister, director, commander or secretary, whatever he may be, is obliged to render account to the letter about his own activity as a communist and as a cadre.

Nobody is allowed to use the basic organization to his own advantage or place himself above it, to impose his opinion on it, to restrict or suppress the criticism the communists level at him, or the sector of work he leads. There is no hierarchy, rank or title in the party organization. The principles and norms of the Party are obligatory, and must be carried out by every communist, otherwise the Party cannot be defended and strengthened.

It is the duty of every party organization and of every communist to acquire a profound ideological understanding of the importance of the sharp weapon of criticism

and self-criticism and to use it courageously when the defence of the cause of the Party is at issue. To make self-criticism does not mean only to acknowledge the mistake. It is of great importance to analyse the mistake, too, and honestly bring out its causes. The Party should mould all the communists, without exception, as brave people who have the courage to reveal and unhesitatingly criticize their own mistakes and those of their comrades. Where there is constant, correct, and sharp criticism and self-criticism, the diseases which threaten the Party cannot strike root, the class enemy cannot find terrain to work in. There greater mobilization is achieved for the implementation of decisions and directives, the vanguard role of the communists is enhanced and the leadership of the Party as a whole is strengthened.

The basic factor which enhances the strength of the party organizations as leaders and organizers is the consistent follow-up on the performance of tasks, check-up on how the directives and decisions of the Party are being carried out. Without check-up the correctness of the directive, the result of the work carried out cannot be verified, the difficulties, obstacles, weaknesses, contradictions cannot be recognized and discovered, and measures cannot be taken to overcome them. Without check-up there is no calling to account, no criticism and self-criticism, no efforts and struggle to ensure that the tasks are carried out. To check up does not mean to have doubts about everything, to have no confidence in your comrade. Check-up is a party duty, carried out to defend and implement the line, principles and norms of the Party.

The leading role of the basic organizations and of the entire Party will be increased and strengthened with the further growth and strengthening of the vanguard role of the communists, by making every party member a real leader of the masses. Without the vanguard role of individual communists there can be no vanguard party of the working class, there can be no party to lead the masses of the people.

It is the duty of each communist to struggle to uphold the honour of this title. This is achieved through revolutionary work and struggle, through an exemplary class stand and behaviour, through continuous efforts to raise his ideological, political, cultural, educational and professional level. Thus he will always feel himself a loyal soldier of the Party, worthy of the lofty title he bears.

The Central Committee has devoted particular attention to **strengthening and improving the leading role of the plenums of the party committees in the districts and the party committees in the army**, so that they provide even better guidance in all the activity of the basic organizations, the organs of state power, the economy, the army, the mass organizations, the institutions of culture and education.

One of the important demands put forward by the Party has been and continues to be the placing of the

plenum in a correct relationship with the bureau. The Party has been worried about the incorrect tendency, which has appeared in some instances, of putting the bureau above the plenum in practice, of overestimating the role of the bureau and underestimating the role of the plenum. It has combated every manifestation of the cult of bureaus and secretaries.

As a result, the authority of the plenums has been further enhanced, and their ability to lead, organize, and check up in all fields has been raised to a higher level. The plenum members feel more deeply the responsibility they bear to provide collective leadership.

Between two conferences, the plenum is the highest forum leading all the work of the Party in the district. The bureau can never replace the plenum and can in no way carry on its functions outside the decision of the plenum, beyond the control of the members of the plenum. It is obliged to render account of its activity to the plenum. These principles apply equally to the Central Committee and its Political Bureau, too.

In order to enhance the role of the plenums, a more persistent and systematic struggle must be waged to achieve a complete shift of the centre of gravity of leadership from the bureaus to the plenums. This requires, in particular, more thorough-going criticism and self-criticism in the plenums for all the members, making no exception of the bureau members and secretaries, combating any manifestation of megalomania and domineering. It is particularly important that in their work the district plenums clearly define the tasks for the bureaus, and charge them with the responsibility of implementing the directives of the Central Committee and the decisions they themselves take. In practice there are cases in which some apparatuses of party committees improperly take upon themselves functions that belong to elected organs. This displacement is fraught with grave consequences for the leading role of the party committees. The apparatuses are set up to serve the elected organs, to assist and facilitate their work, and not to replace them.

Our Party has always upheld the principle of collectivism in the work of its leading organs. Collective thought and action is more mature and correct, and plays the decisive role in the performance of party leadership. Collectivism eliminates bureaucracy and arbitrariness, while at the same time it enlivens individual thinking and acting, and does not permit the creation of routine and the spread of conformism.

The implementation of the principle of collectivism in the policy of cadres as a monopoly of the Party is particularly important. All are obliged to submit to the general line of the Party, to the criteria, orientations, establishments, and procedures it has laid down on cadres. Nothing should be done in an individual way in this field. The principle of collectivism is not only a basic ideological and political principle, but it also strengthens everybody's conviction

that the position of each individual is in the hands of the Party and the working class. Otherwise, not only is subjectivity not avoided, but many negative manifestations, such as servility, fear, arrogance, prepotence, etc. are cultivated.

The collective leadership of the party committee is ensured and strengthened when each of its members is deeply aware of the great responsibility with which he has been entrusted, takes an active part in raising and thrashing out problems, in adopting decisions and implementing them.

The strengthening of the leading role and all the collective work of the party committees requires that these organs and each individual member of them should attentively follow the work which is done on a district or military unit scale, around all the problems, and struggle for their solution. When they act in this way, it can be said that these forums are really functioning continuously during the whole period. The mistaken practices that restrict the leading role of the party committees to meetings alone should be resolutely combated, for they are bureaucratic, replace live work among people with meetings, and do not help either to strengthen the collective work in these organs or to enhance the personal responsibility of their members.

2. — WE MUST CEASELESSLY STRENGTHEN THE PROLETARIAN COMPOSITION OF THE PARTY

In every period of its existence our Party has fought for the lofty virtues and qualities of communists as vanguard fighters. These have been strengthened from year to year in the struggle for the fulfilment of the tasks of socialist construction, in stern class battles, through the strengthening of its composition.

In the years since the 6th Congress thousands of new members, from among the finest sons and daughters of our people, the most conscientious and most tempered as revolutionaries, the most loyal to, and resolute in, the cause of communism, tested in revolutionary action, distinguished in the struggle for the socialist construction and the defence of the homeland, have been admitted to the Party.

At present 101,500 communists, of whom 13,500 are candidate members, or 14,500 more communists than at the previous Congress, are militating in the ranks of the Party. The communists make up more than 4 per cent of the population. Workers make up 37.5 per cent of the total membership, and 29 per cent are cooperativists.

As to social status, workers continue to occupy first place in the Party. Party organizations and organs have adhered to the orientation to increase the ranks of the Party mainly with elements from the working class; more

than 41 per cent of those admitted to the Party come from this class, while 38 per cent come from the cooperativist peasantry, and nearly 21 per cent from among the office workers, intelligentsia and the army men.

In the future, too, the Party will give priority to increasing its ranks from the working class.

In general the party organizations in the districts have also fulfilled the instruction of the 6th Congress to admit more cooperativists so as to further strengthen the Party in the countryside and improve its leadership in the agricultural cooperatives. Candidate members admitted from among the cooperativists come next to the workers, and they are nearly twice as many as those admitted to the Party from the office workers.

However, more should have been admitted from among the cooperativists, especially in some districts in which an unjustifiable fall in the percentage of cooperativist communists is apparent.

The growth and strengthening of the Party with cooperativist communists always remains an important task. The objective is that in the future communists with this social status should occupy second place after the workers.

Constant care has been shown for the admission of women to the Party. Now women communists make up nearly 27 per cent of the total number of the communists as against 22 per cent in 1971, and 12,5 per cent in 1966.

The vigorous material, cultural, educational, ideological and social development of our country, the incessant deepening of the socialist revolution in all fields, have created more favourable conditions for the woman to take an active part as a revolutionary fighter in the complete construction of the socialist society and in running the country. This raises the task of increasing the ranks of the Party with women communists still more rapidly.

The overwhelming majority of those admitted to the Party during the years 1971-1976 are 30 years of age and under. This fact testifies to the steel-like links of our youth with the Party and communism, as well as to the constant concern of the Party, through combining the age-groups, to avoid its physical aging, to remain always mature and young at the same time, both in its revolutionary thinking and action, a Party of the present and the future.

The Party has always viewed the question of the continuous improvement of its social composition in close connection with a series of factors, but first of all, with the quality of the communists as vanguard proletarian fighters. The Party needs fresh blood, but the blood must be pure. It has never run after quantity, and will never do so. In a Marxist-Leninist Party, it is always the quality that plays the decisive role.

«We do not need fictitious party members even as a gift,»¹ teaches V. I. Lenin.

This course has been pursued with consistency and determination also in the period following the 6th Con-

gress. But this does not mean that there have been no weaknesses and shortcomings. There are party basic organizations and committees that have made impermissible concessions here and there in the fulfilment of the conditions laid down by the Party, which ensure the necessary quality of the communists as vanguard revolutionaries. In other cases, both prior to admission and during the probation period, proper attention has not been given to the ideological and organizational testing and training of the candidates.

The orientations on strengthening the composition of the Party with workers, cooperativists and women, as well as the requirement to further improve its extension must not be implemented mechanically, but always in full accord with the principles and norms of the Constitution, so that the quality of admissions is not damaged in any instance. Taking into account the criteria defined, the soundest new admissions are those that bring into the Party outstanding activists, men and women full of determination and loyal to the cause of the Party, mainly from the sectors in which the material blessings are produced, from the most important branches of production, the most difficult fronts, there where conditions exist for more severe tests that sort people out from the ideological and political point of view, from the angle of revolutionary qualities and activities.

Nearly 82 per cent of the worker communists admitted to the Party following the previous Congress come from the sphere of material production. Nevertheless, greater efforts should be made to have more workers from the principal branches of production, especially from heavy extracting and processing industry, the big projects, workers with the highest possible class consciousness, admitted to the Party. More communists should be admitted from these fronts, because some of them will go from there to other sectors and branches of activity, as the need arises.

The probation period of a candidate member, the necessity and correctness of which has been fully confirmed in practice, has indisputable importance for the quality of admissions. Hence, we must further improve this tested system of revolutionary tempering in accord with all the requirements and instructions of the Party.

Our people have always known the communist as the most honest man, the most determined fighter in the struggle for the cause of the revolution and socialism, have always seen him in the forefront, ever ready to go there where work and struggle are most difficult. The Party cannot allow people unworthy of the lofty title of the communist to remain in its ranks. Therefore the purging of those that sully the image of the communists, who lose the qualities of a vanguard revolutionary fighter, or who have sneaked their way into the Party, is one of the ways of ceaselessly strengthening it. Lenin called the purging of the party ranks a law of development of the party of the working class of the new type. In our Party,

¹ V. I. Lenin, «Collected Works», Vol. 30, p. 54 (Alb. ed.).

this purging is carried out in a normal manner, according to the principles and norms of the Constitution, implementing inner party democracy and soliciting the opinion of the masses of the working people.

Of those expelled from the Party, only a few are hostile, anti-party elements. The others, even although expelled from the Party, still love the Party and the socialist homeland, and together with the people, march on its road. The Party has issued the instruction that they should always be kept close, activated, aided, educated, and that no manifestation of sectarianism towards them should be permitted.

The continuous growth of the Party runs parallel with the expansion and extension of the fronts and the tasks of socialist construction and the defence of the country. The needs of these fronts for communists cannot be met by way of new admissions alone. **For this purpose, the extension and distribution of the forces of the Party is of special importance.**

Now one seldom comes across a sector, department or production brigade without communists, a group of communists, a party group or a party basic organization. In the extension and distribution of the party members, priority has been given to the sphere of production and, within this sphere, to the main fronts of work such as the mines, the heavy processing industry, the major construction projects, agriculture, etc.

More than in any other five-year period, during the past five-years communists have been sent from administration to production, and from town to countryside. Today about 62 per cent of the total number of communists work in the sphere of production, and of these 82 per cent directly in production. In the agricultural cooperatives, the number of communists directly engaged in production comprises 87 per cent of the total.

In the future, it will be necessary to send relatively more communists than up to now from town to countryside. Similarly, the ratio of the communists directly engaged in production to those working in the administrations of economic sectors must be further improved in favour of the former, especially in construction and the state farms, in which the percentage of communists directly engaged in production is relatively lower than in the other sectors of the economy.

The objective is to achieve the best possible implementation of the Marxist-Leninist principle that the Party of the working class, the vanguard of the class, should be in the forefront of the struggle, of the work, in production, everywhere the need arises. In this way the Party will always carry out its leading role, will achieve the hegemony of its class successfully.

Just as for the composition of the Party in general, **the Central Committee has shown continuous care also to strengthen the social composition of the leading cadres of the Party**, of the state, the economy, the mass organizations.

Now 44.2 per cent of the members of the leading forums of the Party in districts and military units are of worker status, background and origin. This, and the other fact that

a considerable number of the members of plenums of party committees continue to work directly in production as workers and cooperativists even after they have been elected to these forums, speaks of the continuous concern the Party displays for preserving and strengthening the revolutionary character of its leading organs. Likewise, in the ministries and other central state institutions, too, 40 per cent of the personnel are of worker background. In the elected organs of the state, the mass organizations and agricultural cooperatives, more than 70 per cent of those elected are workers and cooperativists. On the other hand, 72 per cent of them are non-party members. All this constitutes a great triumph for the policy of the Party and clearly expresses the consistent implementation of the Leninist teachings.

The opposite occurs in the revisionist party of the Soviet Union and the other revisionist parties in which the cadres belong to the upper stratum of the bourgeois technocratic intelligentsia. There, the overwhelming majority of members of party committees of different levels are bureaucratic officials, whereas the secretaries of these committees are almost hundred per cent intellectuals and technocrats.

The correct implementation of the instructions of the Party to the effect that more cadres of worker status and origin and from the more difficult production fronts should come into the leading organs everywhere, has greatly assisted to enhance their role and activity. The new members from the grass-roots bring with them the revolutionary initiative, courage, and spirit of the working class.

In compliance with the task set by the 6th Congress of the Party, many young cadres have been promoted to posts of responsibility. Of the total cadres of all establishments, 40 per cent belong to the age-group up to 30 years; 31 per cent are from 31 to 40 years; 21 per cent from 41 to 50 years; and 8 per cent over 51 years. These figures show that the increase and renewal of cadres is being carried out in a normal way, and ever better harmonization between young and old cadres is being achieved.

It is necessary that the young cadres who come to party forums and other leading organs should be given great and allround help to enable them to affirm themselves as leaders, combating any inhibiting and conservative concepts. They must be charged with concrete tasks, instructed and controlled, assisted and supported, with the aim that they learn to become true leaders in direct revolutionary practice.

With the struggle carried out against obstacles, especially against conservative mentalities, there is now an obvious improvement also in the implementation of the directive of the Party on promoting women to its leading organs. Of the members of the plenums of party committees in districts and regions and of the total of elected and appointed cadres, about 40 per cent are women. The increase in the number of women promoted to posts of responsibility is a positive trend which should be constantly carried forward.

3. — WE MUST CONTINUOUSLY STRENGTHEN THE LINKS OF THE PARTY WITH THE MASSES AND ITS LEADERSHIP IN THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS AND STATE ORGANS

The strength of our Marxist-Leninist Party lies in its steel-like links with the people. Without these links it would be lifeless. The Party-people unity was created historically in the war for national and social liberation, and in the socialist construction. At the foundation of this unity lies the unwavering confidence of the masses in the correctness of the political line of the Party, in the loyalty and courage with which it defends the interests of the people, in its capability as a leading, organizing, and mobilizing force.

The line of the Party has never remained the line of the Party alone, it has become the line of the masses. At every period of its existence, for the solution of every problem, and the carrying out of every task, the Party has struggled together with the people.

The past five-year period has provided further powerful testimony of the unbreakable links between the Party and the people, of the steel-like Party-people unity. In order to strengthen this unity further, the Central Committee has solved a series of problems and put forward important tasks to enhance the role of the masses, to ensure always correct relations between them and the Party, to intensify the struggle against bureaucratic, liberal and sectarian manifestations that harm the ties of the Party with the masses.

This has even further strengthened the conviction of the people that only under the leadership of the Party can they remain forever masters of their destiny and guarantee an ever more certain and happier future.

The problems of the further strengthening of socialist democracy, of the enhancement of the role of the working class and all the working people in the life of the country, of perfecting the relations between the Party, the working class and the masses, have been subjected to extensive discussions in the Party and among the people.

All the revolutionary practice of the past period proves once again that **the ties of the Party with the masses are preserved and strengthened always on the basis of their conviction of the correctness of the line of the Party**, which is created and deepened continuously by the experience of the masses themselves.

The Party does not command, but leads the masses.

«Leadership...» Stalin teaches, «means the ability to convince the masses of the correctness of the Party's policy; the ability to put forward and to carry out such slogans as bring the masses to the Party's positions and help them to realize through their own experience the correctness of the Party's policy; the ability to raise the masses to the Party's level of political consciousness, and thus secure the support of the masses and their readiness for the decisive struggle»¹.

Whoever tries to impose himself on the masses through the power of orders, through his authority and

position in the Party and state, violates the line of the Party, departs from its mass line. The Party has fought and must always fight hard against such attitudes, for they are a source of the flourishing of bureaucracy and the harmful cult of the individual, and, as a consequence, of weakening of the ties of the Party with the masses.

The Party convinces the masses, first of all, by not separating its word from deeds, it convinces them through the example of the communists, through their stand in the front ranks of work and struggle. Therefore it sternly criticizes those communists and cadres who do not set a personal example, criticizes all the stands that are not reconcilable with the revolutionary spirit that characterizes our Party and that do not help strengthen the ties of the Party with the masses.

Of great and permanent importance for strengthening the Party-people unity is the ideo-political, enlightening, and educative work among the masses, which, just as all the other activities, has made progress in the past five-year period, but which needs to be further improved in many respects in order to gain a greater power to convince and mobilize the masses. If it occurs here and there that a workers' collective in this or that work centre does not mobilize itself as it should for the fulfilment of a given decision or directive, this stems also from the fact that the organization or the committee has not made these things fully clear to the working people, or that it underestimates the method of persuasion and bases its work on bureaucratic methods of commandism.

An indispensable prerequisite for the enhancement of the role of the masses is that they must be regularly informed about the decisions and directives of the Party. The working people have been kept constantly informed about the decisions of the party basic organizations, the committees and conferences of the Party, the Central Committee and the Congresses of the Party, and have been mobilized to fulfil the tasks deriving from these decisions. The masses have the right to know what decisions are taken in the basic organizations and the various organs of the Party and state. In this way they have the possibility of judging the decisions and mobilizing themselves for their implementation.

The Party has regarded the systematic soliciting of the opinion of the masses on the various problems as one of the most important methods of enhancing the political consciousness of the working people and their participation in governing the country. In the future, too, it is the duty of the Party to devote particular attention to drawing on the opinion of the masses as widely as possible through consultations, popular discussions and the letters they address to the Central Committee and all the organs of the Party and state. This will serve to further strengthen our socialist democracy and fulfil the just demands of the working people.

From year to year the rendering of account by the party organs and organizations, the communists and cadres to the masses has been organized better and better.

1 J. V. Stalin, «Works», Vol. 8, pp. 52-53 (Alb. ed.).

Through this practice, by submitting their activity to the direct control of the masses, they have been able to assess their own activity, with all its strong and weak aspects, more objectively. As a consequence, the responsibility of the forums and of every communist and cadre before the Party and the working masses has been enhanced.

Basing themselves on the experience they have gained, the party organs and organizations should look for and use the most diverse forms and methods for systematically rendering account to the masses, and not allow any departure from this practice under whatever pretext. No cadre and communist should remain outside the control of the masses.

Following the 6th Congress the organizations and organs of the Party have done great work and made serious efforts to eliminate every remnant of the method of closed work, to come out on to the broad road of the judgement, criticism, and control of the working class and the masses. Any method of closed work and any hesitation about making the problems of the Party problems of the masses would bring about nothing but the weakening of the ties of the Party with them.

Consultation with the masses, giving them information and rendering account to them, and the worker and peasant control, are of inestimable assistance to the Party to ensure that it takes correct and timely decisions, tests their correctness in revolutionary practice, draws lessons and continuously improves its leadership.

The relations of the cadres with the masses exercise a major influence on strengthening the unity of the people around the Party. The close ties of the cadres with the people are absolutely indispensable to preserve them from subjectivism, from bureaucracy, and to enhance their capability and maturity. These ties grow stronger when the cadres preserve and develop the revolutionary qualities the Party cultivates in them, such as modesty, honesty, wisdom, the spirit of sacrifice and self-denial, the readiness to always serve socialism. They temper these virtues in daily life by going again and again to the school of the working class, which means that they must listen to the voice of the working class and act in its interests, must toil like the working class and work with its vigour and discipline, guided at all times by the proletarian ideology and the policy of the Party.

The measures adopted by the Party for the revolutionization of cadres, such as their systematic circulation, their work in production, the system of rendering account, and so on, must be applied firmly and without let-up. These measures serve to strengthen the ties of the cadres with the people, guard them against the disease of bureaucracy, increase their abilities and knowledge, and keep them always revolutionary.

The social organizations, the Democratic Front of Albania, the Trade Unions, the Labour Youth Union, the Women's Union, which are the powerful levers of the Party, as always play a very important role in strengthening the links of the Party with the masses. Incorporating the entire people in their ranks, they take the voice of

the Party to everybody in an organized and appropriate manner, and build up the correct social opinion about the tasks the Party puts forward. On the other hand, they bring to the Party the voice of the masses, their opinions and suggestions, their experience of the struggle to implement the directives. Through them, the Party educates the masses with the Marxist-Leninist ideology and mobilizes them in the struggle for the construction of socialism.

But for the mass organizations to carry out this important role as they should, leadership by the Party is a prerequisite in all their activity. This requires in the first place, that the party committees, and especially the party organizations, must regard the social organizations and their work with the greatest seriousness, must enlighten them on the Party's decisions and directives, open up new vistas of work to them, help them develop initiative and launch them into actions. The task of every communist, and not only of those specially assigned to work in these organizations, is to be an outstanding social activist and work untiringly among the people in order to carry the line of the Party everywhere, work for the education and mobilization of the working masses, to strengthen the mass organizations themselves in an allround way.

The party has devoted special attention to the continuous strengthening of the organs of power and the other organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which play a primary role in the links of the Party with the masses and the implementation of its policy. The People's Assembly and the Government, the people's councils and their executive committees, the courts and the state attorney's offices, the People's Army, the Internal Affairs organs, are the most powerful levers of the Party and the working class for the unceasing development of the revolution, the construction of socialism, and the defense of the country.

As a result of the struggle which the Party has conducted together with the masses, the activity of the various organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat has been raised to a higher level, their revolutionary people's character has been strengthened, and their leading, organizing, and educative capacity improved. In particular, they have been cleansed of the dust of liberalism and bureaucracy, have improved their proletarian composition and have been put more directly under the control of the masses, have enhanced their authority and earned the deepest respect and love of the people.

One of the most important aspects on which the attention and care of the Party must be concentrated is the continuous enhancement of the role of the representative organs of power, which exercise the will and sovereignty of the people. Under the Constitution, these organs bear responsibility for the entire activity of the state power in the territory in which they have been established, and all the other state organs are under their full direction and control. No activity whatsoever of the executive organs and their apparatuses, of the leaders and the working people of these apparatuses, should escape the control of the elected organs or the rendering of account to them and to the masses.

As organs of state power, the representative organs are

also schools of government. There, large numbers of councillors and deputies learn how to solve the problems of the state. We now have almost three times as many elected cadres as there are appointed ones, and more than 70 per cent of them are workers and cooperativists. Thousands of others are activated in these organs. The more strongly and the better the organs of power at the centre and in the district rely on the people elected, deputies and councillors, as well as on the big army of activists, the more fruitful their activity will be, the more tightly will the doors be closed to the dangers of bureaucracy, technocracy and liberalism, which are a threat to the state apparatuses.

Another question which needs to be stressed is the close connection and cooperation of the representative and executive organs of state power with the mass organizations. This connection and cooperation have not always been as strong and consistent at every level. Strengthening them greatly helps the rapid and correct solution of problems and tasks relating to the governing of the country, especially the strengthening of the relations of the state power with the people. In this way the connection between the component links and elements of our system of the dictatorship of the proletariat is achieved better. Without a healthy cooperation between the organs of state power and the mass organizations, it is difficult to carry out the great principle of the exercise of power, not only by the representative organs, but also directly by the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the other working people.

It is necessary for the people's councils to show greater care for the solution of social problems and to carry on the good traditions of the national liberation councils as well as their own experience in this field. In cooperation with the mass organizations, they can solve a series of problems justly and well, such as those relating to violations of the norms of our society, alien attitudes towards work, social property, and so on, and they should not leave these problems to pass into the hands of the organs of justice in every instance. Such work exerts great educative influence on the masses of the people.

Just as in any other field, in the carrying out of the various functions of the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, too, the leadership of the Party is the fundamental factor. The Party has fought and will fight any sign of the slightest infringement of its complete leadership over these organs. The working class exercises its leadership through the dictatorship of the proletariat, too, but the supreme leadership which guides the dictatorship of the proletariat and everything else in our socialist society is the Marxist-Leninist Party, which allows no duality on this issue.

The Party, the working class, and the masses have put in their place those leading cadres, however few in numbers, who, forgetting who trained and promoted them to leading functions and who leads in our system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, have developed swelled heads, become bureaucrats, attempted to lord it over in the party organizations, and have acted from the position

of the official and the technocrat, and not from the position of the Party, the working class, and socialism.

A considerable number of communists work in various state organs. Whatever their leading function, they are responsible, in the first place, to the Party, to their respective basic organizations in regard to the carrying out of the tasks assigned, and the implementation of the line of the Party in the sector where they work. None of them should forget that he is a communist first, and then a leading cadre. But this does not mean that he should not be responsible or not render full account to the state organs, the working collectives and the masses.

Tasks of special importance for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat confront the organs of justice. These organs have consistently fought for the implementation of the line of the Party, for the further deepening of their popular character, and the implementation of the revolutionary law.

In the future, too, it is essential that the organs of justice should carry on the struggle for their further revolutionization, to raise their level of qualification and further strengthen their ties with the people. It remains a special task of theirs to carry out more extensive work to propagate the laws among the working masses so that they become better acquainted with these laws and more conscientious in implementing and defending them. At the same time this is also a task for the state organs and the mass organizations.

The defence of the homeland has always been and remains the duty above all duties, a major question for the entire people. Socialist Albania has been and always will be the target of the enemies. We must never forget this. We should all be on our feet, ready and prepared to defend the freedom and victories of the revolution.

The Party has always based the defence of the homeland not only on the standing army but also on the entire people, armed and militarily organized. It has devoted unceasing care to the armed forces so that they remain loyal guards and a powerful weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Leadership by the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party is the decisive condition for the existence of a people's army, and the organization and direction of the defence of the socialist homeland. Only the leadership of such a party makes the army a conscious and reliable weapon of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. While always standing at the head, the party organizations and leading organs in the army must see to it that everything is pervaded with the policy of the Party, its spirit, principles and norms, that everything is subject to its leadership and vigilant control.

One of the basic tasks of the party organs and organizations is to work for the revolutionary education and tempering of the armed forces with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary teachings of our Party.

The aim of the ideo-political education must be to achieve the consistent implementation of the line of the Party everywhere in the army and the successful carrying out of all the tasks. As loyal sons of the Party and the people, our army cadres must be characterized by

persistence in ever more thoroughly assimilating the policy and ideology the Party and our People's Military Art and completely mastering the weapons and military equipment.

The defence of the homeland and the socialist order faces our Party and state with the need to further revolutionize and improve the activity of the organs of Internal Affairs.

The organs of State Security, the People's Police and the Border Forces have achieved successes and gained rich experience in the fierce class struggle to uncover and combat any hostile activity, to keep law and order and defend the borders of the homeland. But in the conditions of intensified struggle which the external and internal enemies are waging against us, these organs are faced with

the task of raising their revolutionary vigilance and the effectiveness of their activity to a higher level, further improving the methods of this activity and putting them on a more scientific basis.

The performance of their duties by the organs of Internal Affairs is inconceivable without ensuring the all-round and continuous support of the people. Herein lies one of the main sources of their strength. The continuous strengthening of the leading role of the Party over these organs, the ceaseless raising of the political, ideological and professional level of the cadres and all their effective forces, constitute the indispensable condition for them to honestly and conscientiously carry out the task which the Party and the people have entrusted to them, in the future, too.

IV

THE STRUGGLE OF THE PARTY ON THE IDEOLOGICAL FRONT

The years that have elapsed have been years of major work and struggle for the uninterrupted revolutionization of the whole life of the country. This great process of transformation has led to the strengthening of the Party and the state power, the consolidation of the economic base, the development of education and culture and the defence potential of the homeland. It has led to a rise in the consciousness of the working people, endowed them with deeper Marxist-Leninist convictions, created a militant spirit and greater mobilization at work, has encouraged the initiative of the masses, sharpened their political and ideological vigilance and further strengthened their confidence in their own forces. In this allround struggle, the fighting unity of the people around the Party has been enhanced, and the dictatorship of the proletariat defended and strengthened.

1. — WE MUST WAGE THE CLASS STRUGGLE CORRECTLY AND WITH DETERMINATION

The construction of socialism is a process of stern class struggle between the two roads, the socialist road and the capitalist road, a struggle waged on all fronts, political and economic, ideological and military.

In socialism, too, this struggle is an objective phenomenon, the main driving force that carries the revolution and the construction of socialism forward, that protects the Party, the state and the entire country from bourgeois-revisionist degeneration and the restoration of capitalism, that cleanses the consciousness of the working people and strengthens their proletarian spirit.

The major successes and victories our people have achieved under the leadership of the Party, in their struggle to develop the revolution and construct socialism,

are linked with the fact that the Party has resolutely upheld the line of the class struggle and consistently waged it against internal and external enemies, as well as among the people and in its own ranks.

In the process of this struggle, a rich revolutionary experience of major theoretical and practical value has been gained from which our Party has drawn very valuable lessons and conclusions on how to build and defend socialism and strengthen the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The class struggle waged during the whole existence of the Party, as well as recently, has shown that **the main danger and enemy to our Party and the entire international revolutionary communist and workers' movement has been and still is right opportunism, revisionism.** This danger always threatens a country which is building socialism under the conditions of capitalist encirclement, but it has now become greater still, especially since the liquidation of the socialist order in the Soviet Union and the bourgeois degeneration of many communist parties of the world. In a country where socialism is being built with success, the enemies find it difficult to come out openly with the banner of anti-communism. Pseudo-Marxism, revisionist counter-revolution, is their favourite weapon to overthrow socialism.

International experience and that of our country show that the hopes of the bourgeoisie and reaction for the restoration of capitalism are not based only on the remnants of the old exploiting classes nor only on the agents and diversionists in the pay of foreigners. Their hopes are based especially on other enemies of socialism who emerge from the socialist society itself, on people seriously contaminated by the hangovers of old ideologies, with marked individualistic and career-seeking tendencies, confused by the impact of modern bourgeois and revisionist

ideologies, who yield to the pressure of external and internal enemies, and who eventually desert the revolution and degenerate into counterrevolutionaries.

In socialist society there exists the danger of the degeneration of individuals, of the emergence of new bourgeois elements, of their transformation into counterrevolutionaries. As Marxism-Leninism teaches, this comes about not only because the new socialist society still preserves traditions, customs, ways of behaviour and concepts of life of the bourgeois society from which it has emerged, but also because of certain economic and social conditions which live on in this society in the transitional phase. The productive forces and the relations of production, the mode of distribution based on them, are still far from being completely communist. The distinctions which exist in different fields, such as between country and town, manual and mental work, qualified and unqualified work, etc, which cannot be wiped out immediately, also exert their influence in this direction. To them must be added the powerful and allround pressure which the capitalist and revisionist world exerts from outside. Socialism can greatly restrict the emergence of negative phenomena alien to its nature, but it cannot avoid them completely.

Therefore, the discovery and defeat of individual hostile elements or a hostile group, at a given time, should not lull us to sleep and make us think that, with this, the enemies are done for. **As long as the class struggle continues, as long as the hostile bourgeois pressure from within and without exists, the danger of the emergence of new enemies and of their activity against socialism also continues to exist.** The Party and the people must always remain on guard, vigilant and revolutionary, must wage a resolute and uncompromising class struggle and block all the ways from which the enemies might emerge and harm us.

Socialist Albania provides a major example which shows that the emergence of revisionism and return to capitalism are not decreed by fate to be inevitable, as the bourgeois ideologists try to make out. It proves the vitality of socialism, the invincible strength of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, which, when they are consistently applied, carry the cause of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat forward with sure steps. The correct understanding of this problem, the dialectical appreciation of it, is of great principled importance and is directly linked with the fate of socialism.

There exists a very close connection and coordination between the internal and external fronts of the struggle waged by the class enemies. They are united by their anti-communist ideology, and the need they have of each other's support in their struggle against the Party and the socialist order. It is important to recognize not only this fact, which will continue to exist as long as the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and the survivals of capitalism themselves exist within the country, but especially that this coordination may be strengthened and become very dangerous if we are careless, lacking in vigilance, and fail to carry out a resolute struggle against it.

The Party has carried out great and persistent work to give the people a correct understanding of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and the struggle which must be waged against it. The results this struggle are evident in all fields. Under the leadership of the Party, our people have coped resolutely with political pressures economic blockades, military threats and the ideological aggression of the enemies. They have never been taken in, either by the blandishments and demagogy of the enemies or by their diplomatic manoeuvres.

However, it remains a major and permanent task of the Party in the future, too, to make old and young ever more conscious of the hostile nature of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, of the dangers it represents and the tasks we face to cope successfully with the allround pressure which it exerts on our country. Socialist Albania is a thorn in the flesh of numerous enemies who are striving in every way to undermine and destroy it. Whatever the tactics they use and the conjunctures created, they always remain enemies, therefore we should have no illusions about them.

The imperialist-revisionist encirclement is not in the least passive and merely geographical, but a threatening and active encirclement which fights us in all fields and in all directions. But there are still people who have a superficial and unduly simple understanding of this encirclement, who underrate the danger of military aggression, the difficulties stemming from the economic blockade, of the menace of the foreign ideological diversion. Such attitudes are very harmful.

Our socialist homeland has been and is constantly under threat of military aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. The aggressive policy of the superpowers is spearheaded first of all against socialism, the revolution and the liberation of the peoples, against those forces that unmask and oppose their hegemonistic and expansionist course. Therefore, the danger of foreign military aggression against socialist Albania is real and should be neither underrated nor overrated.

Besides their measures of force, the imperialist and revisionist enemies also use the tactics of peaceful degeneration of the socialist order, attaching special importance to their ideological aggression, precisely to the counter-revolutionary course which proved so fruitful in the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries.

The imperialist-revisionist encirclement is operating very powerfully in the field of the economy as well. The savage economic blockade, discrimination in trade relations, the efforts to impede the development of production are the weapons of the enemies to sabotage the construction of socialism and undermine the economic and political independence of the country.

The aim of the external enemies is to put our internal front into disarray, to aid and abet the anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary elements within the country. Therefore, **we must cope with the united front of the enemies by strengthening our internal front in all directions, in the fields of defence and the economy, politics and ideology, always consistently waging the class struggle.** We must resolutely combat any spirit of euphoria and overestimation of our own forces, any lack of seriousness or of total

mobilization in the struggle against the imperialist-revisionist encirclement.

Our people should live everyday with the external and internal political situations of the country, always see their tasks in close connection with these situations, work with a lofty spirit of self-denial and sacrifice, always be ready, vigilant and resolute fighters against all the attempts and pressures of the enemies. The struggle against the imperialist-revisionist encirclement is not a single battle or a series of campaigns, but a continuous fight that must be waged every day.

Our Party has stressed that the struggle on the ideological front constitutes one of the main aspects of the class struggle. This is a fierce struggle waged on a broad front against all alien ideologies, old and new, which are kept alive, inspired and encouraged by internal and external bourgeois pressure. This is a major front of struggle, extremely important and complicated, which demands the permanent attention of the Party.

The successes which have been achieved in this field constitute one of the most important victories of the Party and the people. The petty-bourgeois psychology and attitudes, backward customs and religious prejudices, manifestations and influences of alien bourgeois-revisionist ideologies have been dealt powerful and crushing blows. The aim of all this work has been to have our people always engaged in revolution, to ensure that they do not stand aside from it even for a moment, to encourage them to struggle and work selflessly, all their lives, for the great cause of the Party, for socialism and communism. The high level of political consciousness, the heroism at work, the sense of responsibility and the spirit of sacrifice are characteristic of our working people. This is testimony to the invincible strength of Marxism-Leninism and socialism, the correctness of the line of the Party.

But this healthy revolutionary reality should not induce us to relax our struggle on the ideological front, however slightly, because today, too, the question presents itself in the same way as Lenin presented it many decades ago:

«...either bourgeois or socialist ideology. There is no middle course... Hence, to belittle the socialist ideology in any way, to turn aside from it in the slightest degree means to strengthen bourgeois ideology»¹.

2. — THE LEADING ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS AND THE EDUCATION OF THE WORKING MASSES

Guided by the Party, the working class has stood in the forefront in the great historic events over the last 35 years of struggle and work for the liberation of Albania and the triumph of the people's revolution, the allround revolutionary transformation of the country on a socialist basis. This is one of the principal factors in the consistent development of our revolution on the correct Marxist-Leninist course.

The working class is the leading class of the society. It has its own political party that leads it, and the Marxist-

Leninist ideology that lights its way. It is the bearer of the ideals of socialism and communism. It is linked with the highest form of socialist property and the leading sectors of the economy, it is the most conscious, organized, and disciplined class. Its weight in production and the structure of the population is steadily growing.

As Marxism-Leninism teaches us, no class or social stratum other than the working class can play the leading role in the struggle to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and in the construction of the new socialist society. This role will be preserved and strengthened in the future, too, so long as classes and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat exist.

In the interval between the two Congresses, the Party has done allround work so that the role of the working class is felt and exerted powerfully everywhere, so that the working class sets the tone for the entire life of the country with its ideology, revolutionary vigour and example. Consequently, the political activity of the working class, its active participation in the solution of major problems of the Party and the state have increased and its direct control over the implementation of the Party's policy in all fields has been extended and strengthened. A very important indication of the enhancement of the role of the working class is the fact that a large number of cadres, who have emerged from among the ranks of the working class, have been brought into the organs and apparatuses of the Party, the state power, the economy and culture, and they have further invigorated and revolutionized all the work.

These results have been achieved through a fierce struggle against liberal and bureaucratic, technocratic and individualist concepts and attitudes, which expressed lack of confidence in the abilities of the working class, which did not accept its control, or accepted it for form's sake only, and which, in various forms and ways, overestimated the role of the apparatus, office workers and specialists.

In the future, too, the Party will work untiringly to ensure and strengthen more and more the leading role of the working class in the entire life of the country. The working class plays this role through its Party and its proletarian state. Without the Party, the leading role of the working class would remain a demagogic and fraudulent phrase. **Only the revolutionary party of the working class, armed with the Marxist-Leninist theory can make the working class conscious of its historic mission and clearly define the objectives of its struggle and the ways to attaining them. The Party organizes, educates and mobilizes the working class and all its allies and leads them in the complicated struggle to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and build socialism.**

The revisionists of every hue, old and new, have spread and are spreading all sorts of views to negate the historic mission of the working class, especially to liquidate the leading role of its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist party, in the revolution and socialist construction.

1. V. I. Lenin, «Collected Works», Vol. 5, pp. (452-543), (Alb. ed).

With their «theories» of the party and state of the entire people, of the party as merely an ideological factor or an instrument of coordination, with their sermons about spontaneity in the workers' movement, pluralism, and transition to socialism under the leadership of other political classes and forces, they intend to leave the working class without leadership and disarmed in the face of the enemy, which is organized and armed to the teeth, to sabotage the revolution, to eliminate the theory and practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our Party has contemptuously rejected these reactionary theories, as well as the anti-Marxist and anarchist views of «self-administration», and «direct leadership» by the working class. It has put our working class in the historic role which belongs to it in the socialist society. This is in complete opposition to the concepts and practices of the Khrushchevite revisionists who treat the working class of their countries as merely a productive force, and have transformed it into an oppressed and exploited class, at whose expense the new bourgeoisie is growing rich.

In our country, there is no problem of the policy of the Party and state on which the working class and the other working masses do not have their say and in the solution of which they do not take an active part. The Party has attached and continues to attach great importance to consulting the working class and the other working masses, to the extensive development of criticism by the masses of shortcomings and weaknesses at work, and encouraging the active participation of the working class in governing the country.

The Party has paid and continues to pay special attention to the direct control by the working class and the other working masses, to the implementation of this great Leninist principle in practice. It regards this control, which is exercised under its leadership over all state and social activity, as a universal and permanent principle of our socialist society in all its spheres and links, as an expression of the exercise of the dictatorship of the proletariat by the working class in alliance with the peasantry. The worker control is one of the vital aspects of the class struggle to ensure the triumph of socialism, to prevent the degeneration of the socialist order, and is a great school for the revolutionary education of the working class and the other working masses.

The exercise of direct worker and peasant control has yielded results of great value in detecting and avoiding many shortcomings and weaknesses, manifestations of liberalism, distortions and violations of state laws and norms of our society. It has served as a powerful means to shake off the dust of bureaucracy and routine in many administrations, economic enterprises and cultural institutions, among party cadres and organizations, to create a lively revolutionary atmosphere all over the country, to implement the line of the Party correctly, and to carry out the tasks in all fields of socialist construction successfully.

Recently, the Party took important measures to put the worker and peasant control on a sound organizational basis and to raise it to a higher qualitative level. **The consolidation of the organization of worker and peasant control groups, the qualified guidance of this control by**

the party organizations and committees, orientation and guidance of it to the most essential questions connected with the implementation of the line and decisions of the Party, better combination of worker and peasant control from below with state control from above, the summing up of the revolutionary experience of this control, in order to make it ever more thorough and richer in content and find new fruitful ways of exercising it, have now come to the fore.

The further enhancement and strengthening of the leading role of the working class, the growth of its ideological influence and the efficiency of its work depend to a considerable extent on its revolutionary education and tempering, on raising its consciousness to such a level as to enable it accomplish its mission in socialist society.

On this issue, the Party bears in mind the fact that our working class is relatively young, that the bulk of the workers come from non-proletarian strata, that its ranks are being replenished every day with young workers straight from school, who lack experience in work and in life. All these things, as well as the weaknesses in the educational work, are some of the reasons that many workers do not always play the role that belongs to their class as they should, fail to speak out courageously and with maturity, do not feel the great responsibility they have to ensure that the line and decisions of the Party are carried out correctly by everybody, inside and outside the enterprise, do not always work in a high revolutionary spirit, with proletarian organization and discipline.

Therefore in the future, too, the Party will have to work persistently to educate the working class with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, to make it conscious of its role and tasks, so that it will be a staunch fighter for the construction of socialism, the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the defence of the homeland. The working class itself must stand in the forefront of the struggle to carry out the tasks of the state plan, put the general interest above everything, protect the common property, work with high productivity and quality, strengthen discipline at work, become innovator and creator, preserve and further develop its proletarian features and ceaselessly raise its educational, cultural and professional level. In this way the working class can educate the cooperativist peasantry, the youth, the intelligentsia, all the working people of our country with its example and in its spirit.

The Trade Unions, which do great work to educate and mobilize the workers and the other working people for the construction of the new society, have a special role and responsibility to make this work more thorough and carry it further. The main task of the Trade Union organization has been and still is the communist education of the working people. Any tendency to underrate the educational work of the Trade Union organizations and to convert them into adjuncts of administrations and the economic organs, is highly dangerous and leads to the diversion of the Trade Unions from their function as schools of communism.

The view to the effect that the Trade Unions should concern themselves with education alone and not involve

themselves in economic problems, which is encountered in some cases, is also grossly wrong. Of course, the Trade Unions have no reason to do the work of state and economic organs, or duplicate them. But it would be utterly unforgivable for them not to interest themselves in production, in the carrying out of the tasks of the state plan. This would create the danger of the bureaucratization of the management of the economy. The effect of the educative work of the Trade Union organizations depends very greatly on linking it closely with production, a thing which cannot be done well without being familiar with the problems of the economy. At the same time, it devolves on the Trade Unions to wage a more energetic struggle against any bureaucratic action that infringes the rights of the working people, guaranteed by law, in the slightest degree.

While recognizing the leading role of the working class, the Party has always correctly assessed the place and the great potential of the **peasantry** in our society. In the fire of the war for the liberation of Albania and the establishment of the people's power, in the fierce class battles for the construction of socialism, the Party created and tempered the powerful alliance of the working class with the working peasantry under the leadership of the working class. This alliance has been and remains the basic principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the foundation of the unity of the people around the Party.

The Party and the state of the working class have implemented a broad program of an allround political and ideological, economic and social-cultural character, that has led to deep-going revolutionary transformations in the countryside and the strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry. Today the whole of our countryside, without exception, has set out on the road of socialism. This is a great historic victory of the line of the Party and our revolution.

However, the Party is aware that essential distinctions between town and countryside exist and will be preserved for a long time to come. The struggle to reduce them is the main way to strengthen the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry and an indispensable condition to close any paths to bourgeois degeneration. The Party is continually taking measures to ensure that the distinctions between countryside and town are steadily reduced.

Because of the great role it has played and continues to play in the socialist society, the peasantry of our country deserves everything that has been done to make the countryside progress and flourish. In the past, it bore the main brunt of the earlier liberation struggles and the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, it became the decisive force for the reconstruction of the country, from its ranks it brought forth the new working class, it has always shown itself to be patriotic revolutionary, and loyal to the Party and the cause of the working class.

In the future, too, the Party will give special attention to drawing the peasantry into increasingly active participation in the political, economic and social life of the country, to educating it politically and ideologically,

to raising its educational, cultural, and professional level, and to consolidating the cooperativist system more and more. In the educative work, it should not be forgotten that, for known reasons, the manifestations of the feeling of private property and the hangovers of petty-bourgeois psychology still have strong roots in the countryside. They are a source of many evils, of hankering after narrow self-interest, absenteeism, damage to social property, and so on. The peasantry must resolutely combat these alien manifestations, strengthen the spirit of collectivism, take an active part in the class struggle and work hard for the progress of agriculture and our socialist countryside.

As always, the working class must stand by its ally, must exercise its control over all the state and economic organs concerned with the implementation of the party policy in the countryside, and deepen the great revolutionary movement, «To make agriculture the concern of the entire people». Through its example, it must educate all the working people to love the countryside, respect and honour farm work, fight any manifestation of contempt for the countryside and for work there. At the same time, it is necessary to combat all manifestations of mistrust by the countryside for the town in order to strengthen the militant alliance between the working class and the cooperativist peasantry more and more.

The **intelligentsia** of our country, which has emerged from among the workers and the peasants, has played and continues to play an important role in the allround development of socialist Albania. Unlike the revisionist countries where it became the main force of counter-revolution to liquidate the gains of socialism, our intelligentsia serves the dictatorship of the proletariat, the people and the revolution, it stands united closely around the Party. This is another great victory for the policy of the Party.

In struggle against liberal and technocratic concepts, manifestations of bureaucracy and intellectualist conceit, and tendencies to commandism and privilege-seeking, occasionally encountered among intellectuals, **the Party is moulding the intelligentsia ever more thoroughly with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, with the moral features and qualities of workers and peasants.** It educates it and makes it more conscious of its role in the society, puts it in such conditions of work and life that it will always be close to the people and under the permanent control of the masses. At the same time, the Party requires that the intelligentsia must constantly increase its knowledge and put it at the service of the socialist construction of the country, and take an active part in the technical-scientific revolution and the entire development of the socialist culture.

The heroic **youth** of our country have been and remain an active force of the revolution and a loyal auxiliary of the Party. The 35-year experience of the Party shows that when the inexhaustible revolutionary energies of the youth are merged with the energies of the working class and the other working masses, under the leadership of the proletarian Party, there is no force which can stop the triumph of the revolution and socialism.

Our youth are surrounded by the special care of the Party and the entire society. Great prospects, which guarantee their present and future and give a lofty content and meaning to their life, have been opened to them. The Party has ever better fulfilled the cultural and spiritual aspirations and various material needs of the youth, it has mobilized them in revolutionary actions and given them the role of active and important participants in the revolution and the construction of socialist society. Therefore, our youth, too, have always followed the Party enthusiastically, optimistically and faithfully, and have gone all out to make the homeland flourish and strengthen its defence.

We see an entirely different picture in the bourgeois and revisionist countries, where uncertainty for the present and fear of the future nags at the youth day in and day out. Every second of every hour their minds are being poisoned by confusing propaganda, urging them to an empty, dissipated life, devoid of ideals, which alienates them from the revolution, which drives them to the road of crime and hooliganism, and casts them into anarchism, adventurism, utopia and despair.

Our Party aims to keep the communist ideals and the healthy revolutionary spirit always alive in the minds and hearts of the youth, to educate them to be loyal fighters of the Party, ready to dedicate their energies, talent and lives to the construction of socialism and the defence of the homeland. Led by the Party, the youth must ceaselessly develop the spirit of revolutionary initiative and action in production and in all fields. They must deepen their irreconcilable stand and be constantly on the attack against the class enemy, against any influence of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, liberal and conservative manifestations which inhibit progress. They must strengthen their will and perseverance to acquire knowledge and culture, become powerful supporters of technical and scientific progress. The fact that there are a few young people who ape certain aspects of the bourgeois and revisionist way of life, display certain symptoms alien to proletarian morality, who demand from the society more than they contribute, speaks mainly of gaps and weaknesses in our educational work. The entire society, the family and the working collectives, the schools and various institutions, the mass organizations and the state organs must work, under the leadership of the Party, so that our younger generation will be a shock detachment in the front-ranks of the revolution.

The great actions of the youth to build railways, roads, break in virgin land, etc., by voluntary work, in which almost the entire younger generation have taken part, as well as their movements, «We must learn from the working class», «We must work wherever the homeland needs us», «We must go to work and live in the countryside», and so on, are valued, welcomed, and powerfully supported by the Party as great revolutionary actions and movements, as schools for the communist education and tempering of the youth. In the future, too, the Party will entrust the youth and their militant organization, the Albanian Labour Youth Union, with important actions, in the firm belief that our younger genera-

tion will, as always, carry them through to the end successfully. Allow me to greet especially those thousands of young men and women who have responded to the call of the Party to work and live in the countryside, and express my conviction that thousands of others will follow their example to strengthen our socialist countryside and make it progress.

Under the leadership of the Party, the Albanian Labour Youth Union has played a great role in the education of the younger generation. It has gained wide experience in the organization and mobilization of the youth for the construction of socialism. In the future, the youth organization is called upon to further invigorate its political and ideological life and activity, to extend the scope of this activity in conformity with the age and wide-ranging interests of the youth, in work and defence, education and culture, science and technology, sports and physical culture, making better use of all that great material base the Party and the people's power have created.

The Party and the people want the youth to be healthy, strong, capable in work and defence. The large-scale development of physical culture and sports, to which the youth organization should pay special attention, is especially important in this direction.

The Youth Union should fight to strengthen its organization, discarding as dangerous any tendency to liberalism in the life of the organization, such as those which showed up prior to the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party and which were strongly condemned by the entire youth. The Youth Organization has been and will always remain a militant political organization, a loyal auxiliary of the Party.

The correct Marxist-Leninist policy of the Party has led to that true, deep-going, and very broad revolution which has taken place in the life of the Albanian woman.

Our experience has fully confirmed the necessity of linking the problem of the complete emancipation of the woman with the question of national liberation and the cause of the proletariat. Without the participation of the woman the socialist revolution cannot be successfully carried out, and without the socialist revolution the complete emancipation of the woman cannot be achieved.

The energies and abilities of the woman, which lay dormant and suppressed in the past, have burst out powerfully and irresistibly in all fields of our socialist life. The Albanian woman has come out into the arena of the struggle for socialism full of dignity and is outstanding for her high revolutionary spirit, her determination and patriotism, and distinguishes herself at work and in life. Today, she is found everywhere, in fields and factories, in schools and laboratories. Highly responsible positions in the Party and the state have been entrusted to her. New relationships of equality are being established between husband and wife at work and in the family. The emancipation of the woman is strengthening the socialist democracy day by day. This bears out Marx's affirmation that the level of emancipation of the woman represents a natural yardstick of general emancipation.

Our reality refutes all the bourgeois and revisionist «theories» on the roads to the emancipation of the woman.

The attempts of the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries to turn the struggle for the emancipation of the working woman against her husband, children and family, are aimed at diverting her from the revolutionary struggle and disrupting the common front of the working class and the working people against the real oppressors and exploiters. The demagogy of the modern revisionists, too, relating the solution of this major social problem to the policy of «peace» and «disarmament», is intended to make the woman give up the revolution.

In the future, too, the Party will consistently fight to carry out its program for the complete emancipation of the woman. **It is the duty of the party organizations, the state organs and all the mass organizations to always make a correct assessment of the real abilities of women, which the Party has so carefully awakened, cultivated and developed, though it is the task of the women themselves to fight like revolutionaries to assert their personality ever better.** At the same time, on the basis of the possibilities ensured by the economic development of the country, better material conditions must be created to lighten the woman's burden of household chores so as to raise the efficiency of her work on the production front and her activity in political, social and cultural life to a higher level.

We note with special satisfaction that, through their own efforts and thanks to the care of the Party, women are narrowing the educational, cultural and technical-professional gap between them and men. Now, 37 per cent of all the cadres with medium and higher training are women. In the future, we must fight to achieve complete equality in this field, too. The women comrades in leading posts have distinguished themselves for their loyalty to the line of the Party, their abilities as leaders and organizers, for their knowledge and culture. This confirms the correctness of the directive of the Party that women should be promoted boldly to posts of responsibility, from the lowest to the highest levels of the party and state organs. Those sectarian attitudes which underrate the abilities of women and hinder the implementation of this policy of the Party are very harmful.

Alien patriarchal and conservative, bourgeois and liberal concepts are still a great barrier to the allround affirmation of the personality of the woman. Under the leadership of the Party, the active Organization of the Women's Union of Albania, the state and all the mass organizations, the school and society have the duty to educate women and men in the spirit the struggle for the complete emancipation of all members of our socialist society, so that everybody, men and women, young and old, may march ahead triumphantly.

Constant preservation and strengthening of the unity of the people around the Party, constitutes one of the most fundamental problems of the entire work of the Party and its levers, a decisive condition for the triumph of the revolution, the construction of socialist society and the defence of the homeland.

The unity of our people is not a unity dependent on circumstances and temporary alliances. It is a live and militant unity of the people around the Party, created

in the war for the liberation of the country and cemented in the struggle for the implementation of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist policy and ideology of the Party.

But unity is not something given once and for all. The struggle to strengthen it must be continuous and permanent. The enemies have attempted to attack this unity, to create splits between the people and the Party and they will attempt to do so again in the future. Manifestations of bureaucracy and liberalism, attitudes and actions which run counter to the decisions of the Party, and impair the correct relations of the Party with the masses also damage this unity. The remnants and influences of alien ideologies, which are opposed to the new norms of the socialist society, violate it.

Hence, the great tasks facing the Party to safeguard the unity of the people like the apple of its eye, to steel it and make it even more invulnerable. This requires that we maintain high revolutionary vigilance, wage the class struggle ceaselessly and correctly, carry out the party directives with precision, and solve the various contradictions which arise among the people in a timely manner.

The **Democratic Front of Albania**, this great political organization which realizes the unity of the Albanian people under the leadership of the Party, has wide scope of action in this field. In cooperation with the other social organizations, the Front is called upon to carry out allround work with the urban and rural masses to make the policy, orientations and directives of the Party clear to them, to educate them in the spirit of socialist patriotism, revolutionary vigilance, combat readiness and irreconcilability towards all alien manifestations, to constantly strengthen and temper the unity of the people. The Democratic Front has been and remains a great tribune of the revolutionary opinion of the masses, a powerful lever of the Party to draw the working people into governing the country and solving problems of the socialist construction and the defence of the homeland.

3. — THE IDEAS OF MARXISM-LENINISM MUST BE MASTERED LINKING THEM CLOSELY WITH THE TEACHINGS OF OUR PARTY

The foundation of all the ideo-political educative work which the Party does among the communists and the working masses, has always been our triumphant ideology, Marxism-Leninism. The Party has done great allround work to disseminate the scientific ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The classics of Marxism-Leninism and the many documents and materials of our Party, published by the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies, have been put at the disposal of the communists and the working people. An entire system of study groups, courses and schools has been set up for their education. The entire membership of the Party studies Marxism-Leninism in an organized manner, while thousands of party members have graduated from the «V.I.Lenin» Party School. The Marxist-Leninist theory is taught throughout the whole of our school system from the lowest to the highest grades. The workers, peasants, and all our youth attend

the study courses at which they are imbued with the ideas of socialism, with the revolutionary teachings and practice of our Party. All spiritual, literary, artistic and scientific life is becoming more and more thoroughly permeated by our proletarian ideology.

All these forms, and all the work done to educate the communists and the masses, have yielded results. But the problem is that more should be gained from these forms, that education should be linked better with life and work, so that it may properly serve the ideological and political moulding of the communists and the masses.

We do not study Marxism-Leninism for the sake of erudition. We study it to apply it in life, so that we are guided by its principles in every action and judge everything in its spirit. Such a study of theory, closely linked with life and revolutionary practice, serves true communist moulding, the creation, not only of a scientific outlook but also of a revolutionary character, so that our people will always be resolute fighters for the cause of socialism, irreconcilable with the enemies and their ideologies.

This calls for serious study of Marxism-Leninism which is the science, the theory, which teaches us how to understand the line and directives of the Party, and how we must fight to apply them in life. The Party faces the task of further strengthening and improving the propagation and study of the classical works of our great teachers, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, which constitute the inexhaustible treasury of scientific communism, the basis of the communist formation of the new man. But their study is complete and fruitful when it is closely linked with the teachings of our Party, with the study of its documents, in which the creative application of the universal laws and principles of Marxism-Leninism in the conditions of Albania is reflected, in which the great experience of our revolution, the experience of the struggle of our Party and people against imperialism and modern revisionism, is summed up.

The study of the party documents and the History of the Party helps the communists and the working people to master the general line of the Party, its style and method in the solution of problems more thoroughly and quickly, to assimilate the militant spirit and highly principled stand which characterizes our Party. It helps them to realize that it is our Party, its experience, and wisdom that teaches us how to fight for the construction of socialism, and the defence of the homeland, how to carry the revolution steadily forward.

Marxism-Leninism is not learned only from books, nor only at school. It is learned and mastered by taking an active part in the daily struggle to build socialism, by ceaselessly waging the class struggle, resolutely fighting against the imperialist-revisionist encirclement. For the communist education and the revolutionary tempering of the working people, great tasks face the entire Party, as well as the state and the mass organizations, which must regard this as one of the principal aspects of their activity.

The «V. I. Lenin» Party School, the study courses and other forms of party education must raise the level of their work ever higher for a more profound and crea-

tive study and mastering by the cadres and the communists of Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of our Party.

A great task in arming the younger generation, in particular, with the Marxist-Leninist theory, devolves on our school, where the foundations of the ideological formation of the youth are laid, where the habits and methods of study are acquired, where endurance in study and the passion to learn are instilled. It is of special importance for the school not only to give the pupils and students Marxist knowledge, but also to form their revolutionary outlook, to give them the key to how to find their bearings and fight correctly in life.

4. — EDUCATION, CULTURE AND SCIENCE MUST BE RAISED TO THE LEVEL OF THE TASKS OF THE TIME

During the years since the 6th Congress great strides ahead have been taken for the implementation of the directives of the Party in the field of education, culture, art and science. These important sectors have been actively engaged in the great struggle waged by our entire people for the socialist construction of the country.

The Party has always shown particular care for **education**, for the uninterrupted raising of its ideological and scientific level.

Implementing the Marxist-Leninist program approved by the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee in 1968, and the 6th Congress of the Party for the revolutionization of education, our school has undergone great changes and achieved many results in the strengthening of the ideological axis, in the implementation of the three components: lessons, productive work, physical and military training, in raising the scientific level of the school and in linking it with life. Commendable work has been done in drawing up plans and programs and compiling new textbooks for all categories of schools. The system of education has been improved and extended. The possibilities have been created for the pupils and students to acquire more knowledge, to be better trained for production and defence, to be educated and tempered in the spirit of the working class, with proletarian discipline and morality. Our school is more and more consolidating itself as a socialist school, with original features and a popular character. It is further strengthening its revolutionary class spirit.

This process has gone through a stern class struggle, against conservative and liberal, bureaucratic and technocratic concepts and practices, against bourgeois and revisionist influences and borrowings, which were strongly criticized also at the 4th and 7th Plenums of the Central Committee. Despite all the struggle waged, the major tasks which the educational reform laid down for the revolutionization of the content of teaching and education have not been fulfilled completely. There are still shortcomings and weaknesses which must be overcome, there are problems which are being solved with difficulty and hesitation, especially those connected with the full harmonization of the three components. In the method of work of

the organs of education there are still manifestations of practiciness, and little effort is made to study and sum up the practice of our school.

The former leaders of the Ministry of Education and Culture exerted a negative influence on the implementation of the program laid down by the Party for the development of education through their harmful work which was characterized by a liberal and bureaucratic spirit, shallowness and inertia.

For the future, too, the strengthening of the ideological content of all the work of the school constitutes the fundamental and most important aspect of the implementation of the policy of the Party for the revolutionization of education. The main thing is to work for a more thorough assimilation of Marxism-Leninism, of the theoretical thinking and teachings of our Party, which must become more and more the foundation of the process of teaching and education, must permeate all subjects. The bookish learning of Marxism, which is still apparent in the school, as well as the slowness in reflecting the experience of the Party and our socialist construction in the textbooks and in the teaching process, impede the strengthening of the educative and formative role of the school. Hence, the important task of improving the programs, textbooks and lessons in the subject of Marxism-Leninism, of ensuring a closer linking of the lessons with life, with the great work and struggle the people are waging under the leadership of the Party, of making extensive use of the studies and generalizations carried out in the field of social sciences.

The educative role of the school in the allround communist formation of the new generation will be strengthened the more the school and the youth are engaged in the class struggle for the development of the revolution and the solution of the concrete problems of the socialist construction of the country.

In putting before the school the task of introducing the three components and of their harmonization, the Party is aiming to achieve two major objectives, the revolutionary education and tempering of the youth, and the raising of the quality of all the work of the school. But in practice, despite the efforts made and the results achieved, we are still on the initial stage of the solution of this problem. What is required is the complete and organic integration of the three components, in content and in method, so that they complement each other.

The school, as the place where the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist pedagogical thinking of our Party is applied, has the duty to acquaint itself with and study the best achievements in this field, to disseminate them and carry them further in order to ensure more creative and fruitful teaching and educational work. This constitutes a wide and important sphere of scientific work in the education sector.

A major problem remains, that of giving the school a deeper mass character and of improving the school system, by setting up a broader and more varied network of schools, especially vocational ones, both full-time and part-time.

The university and the other higher schools where the specialists for different fields of activity are trained, have the task of turning out cadres formed and tempered politically and ideologically, with broad cultural horizons, armed with profound scientific knowledge, prepared for life. In collaboration with the ministries and with the Academy of Sciences, they should carry out more organized work for the post-graduate qualification of cadres. The higher schools should devote particular attention to studies and research, as an indispensable prerequisite for raising the level of all their teaching work as well.

The major successes scored by our people's education are a result of the tireless work of the great army of teachers and pedagogues who, with a high level of consciousness and ardent love for their honoured profession, are making a valuable contribution to the revolutionary education of the youth. The militant communist spirit, a passionate love and a high sense of responsibility for their work, persistence in perfecting their skills as teachers and educators, the struggle against any alien influence, should characterize them. The school and the teachers should closely follow the process of the revolutionary development of the country, the economy and culture, as well as the progress of world science and technology.

The Party has shown constant care that **culture, literature and arts** develop in a pure and sound atmosphere, that they follow the revolutionary transformations of the country step by step and steadily strengthen their socialist content, their militant character, their popular spirit and their national features.

The writers and artists have always stood close to the Party, as its auxiliaries in the struggle for the communist education of the masses. Along with the experienced creative forces, new talents, that are making their contribution to the further development of our literature and arts, have emerged.

True art strengthens its innovatory features and achieves a high artistic level when it embodies a revolutionary content and is guided by the communist ideals. Therefore, **the continuous strengthening of proletarian partisanship remains a basic task for the development of our culture and arts, for their advance on the road of socialism.**

A better reflection of some of the major themes in our artistic creativeness, such as that of the hegemonic role of the working class in our society, the revolutionary transformations of our socialist countryside, the revolutionizing force of the communists, the treatment of cardinal themes and key moments of the history of our people, and particularly, of the National Liberation War and the socialist revolution, are an essential requirement to make our literature and art even more revolutionary.

With its revolutionary ideals and its objectives of serving socialism and the people, our art of socialist realism towers above the degenerate, decadent, bourgeois and revisionist art, counterposes itself to its reactionary, pessimistic and capitulationist philosophy. Literature and arts

in the Soviet Union have been placed under the complete domination of the new bourgeoisie, and the writers and artists have turned into a caste in the service of the counter-revolution and the chauvinist and expansionist policy of Soviet social-imperialism. Negation of the major social problems, themes of disillusionment and bourgeois humanism, complete renunciation of the positive hero, lack of any revolutionary perspective are characteristic of the revisionist literature and arts.

The socialist content of art is closely linked with its popular and national character. Under the present conditions, when, proceeding from their objectives of world domination, of the spiritual and political enslavement of the peoples, the US imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists are spreading the ideas of cosmopolitanism, of the so-called internationalization of art and culture, the struggle to defend the national culture of the people assumes very great importance. By defending and developing their national, democratic, and revolutionary culture, the peoples defend their independence, their existence and their own traditions, and thus make their contribution to the treasury of world culture.

Our socialist culture has never shut itself away in its national shell. It has profited from the best achievements of progressive world culture and, on its part, being the bearer of our people's ideals of freedom, independence and socialism, has been and is close to other peoples as well.

The national character and the popular spirit are expressed through the truthful reflection of reality, from the standpoint of Marxist-Leninist ideology, the assimilation of all the experience of our culture, both its old progressive tradition and its new revolutionary elements, in a critical way, proceeding from the class standpoint, and firmly relying on the people's creativeness. The popular and national character is expressed not just in the creation of the works alone but also in their execution and interpretation.

Some kinds of arts, architecture in particular, are lagging behind in their expression of the national spirit and features. To eliminate this shortcoming further study and more research work is needed.

Guided by the teachings of the Party, the writers and artists should direct themselves towards the life of the people, create an art for the people, beautiful, clear and comprehensible to all, a profoundly popular art. The life of the people, their sharp wit, popular psychology and humour, should occupy a larger place in literary and artistic works, especially in the genres of the stage.

Those artists who work ceaselessly to raise their Marxist-Leninist ideological level, who master the teachings of the Party, who lead an active political life, who are thoroughly immersed in the life of the masses and have a profound knowledge of the road of the revolutionary historical development of our people and culture succeed best in these tasks. Revolutionary art is created by revolutionary artists whose hearts beat in unison with the hearts of the people. They are required to reflect accurately in their works the fundamental processes and trends of development of our revolution, the contradictions of

life, and to fight any manifestation of formalism and stereotyped treatment of them, to faithfully and creatively apply the method of socialist realism, which is the foundation of the proletarian art to which the future belongs.

Our socialist culture is penetrating more deeply among the people day by day and becoming part and parcel of their life. The publication of books and the production of films has been increased and the network of cultural-artistic centres throughout the country extended. The amateur movement has undergone great quantitative and qualitative development, and alongside professional art, is playing an important role in the progress of our new culture and the education of the working people. The masses, the man of work, the worker and the cooperativist, the woman and the youth, old and young, have mounted the stage.

The party demands that mass cultural work must be raised to a higher level. To this end, it is necessary to form a broader concept about culture, viewing it in all the different aspects of life, and about the cultured man. All the many means the state has placed at the service of the masses should be properly used, and ways and forms found for our culture to go wherever the masses of the people live and work. Today, when the Party is striving to narrow the distinctions between town and country, the front of culture, too, is faced with important tasks connected with raising the cultural level of the peasantry, through a broad activation of the forces of the countryside as in the city.

The party organizations should have a better appreciation of the great role which culture and arts play in the education of the masses, and should consider them as important sectors of their activity, showing special care for the political and ideological education of the creative artists. The leadership of the Party, the consistent application of its line and directives in these fields, is of decisive importance for their development on the right road. The state organs also face important duties to increase their concern about culture and arts, as well as to improve the forms and methods of handling them.

Under the leadership of the Party, the League of Writers and Artists should intensify its work for the ideological and professional education of writers and artists, becoming still more a centre where creative work is encouraged and its philosophical, ethical, and esthetical problems are widely threshed out from the standpoint of proletarian partisanship.

In the allround efforts to put the decisions of the 6th Congress of the Party into life, successes have been achieved, also, in the development of **science** and scientific experimentation. Functioning in our country today are various scientific organisms, specialized institutes and research centres, apart from those of the chairs and faculties of the higher schools. The founding of the Academy of Sciences was an important achievement.

Over this period, a series of important scientific and technical studies and experiments have been carried out

in geology and mining, hydroenergetics, agriculture, etc. A number of valuable studies have been carried out also in the field of social problems, the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, history, archaeology, and the Albanian language.

The country's present stage of development and the great tasks ahead of us require that **scientific studies and research are transformed into a general method that must pervade and precede all activities, and give effective help in the solution of present and future problems of the construction of socialism and the defence of the homeland.** Science is confronted with great tasks in designing and building large hydrotechnical and industrial projects, discovering and using new raw materials and other natural resources, finding new ways for the intensification of agriculture, etc.

The development of science raises the very important problem of carrying out intensified studies in a number of fields, such as biology, genetics, mathematics, physics, chemistry, physiology, etc., without which many problems of the development of applied sciences and technical progress cannot be solved, and a sound training of the various specialists and of the younger generation in our school cannot be carried out.

Great prospects are opened to the fruitful development of social and economic sciences, with the scientific study and summing up of the revolutionary thinking and practice of our Party and people as their fundamental object. Studies on the history, life, language and cultural and artistic traditions of our people constitute an important field.

As the Party has continuously stressed, the technical-scientific revolution in our socialist society cannot be carried ahead by a few specialized research institutions alone. The activation of the broad masses of workers and peasants, of cadres and specialists of production is of decisive importance in scientific experimentation. The

specialized institutions and the centres of scientific research should link their activity more closely with the scientific experimentation of the masses, they should sum up advanced experience and disseminate scientific knowledge among the masses. This is also the way to protect them from the diseases of bureaucracy, technocratism and intellectualism.

At the present stage, all material-technical means and human resources exist to solve many complicated economic, ideo-theoretical, cultural and technical-scientific problems with our own forces. It is therefore necessary to further strengthen the confidence of the cadres, specialists, and working people in their own creative forces and capabilities, while at the same time getting to know, and applying, in conformity with our conditions, the achievements of world science and technology.

The fulfilment of the tasks in the field of science requires the taking of further measures for the training and qualification of specialized scientific cadres of different branches and the strengthening of the necessary material base.

The development of science and the technical-scientific revolution confronts the research institutions and the higher schools with major tasks for raising the quality and effectiveness of their scientific studies and research, in struggle with alien technocratic and intellectualist, idealist and metaphysical concepts. The Academy of Sciences should play a special role here, especially towards a better utilization and coordination of forces and means for science and research.

Under the leadership of the Party, the state organs, from the base to the centre, should increase the attention they devote to the organization, planning and development of the activity of the scientific research organs, put forward concrete tasks and check up on their fulfilment, and render all the necessary help in the solution of the problems that arise.

V

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE PRA

The construction of socialism in Albania, the struggle of our people for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the defence of the homeland, their efforts to build a secure future, cannot be separated from the international situation in which we live, from the general historic process of world development today.

The Party has followed with great attention and analysed the events and the creation of new situations, the directions and intentions of the various political forces that are active in the international arena, and has always maintained a correct and principled stand in complete

accord with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, our national interests, the interests of the revolution and the liberation of the people.

In general, the present international situation appears very complex, full of great contradictions and confrontations that have now embraced the whole globe and all aspects of the human society today. Facing imperialism, social-imperialism and their savage aggressive and expansionist activity, facing the bourgeoisie, the international monopolies and their barbarous exploitation, facing reaction and its violence and terror, with multiplied forces

stand the world proletariat and the staunch revolutionaries, the peoples that are struggling for freedom and democracy, for socialism. The world is at a stage when the cause of the revolution and national liberation of the peoples is not just an aspiration and a future prospect, but a problem taken up for solution.

In recent years, a powerful upsurge of the struggle of the proletariat can be seen in all the capitalist countries. The workers and the masses of the working people everywhere are fighting selflessly against political oppression and economic exploitation, to defend their democratic rights and ensure a better life. What distinguishes this struggle is the broadened scope of the demands of the working people which are ever more going beyond the bounds of economic demands. The strikes, protests, demonstrations of the working people in the United States of America, Britain, France, the Soviet Union, Poland, Italy, Germany, Spain, etc., which often end up in bloody clashes with the bourgeoisie and its apparatus of oppression, are striking at the very foundations of the bourgeois and revisionist rule. In these fierce clashes with capital and the bourgeoisie, the working class and the broad masses of the working people are more and more strengthening their proletarian consciousness, preparing and tempering themselves ever better for the coming class battles. The present struggle of the world proletariat once more proves the fundamental thesis of Marxism-Leninism that the working class and its revolutionary struggle in the bourgeois and revisionist world cannot be suppressed either with violence or with demagoguery. Despite the pressure, the demagoguery, and the large-scale deceptive and disruptive propaganda of the bourgeoisie and its allies, the tendency to break away from the opportunist and undermining influences of the social-democracy and the revisionists, who unfortunately still manipulate an important part of the working class, is broadening and deepening. The growth and strengthening of the new Marxist-Leninist parties is vivid proof that the proletariat has never lost its faith in Marxism-Leninism that it sees in Marxism-Leninism its most powerful weapon in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and for the triumph of the revolution.

Day by day, the liberation movement of the peoples is rising to a higher level, both in content and in intensity. The historic victory of world importance of the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, which was a victory not only over US imperialism, but also over the plots, intrigues and acts of interference of Soviet social-imperialism, proved that, with all their great power and wealth, with all their modern means of warfare, the superpowers are not able to subjugate the peoples and countries, even small ones, if the latter are determined to fight to the end and make any sacrifice. It confirmed the thesis that freedom and independence are won and defended with the gun, through struggle, that the strategy of the national liberation people's war is a strategy that ensures victory.

Today Asia, Africa, and Latin America constitute a broad front of struggle against US imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, and the other imperialist powers. The peoples of these continents are making great and allround efforts to strengthen their political independence, to shake

off colonial and neo-colonial domination. All of us today are witnesses of the determined efforts of the African peoples for their complete emancipation, after their emergence from centuries of slavery. The achievement of independence by countries that only a little while ago were under Portuguese colonial rule has further accelerated the struggle against racism and racial discrimination in Rhodesia and South Africa.

The struggle of the progressive and democratic forces against fascism and reaction is also growing and expanding. The overthrow of dictatorial regimes in some countries, the struggle of the patriots of Brazil and Bolivia, of Thailand and Malaysia, the resistance of the peoples of Chile, Argentina, and Indonesia, against the fascist regimes have dealt telling blows at the reactionary forces and their imperialist supporters. The peoples of the Indian Ocean region, of South-east Asia and the shores of Africa are fighting persistently for the removal of military bases and naval fleets of the two superpowers. Everywhere the peoples are ever more awakening and growing more conscious of the danger that the policy of aggression, expansion and hegemony of US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism represents to their existence.

The countries that march consistently on the socialist road constitute a firm support for, and give active help to, the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the peoples. They constitute an irreplaceable factor for the triumph of the revolution. Socialist Albania considers it an honour to stand shoulder to shoulder with the great struggle of the proletariat and the peoples of all who fight for socialism, freedom and independence. By working untiringly for the construction of its new life, by smashing the frenzied attacks of imperialism, modern revisionism, and the anti-communist bourgeoisie, it has made and is making its contribution to defending and carrying forward the cause of genuine socialism.

It is this broadening and deepening of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, this great intensification of the liberation struggle of the peoples, the victories of socialism, all taken together, that have further weakened imperialism and social-imperialism, that have sharpened the contradictions of the capitalist system and shaken it to its foundations.

A direct result of this struggle and of the inevitable contradictions of their system is also the very grave crisis which all the capitalist and revisionist countries are going through today. During the whole period since the Second World War economic crises have followed one upon the other. But the present crisis is the greatest, a crisis sweeping over not only the developed countries, but also those less developed; it is an economic crisis, but also a political and ideological, a military and cultural crisis, affecting the structures and the superstructures of the bourgeois-revisionist system.

At first, this crisis was apparent in the form of a falling rate of production and an increasing rate of inflation. It became still more acute and assumed broader proportions because it was complicated with an extremely grave energy crisis and the currency crisis, which caused very great upsets in all the capitalist-revisionist countries.

Some of them, such as Italy, Britain, Poland, Yugoslavia, etc, are now experiencing extremely difficult situations.

A distinctive feature of the present crisis is that it is developing in the conditions of an acute sharpening of inter-imperialist contradictions in the rivalry of the superpowers for the division of markets and spheres of influence. The deeply aggressive policy of US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, their thirst for world domination and hegemony, have led to a big increase in state expenditure for the maintenance of military forces and bases in foreign countries, for «military aid» and various subsidies to reactionary regimes. This has created great tensions in the economies of the superpowers and their allies who are compelled to take upon themselves no small part of the burden of the crisis. The militarization of the economies of the great imperialist powers, the increase in military expenditure and budgets for repressive apparatuses to unprecedented proportions, in general, the consumption of national income and assets for non-productive purposes, makes these upsets ever more marked.

The crisis is further sharpened by the unrestrained competition of the industrialized bourgeois and revisionist countries among themselves, as well as between them and the developing countries, the main producers of raw materials. The operation of the law of uneven political and economic development of capitalist countries drew the Common Market, Japan, Canada and others into the arena of the struggle for markets and privileges and of challenging US domination in the sphere of capital exports.

The present crisis has once again confirmed that, as a social system, capitalism can never escape its contradictions and its ills, that it is incapable of ensuring its own superprofits while at the same time preserving an internal social equilibrium. Life thus repeatedly proves the theory of Marx and Lenin that economic crises are fellow-travellers of the capitalist system, that as long as private ownership and capitalist exploitation exist, economic crisis will exist, too.

All the capitalist and revisionist states try to saddle the masses of working people with the consequences of the crisis. And in fact, in order to keep their profits intact, the bourgeoisie, the monopolists and all exploiters everywhere have stepped up the oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and the working people, reducing their means of livelihood and curtailing their rights. In these moments of grave crisis for the imperialist and social-imperialist powers and the bourgeois state power of every country, millions of workers, the number of them has now reached about one hundred million, are being thrown out on the street, inflation is rampant, prices for necessities are becoming more and more out of reach. In present day capitalist and revisionist society that phenomenon of polarization, which Marx decribed, is taking place: on the one hand the poverty of the working people is increasing and, on the other, the wealth of the capitalists is growing.

Big capital and its state power, social-democracy, the revisionists and other opportunists, are accompanying this grave situation, this policy of savage oppression and

exploitation, with a great amount of lying propaganda meant to convince the masses of the working people that the present upheavals are allegedly a passing phenomenon, that everything will get back to what it was before, hence they should patiently bear the heavy burden that has fallen on them, and not try to find its causes and rise in revolt. They are striving with every means to avoid the great danger, the revolution, which is the only way for the working class to escape from the crisis and the exploiting capitalist and revisionist system once and for all.

The bourgeoisie and its state power also utilize the trade unions, in which they have incorporated the proletariat and the working people of most bourgeois countries for this counter-revolutionary aim. The trade unions are allegedly democratic, allegedly independent of the bosses and various «democratic», «socialist» and other parties. In reality, these so-called trade unions, openly manipulated by the bourgeois parties and led by the labour aristocracy, strive by all manner of means to mislead the working people and sabotage their revolutionary struggle. As well as this, the laws concerning the workers' activity and struggle for economic, social and other demands, have been constructed and doctored by big capital in such a manner that every action must take place within the limits allowed by the bourgeoisie, that nothing should damage its interests, and in particular must not threaten the foundations of the capitalist state power. When it finds it impossible to cope with the revolts of the workers and people in the pseudo-democratic forms or with the «talking-shop» methods of parliaments, then the bourgeois state clamps down on them with its laws, its violence, its bludgeon. That is what is happening now in most countries where the crisis has sharpened the contradictions between labour and capital, and the revolt of the working people at the situation created is becoming ever more powerful.

In these situations the danger of fascism is becoming ever more threatening. It is a known fact that when capital finds itself driven into a blind alley and under the heavy blows of the working class, it is compelled either to declare itself bankrupt or establish its fascist dictatorship and head for war. This danger of fascism is evident in Spain, Italy, and in many other countries. If the Italian fascist party, which is called the Italian Social Movement, lost votes in the recent Italian elections, this is no defeat for it, because it has put its «squadristi»¹ contingents into the Christian-democratic Party.

«For it is the great significance of all crises», said V. I. Lenin, «that they make manifest what has been hidden; they cast aside all that is empty form, superficial, and trivial; they sweep away the political litter and reveal the real causes of the class struggle that develops in reality.»²

¹ Members of the fascist terrorist groups.

² V. I. Lenin «Collected Works», Vol. 24, p. 219 (Alb. ed.)

The political, economic and social events of the world today, the causes that give rise to them, the circumstances of actions and the antagonistic forces taking part in them, are extremely variable in character, interests, duration and the forms of struggle employed. It is essential that we should grasp the main things, the issues of principle, and submit them to a Marxist-Leninist analysis if we are to make things clear to the Party and the people, to find our bearings in any activity and in any situation. Otherwise, it is difficult to reach correct and valuable conclusions.

Our Party is of the opinion that the world situation today is turbulent, and consequently, there is no room for complacency, passivity or euphoria. Therefore analysis and assessment of, and a consistent class stand towards, the policy and activity of the imperialist bourgeoisie of the two superpowers, in the current conditions assume first-rate importance for all the revolutionary forces, all the nations and peoples fighting for liberation and independence, for peace and security among nations. A principled stand on this fundamental question constitutes the only correct basis for defining a consistent and revolutionary strategy and tactics, and the criterion for assessing who are the progressive forces, and separating them from the reactionary forces.

Concrete facts and actions, the objective reality, leads us to the conclusion that in the world today the two superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, are the biggest and most dangerous aggressive imperialist powers known in history. Each separated or together, the superpowers represent, in the same degree and to the same extent, the main enemy of socialism, and the freedom and independence of nations, the greatest force defending oppressive and exploiting systems, and the direct threat that mankind will be hurled into a third world war.

The world has encountered and continues to encounter the aggressive and expansionist aims of US imperialism. Ever since the end of the Second World War, US imperialism has been pursuing a criminal policy and carrying out criminal activity against communism and the freedom and independence of the peoples. It was US imperialism that unleashed the barbarous aggression in Korea and in Vietnam, committing some of the most hideous crimes mankind has ever known there. It was US imperialism that intervened in the Congo, that strangled the Dominican revolution, that carried the war to Laos and Cambodia, that set the Middle East ablaze and organized the fascist putsches in Chile and Argentina.

In accord with its imperialist nature, US imperialism has extended its tentacles to all the continents and is strengthening its positions everywhere, and in every way, through «aid», enslaving credits, various agreements and treaties, through military bases established in many countries, through brutal interference in the internal affairs of other countries, up to armed aggression. All these are the ugly features of savage US imperialism.

The numerous compromises and the unprincipled concessions of the Khrushchevites have not made it any softer-natured or better-behaved. It still remains the

political and economic bastion of the exploiting capitalist system, the great defender of colonialism and neo-colonialism, the inspirer of racism and the arch-gendarme of international reaction. Our Party consistently upholds the view that US imperialism is aggressive and will remain so as long as it has a single tooth left in its head.

As a result of revolutionary and liberation struggles, of its continuous degeneration and insurmountable internal contradictions, world imperialism has lost many positions. Suffice it to mention the disintegration of the colonial system and the winning of independence by many countries. In the future, imperialism will lose ever more positions as well. But at the same time imperialism, and US imperialism especially, will increase its efforts to win back its lost positions and to capture new ones. This is the dialectics of the development and decline of imperialism. **Therefore, now just as in the past, the consistent and unceasing struggle to expose the policy and foil the aggressive plans of imperialism, headed by US imperialism, constitutes an essential condition for the defence of freedom and socialism, for the triumph of the revolution and the liberation of peoples.**

The peoples of the world are also fighting a great battle against the other enemy, just as dangerous and barbarous, Soviet social-imperialism. The policy of the Soviet revisionists is a typically aggressive colonialist and neo-colonialist policy which is based on the power of capital and force of arms. The struggle that the Soviet Union is waging today to occupy strategic positions in the Middle East, its expansion to the Mediterranean, to the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, its interference in Africa and in Latin America, its pressure on Europe and its meddling in the affairs of Asia, all these actions bear the stamp of this policy. Like the US imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists are striving everywhere to put out the flames of the revolution and the liberation struggles of the peoples.

In competition with US imperialism, the Soviet social-imperialists hatch up counter-revolutionary plots and intrigues against the peoples, stir up conflicts and sow discord among nations, strive to exert their control and dictate wherever they can. **Our Party has continuously stressed that any illusion or vacillation, however slight, in the stand towards the present-day Soviet Union is fraught with catastrophic consequences for those political forces and movements that continue to believe the demagoguery and lies of Moscow.**

In order to carry out their policy of expansion and hegemony, imperialism, social-imperialism, and international capitalism, have created a series of military, political, economic, cultural and other organisms and institutions which, today, are their main weapons and means of domination over the peoples. At the same time, they have also worked out a whole series of theories, concepts and theses through which they try to deceive and intimidate the peoples and justify their hegemonism and oppression, to brainwash people in the direction they want. Military aggression, economic expansion, and ideological aggression, constitute the basis of the general line of these enemies whose main aim is to destroy

socialism, to strangle the revolution and perpetuate their enslaving system.

Under these conditions the task of the revolutionaries and peoples is to counterpose their united and determined struggle on all fronts and in all directions to this general, allround onslaught of the enemies, to expose and destroy all their weapons and bases, whether political or economic, military or ideological.

Now, as in the past, the main pillars on which all their hegemonistic and expansionist superpower policy is based and carried out, the principal shields protecting their imperialist systems, the fundamental weapons for their rivalry and war preparations, are NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, the political and military alliances of the capitalist and revisionist countries, and their bases and armies in foreign countries.

NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, together with the bourgeois and revisionist armies of the member countries, provide the main protection for the capitalist and revisionist systems and the greatest armed force to attack the revolution and socialism, the freedom and independence of the peoples. The military blocs are the props of the internal reactionary, anti-patriotic forces, of forces who are selling and subjugating their countries to foreigners, and liquidating their national sovereignty. NATO and the Warsaw Treaty have been and continue to be instruments for the preparation and unleashing of war.

COMECON and the European Common Market have been created to serve this aggressive, oppressive and exploiting policy. Through COMECON, which is a Soviet revisionist organization for the enslavement of its member countries, the Soviet Union carries out its neo-colonialist policy in the satellite countries, pillages their wealth and achieves their economic integration into the Soviet state. The Soviet Union has impoverished its allies economically, has tied them hand and foot, imposes on them the prices it wants, controls the development of their economy according to its interests, grants them just as much of the raw materials necessary to keep their industry running, to the extent it desires and when it desires, without regard for its progress. The credits the Soviet Union grants to its satellites enslave them.

Like COMECON, the European Common Market is just such another reactionary organization. It is a large union of capitalist monopolies and trusts, bent on the savage exploitation of the proletariat and the masses of the working people in Europe and other peoples of the world.

From its inception, the aim of the Common Market was to find ways and means of barbarous plunder for the great trusts and concerns and to rescue capitalism from crises and upheavals. In the international arena, the Common Market is a big neo-colonial power which not only competes with the superpowers for the exploitation of the developing countries, but also endeavours to regain and maintain the old privileges of the former colonial powers in these countries.

Though the United States of America is officially outside the Common Market, through the entanglement of

US capital with the capital of each member country, the United States, indirectly plays a very great role in it. In the Common Market, US imperialism has had and still has a powerful support against the social-imperialist bloc. Together with NATO, the Common Market constitutes an organized base and rear area of US imperialism in its rivalry and contest with the other imperialist power, the revisionist Soviet Union.

The Party of Labour of Albania, the Albanian state and people, are against NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, against COMECON and the Common Market, because these organizations are the basic instruments of the expansionist policy of the two superpowers, because they oppress, exploit and impoverish both the peoples of Europe and the peoples of the developing countries, undermine both the revolution and the liberation of the peoples, and are instruments of enslavement.

The Soviet Union declares that a «community of free and equal socialist states» has been created, but the Soviet fist rules this «alliance». There is nothing socialist about it, it is anti-Marxist and an outright fraud to keep the peoples under the yoke of social-imperialism.

The monopolists of Western Europe, both bourgeois and revisionist, have a great deal to say about the creation of the so-called United Europe. So far some sort of a «European Commission» has been set up with a «Parliament», a «common government», some formal laws, which has taken upon itself to create the state unification of the European countries. Plans are being mapped out for this part of Europe to have a joint army, armed to the teeth, and a «powerful» capitalist economy allegedly to confront the two superpowers. In fact, the creation of the United States of Europe is meant to eliminate the notion of nationality in various European countries, to integrate and amalgamate their culture and traditions, in other words, to do away with the individuality of the peoples and states of Western Europe under the management of the cosmopolitan reactionary bourgeoisie of this continent.

This «United Europe», its reactionary content, was exposed and condemned by Lenin as early as 1915 when he wrote:

«From the standpoint of economic conditions of imperialism — i. e., the export of capital and the division of the world by the «advanced» and «civilized» colonial powers — a United States of Europe, under capitalism, is either impossible or reactionary. And further: «Of course, temporary agreements are possible between capitalists and between states. In this sense a United States of Europe is possible as an agreement between the European capitalists... but to what end? Only for the purpose of jointly suppressing socialism in Europe»¹.

World capitalism, which is proceeding remorselessly towards crises and decline, just as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin predicted with such genius, has now reached

1 V.I. Lenin, «Collected Works», Vol. 21, pp. 370, 372 (Alb. ed.).

the stage of imperialism in decay. In order to survive, it has devised new forms for the exploitation of the masses, not just on a national scale, but also on a world scale, has contrived its last and most sophisticated means of plunder, neo-colonialism, has created financial links and economic and military alliances through which it intends to hold in complete or partial dependence many states belonging to what is called the «second world», the «third world», the «non-aligned world» or the «developing countries». All these terms, which refer to the various political forces acting in the world today, cover up and do not bring out the class character of these political forces, the fundamental contradictions of our epoch, the key problem which is predominant today on a national and international scale, the ruthless struggle between the bourgeois-imperialist world, on the one hand, and socialism, the world proletariat, and its natural allies, on the other.

The most that these terms and divisions can indicate is the extent of the influence and impact of world capital, international or national, on various states and areas of the world. They can also indicate the more powerful or less powerful support points of imperialism and social-imperialism, and they may also indicate the existence of the peoples' aspirations to live free and independent of the superpowers. But, viewing the question from the angle of the class criterion, with some exceptions, in these states, antagonist classes and the exploitation of man by man exist, and the proletariat and working people of these countries are ruled by the bourgeoisie in this or that form. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that in our epoch, countries are grouped according to the social system prevailing in them, into bourgeois-capitalist countries and socialist countries. The theories on the so-called intermediate stage of non-capitalist development, so zealously propagated by the Khrushchevite revisionists, are meant to sabotage the sincere socialist aspirations that exist in many countries, to cause ideological confusion, and to undermine the struggle of the progressive forces.

Similarly, regarding the assessment of the policy pursued by various states and governments, the Marxists proceed again from the class criterion, from the stands these governments and countries maintain towards imperialism and socialism, towards their own people and reaction.

On the basis of these teachings the revolutionary movement and the proletariat build their strategy and tactics, find, and unite with, their true allies in the struggle against imperialism, the bourgeoisie and reaction. The terms «third world», «non-aligned states» or «developing countries», create the illusion among the broad masses fighting for national and social liberation that a roof has allegedly been found under which to shelter from the threat of the superpowers. These terms conceal the real situation in the majority of these countries, which, in this or that manner, politically, ideologically, and economically, are bound to, and depend on, the two superpowers and the former colonial metropolises.

The Yugoslav revisionists champion the idea of «non-aligned countries». According to them, falling within this group are those countries which have not aligned them-

selves through military treaties with the big imperialists and revisionist powers, mainly with NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. But without formally participating in these two military blocs, many of these countries are so completely aligned with the superpowers and the big capitalist countries through a series of treaties and agreements, that the word «non-aligned» has a very hollow sound to it.

This situation of the «non-aligned» movement was borne out by the Colombo Conference. With difficulty it managed to cover up the divergencies and the opposing political aims which individual countries and groups of participating states are pursuing. This time nobody spoke out against or openly attacked the United States of America and the Soviet Union by name and opposed their aggressive and warmongering policy and activity. However they did find it opportune and advantageous to attack France!

Many states which pretend to be non-aligned have concluded among themselves defensive and aggressive military treaties in which imperialist powers take part, too. None of the participants have denounced these treaties. Soviet social-imperialism is trying to set up the «Asian Security Treaty», tomorrow a similar treaty on «African Security», etc. All these are different forms of organization intended to turn an allegedly non-aligned country into a country enslaved from every viewpoint.

The slogan of «non-aligned countries» gives the false impression that a group of states which have the possibility of «opposing» the superpowers blocs is being created. It gives the impression that these countries, all of them, without exception, are anti-imperialist, opposed to war, opposed to the dictate of others, that they are «democratic», and even «socialist». This helps to strengthen the pseudo-democratic and anti-popular positions of the leading groups of some states which participate among the «non-aligned», and creates the impression among the peoples of these countries that when their chiefs establish or dissolve relations, of any kind and nature, with the imperialists and the social-imperialists, openly or in secret, they do this not only in the capacity of «popular governments», but also in the capacity of a group of states «with which even the superpowers must reckon».

Our Party is of the opinion that the peoples must be told openly about the situations, because it is only thus that their true unity, the unity of the truly anti-imperialist and progressive states and governments is aided. In order to unite the peoples in the fight for freedom, independence and social progress, against any oppression and exploitation by whomsoever, first it is necessary to establish the dividing line, to make clear who is their chief enemy, against whom they must fight, and with whom they must unite.

Their enemies are imperialism, social-imperialism and the international big bourgeoisie, which pursue a policy of expansionism and exploitation towards the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The superpowers and world capital want to keep intact all the international forms and institutions established in the old colonial period. When their interests are affected, even in the slightest,

such as in the case of raising the prices of oil and some other raw materials, they rise in wrath and do not hesitate even to threaten war against the peoples and countries that want to establish sovereignty over their own national assets, that fight for justice and equality in world exchanges and economic relations.

But this plunder and savage exploitation cannot go on for ever. Now economic decolonization has been placed on the order of the day, and there is nothing which can stop this new revolutionary process which has emerged on the world stage. The peoples have the undeniable right to establish complete sovereignty over their natural resources and to nationalize them. However protracted and fierce the resistance and counterattack of the imperialists and other exploiters may be, nothing can prevent attainment of this objective. Nothing can stop the struggle of the peoples for equality in the field of international exchanges, and to ensure that the income obtained from the sale of raw materials is used to develop their industry and culture and improve their life.

The struggle of the peoples for economic independence is spearheaded against the superpowers, against the monopolies of the imperialist states, against the multi-national companies. Therefore, the proletariat, all those who are for the revolution and socialism, must closely link their struggle with the struggle of the peoples for freedom and independence. This can be done only by resolutely struggling against the bourgeoisie of one's own country, by struggling against imperialism and predatory war. This is also the most effective and direct aid the proletariat can give the liberation movement of the peoples.

The aggressive policy and the counter-revolutionary activity of the superpowers, the international big bourgeoisie and reaction is developed amid great and irreconcilable contradictions between imperialism and social-imperialism, between them and their own allies. These contradictions, which are signs of their weakness and of the telling blows which the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the peoples' fight for liberation has dealt them, again corroborate the immortal theses of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on the development of bourgeois society and the proletarian strategy of the revolution.

The major crisis which has descended upon the two superpowers and their allies has a powerful effect weakening the aggressive alliances they have set up. It has rocked many countries of the world on all the continents, and has aroused the well-based suspicion that the misfortunes which have beset them have their source in the aggressive and predatory activities of US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. This suspicion has caused splits in the alliances, so that some countries have, partly or completely, broken away from them. Here declared and there kept secret, but always active and corrosive, mistrust towards them is constantly growing.

Now it is apparent that neither the US imperialists nor the Soviet social-imperialists can impose their respective hegemonism on their partners in the NATO bloc and the Warsaw Treaty as they wish. The deep cracks in the military, economic and political groupings of imperialism

and social-imperialism are becoming more disquieting for the superpowers day by day. The centrifugal forces, whether of the western capitalist bourgeois states or of the eastern revisionist states, are becoming more apparent and active every day.

Within the revisionist bloc, Soviet social-imperialism is keeping a strict watch over its «allies», to prevent any attempt to break ranks. Despite this, the political animosity and ideological differences, if not as open as in Czechoslovakia at the time of Dubček, exist everywhere in secret and are manifested in various fields and forms, especially around economic issues. All the discontent that is showing up in the relations between the revisionist countries and the Soviet Union is covered over with the theories of «limited sovereignty» and «economic integration» expounded by Brezhnev, which means, in other words, in the interests of «socialism» the Soviet dictate over them must be preserved and must not be opposed.

The friction between the revisionist states of the East with the Soviet Union, their discontent, are further incited by US imperialism and its allies. The United States of America is making great efforts to weaken social-imperialism, to keep its aspirations for hegemony under tight rein, to split the satellites away from the Soviet Union and draw them closer to itself.

And this is the desire of the satellites of the Soviet Union, too. They have had and still have hopes of developing this tendency with the aid of the United States of America. Aware of the economic weakness of the Soviet Union, its urgent need for technology, and especially its pressing need to release internal funds for armaments, now US imperialism is trying to make the most of this situation and to put its plans into practice. It is giving credits to the Soviet government, but giving them to the other revisionist countries, too, and at the same time encouraging the western capitalist states to invest their capital in these countries. This venture is facilitated also by the fact that in these periods of crises West European capital is seeking economic expansion wherever it can.

Despite its efforts to keep its satellites under military and political yoke, economically subjugated and shackled with many steel chains, the revisionist Soviet Union is obliged to allow them to build contacts with the United States of America and the other big capitalist countries of Western Europe, to ask for and receive credits from them. Of course, for each credit they must pledge some economic-political collateral security, and it is precisely this which worries the social-imperialists most.

On their part, the Soviets, also, are trying to open some breach and infiltrate the western countries. These countries made a great fuss about what was happening in Portugal, about the interference of the Soviet Union through the revisionist party of Cunhal. And, in fact, such an attempt was made. But all the fuss was raised more for sensation than from fear that the Soviets might eventually get a foothold in the Iberian Peninsula.

At present, the contradictions within the political, military and economic alliances headed by US imperialism, have become very acute. The squabbles and competition between the monopolies of Western Europe and Japan,

on the one hand, and the monopolies of the United States, on the other, have now reached a new stage at which each party is trying to secure the maximum superior positions, privileges and favours for itself. The contradictions between them have been even further increased as a result of the energy and raw materials crisis, the narrowing of the sphere for the export of capital, and the increasing difficulties over securing profits through the neo-colonialist policy.

This is fully corroborating Stalin's analysis and prediction of 1952, when he said:

Outwardly, everything would seem to be 'going well'; the US has put Western Europe, Japan and other capitalist countries on rations; Germany (Western), Britain, France, Italy, and Japan have fallen into the clutches of the USA and are meekly obeying its commands. But it would be mistaken to think that things can continue to 'go well' for 'all eternity', that these countries will tolerate the domination and oppression of the United States endlessly, that they will not endeavour to tear loose from American bondage and take the path of independent development».¹

Within the framework of the alliances of the West, the greatest quarrels are those between the United States and the Common Market, which, under the pressure and various manoeuvres of the Soviet bloc also, tend to increase.

Because of the competition, in order to prevent the Common Market from affirming itself and becoming consolidated, the United States tries to manipulate its members separately and to incite them against one another. Besides its enslavement of the other weak members, the United States is making special efforts to impede the German-French rapprochement by weakening France and supporting Federal Germany and Britain.

It must be said that, despite the organisms they have created, the countries of Western Europe have not given up their great individual efforts in which each strives to grab for itself the maximum number of concessions and markets all over the world. Of course, this competition is directed against the two superpowers, but, in comparison with the economic, military and political might of the two big states, and especially that of US imperialism, these countries are weak. Thus, these countries of Western Europe do not manage to dip their finger «in the honey» as they would like, and not just in the economic field, in the developing countries, but when they raise their voice in political matters very little, if any, notice is taken of them. American imperialism has created such a situation that it has not only eliminated the possibilities of the economic intrusion of these countries, but it has also shut the mouths of its partners in alliance.

As Marxism-Leninism teaches us, from these situations, the proletariat and the revolutionary forces reach the conclusion that they must intensify their allround struggle against US imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, and the reactionary capitalist bourgeoisie, the struggle to deepen the contradictions and divergencies that exist among their enemies. The enemies must not be given a

moment's respite to come to agreement, to group their forces and organize themselves to fight the revolution, socialism, and the peoples with new strength. In this struggle the allies of the proletariat are all those who are oppressed by, and suffering at the hands of, the imperialists, the bourgeoisie and reaction, who want freedom and independence for their peoples, those who oppose imperialism and social-imperialism and their hegemonistic plans.

Loyal to the interests of the revolution, socialism, and the peoples, our Party will support the proletariat and the peoples who are against the two superpowers and for their destruction, against the capitalist and revisionist bourgeoisie and for its overthrow.

In crisis and with many contradictions between them, in contradiction with their allies as well as with the peoples, the superpowers are trying to find new forms of collaboration amid divergencies, to invent new demagogical theories, to draft new enslaving plans and to redivide the world into new spheres of influence and markets.

Never before has the world been subjected to such a campaign of propaganda and diplomatic diversion as this the imperialists and the social-imperialists are engaged in at present, which is intended to prettify the hegemonic and expansionist policy of the superpowers, to justify their aggressions and to conceal their war preparations. Both in the East and in the West, the imperialist and social-imperialist leading circles claim that mankind is living in a period of «reduced tension», that the «cold war» and the confrontation threatening a clash between the superpowers has given way to «détente», peaceful coexistence, «international harmony», «general security», etc., that the dangers have passed and the clouds of war and disaster have been dispersed. By means of these high-flown slogans, the superpowers, the international bourgeoisie and reaction, are trying to dupe the peoples, to weaken their resistance and to establish their imperialist control and domination.

The People's Republic of Albania does not accept and publicly exposes the so-called theory about the need to preserve the «balance between the superpowers» as a condition or a basis to avoid war and defend peace. It rejects the imperialist concepts on the preservation of the «spheres of influence» allegedly as factors of stability and security, the concepts of «limited sovereignty» and the «interdependent world», of «bipolarization», the policy of blackmail, etc. These so-called «theories and doctrines» invented in Moscow and Washington, are meant to create a capitulationist opinion that no state or nation can live outside the domination and tutelage of one or the other superpower.

The history of Europe has proved that the «balance of forces» among the big powers has always been a weapon in the hands of exploiting classes to suppress the national liberation and revolutionary movements. Intervention has been always the weapon of the system of balance, to restore it when it is upset or to guard against its being upset.

¹ I. J. Stalin, «Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR», Tirana, 1968, p. 39 (Alb. ed.).



Comrade Enver Hoxha among a group of comrades, members of the Party since 1941

Peace and international security in Europe and in the world are not achieved through the establishment of «harmony» or «balance» between the superpowers, but through struggle against imperialist pressures and intervention, through efforts for the liberation of the peoples, through the strengthening of national independence and sovereignty.

The superpowers are carrying on a big trade in arms which is becoming the most lucrative business in our days. In the simple view, it might seem as if those arms add to and strengthen the fighting ability of the countries which receive them. In fact, this trade constitutes a new noose round the neck of the purchasers, chains which bind them hand and foot. Not only can these weapons never be fired in opposition to any eventual aggression by the sellers and their allies, but they cannot be fired at anyone at all without the seller's permission.

By means of their arms trade the superpowers encourage minor arms races among small and medium-sized countries, which then become the cause of quarrels and conflicts among neighbours, stirring up local wars, a thing which opens the way to the expansion and hegemonism of the United States of America and the Soviet Union. Through the arms trade, as well as the war psychosis which they develop with powerful propaganda, the two superpowers are trying especially to penetrate into Africa, the Middle East, Latin America and Asia.

In these countries, the United States of America and the Soviet Union are vying with each other. In order to subjugate various countries of these zones, they create and bring to power cliques of allegedly liberation colours and set them at loggerheads with one another according to the principle of «divide and rule». In fact, whether US imperialism, in its open and savage way, or Soviet social-imperialism, likewise in its way, which is just as savage but masked with a pseudo-socialist propaganda, they are working to aggravate relations, to stir up and inflate the contradictions among the peoples to further their own interests, to establish naval bases in various countries, to build military alliances, to conclude enslaving trade agreements, etc.

One of the most typical examples of this policy of the two superpowers is provided by the Middle East, where the main issue is oil. The hostilities between the Arab peoples and Israel, the situation amongst the Arab peoples themselves, who are split and in disagreement with one another, which is being aggravated by the Soviet-US intrigues, are a consequence of this key problem, of the endeavours of the two superpowers to seize the oil resources. The blood of the Arab peoples has been and is being shed on account of this wealth. United States imperialism openly assists Israel to keep the Arab world divided. The Soviet Union allegedly helps the Arab peoples by selling them arms, while it is sending large numbers of Soviet Jews to Israel where they are used as cannon fodder against the Arab peoples.

At the same time, the superpowers are also trying to elbow each other out. Notwithstanding its clearly pro-Israeli stance, US imperialism not only succeeded in keeping the course of «friendship» with Saudi Arabia and the

Persian Gulf Emirates in its favour, but it also managed to undermine the Soviet positions in the area. Egypt's denunciation of the Egyptian-Soviet Treaty as well as the expulsion of the aggressive Soviet naval fleet from its ports, is a defeat and not a victory for Soviet social-imperialism.

Now it is the Americans who have the upper hand in dictating their schemes in this region. Of course, Soviet social-imperialism is not sitting idly by with folded arms, either. It is striving to make good its loss in Egypt, by clinging to the positions it still has in some Arab country, or by seeking to secure some new base, by attaching itself to new «friends».

On the African continent, the struggle between the two superpowers has just begun and is far from coming to an end. United States imperialism has long ago set up its own bases there. Its imperialist interests here are also interwoven with the interests of its West European allies, and jointly they constitute a powerful barrier to Soviet penetration in this region.

The events in Angola are being advertised as a major Soviet «success», something which serves social-imperialism to pose as a liberator of the peoples. This also serves US imperialism and all world capitalism to fan up the psychosis of anti-communist fear and war, though communism has nothing whatsoever to do with it. The current struggle of the African peoples is a revolt against the interference and plunder of the two superpowers.

The big imperialist powers make the most of the difficult economic and social situations of the peoples, the countries and states of Africa, where they hatch up a thousand and one intrigues. These are never-ending intrigues engineered to retard the revival of this vast continent with a population which has lived in poverty for centuries but which has an ancient culture, which has new strength and energies, which imperialism, social-imperialism and world capital do not allow to be channelled on to the correct road to the progress, freedom, democracy, and full independence and sovereignty of these states.

Our Party upholds the thesis that both when the superpowers work together and when they quarrel, it is others who pay the bill. The collusion and rivalry between the superpowers are the two sides of the one contradictory reality, important expressions of the same imperialist strategy, to rob the peoples of their freedom and to dominate the world. They pose the same danger, therefore the two superpowers are the main and greatest enemies of the peoples. That is why, one must never rely on one imperialism to fight or escape from the other.

There are states that, aware of a threat from either one or the other superpower, base their defence on the military protection of the United States of America, or of the Soviet Union. But military protection by the superpowers is an illusory defence because its aim is to convert the «defended» country into a protectorate. Shelter under the «defence umbrella» of the superpowers is always accompanied with political and economic concessions, with concessions in the realm of national sovereignty and

restrictions in the field of decision-making on internal and external issues.

The peoples should not fall into the trap of the so-called «anti-imperialist front» advertised by the Soviet social-imperialists, in which they are seeking to embroil all those who are opposed to, and fight against, United States imperialism. To join this «front» means to sacrifice the loftiest interests of your country, to expose the people to danger, to become a minion of the social-imperialists and cannon fodder for their ambitions. The contradictions between the Soviet Union and the United States of America are not contradictions between socialism and imperialism, as Moscow is trying to pass them off, but contradictions between two big imperialist powers.

While rejecting the demagoguery and deceptive tactics of «anti-imperialism» preached by the Soviet revisionists, it is necessary also to reject the «anti-social-imperialism» which the United States of America and the monopoly bourgeoisie of the world are propagating. The peoples cannot allow themselves to fall victims to the rivalry of the United States and the Soviet Union and become pawns in their imperialist manoeuvring.

The bourgeois and revisionist propagandists are now having a great deal to say about «secure borders» «renunciation of the use of force», «peaceful cooperation» and so on, presenting the Helsinki Conference as the model. Our Party declared its view about this conference at the proper time, calling it a «meeting of European insecurity». We condemned it from the very beginning and refused to participate in it. We acted in this way proceeding from a Marxist-Leninist analysis of events. It was not only the Soviet revisionists, but the United States imperialists, too, who wanted that conference. They wanted it as a breathing space to get over the crisis, to build up their strength, to pull themselves together and to create the illusion that Europe is being secured, that it will not be attacked by the Soviets since it will be defended by the Americans. For the sake of appearances, the superpowers sought to freeze the situation in our continent, especially the relations between the two blocs of the East and the West.

The Helsinki Conference was a comedy, with the Soviet Union and the United States as the star performers. All the rest who took part in it, did not believe, either before or after the meeting, that it would do any good. The mountain laboured and brought forth a mouse. In fact, nothing has altered in the previous situation except that attempts are being made to create an atmosphere as though a political and ideological status quo and more developed economic cooperation between the states of Europe, with the exception of Albania, are being established. In all these directions, not only was the status quo not confirmed, but new conflicts, such as that between Greece and Turkey, flared up.

The clamour of the Kremlin bosses about a «peaceful spirit after Helsinki» has been increased, but alongside this the excursions of the Soviet naval fleet have been increased, too, and it has now begun to commit arrogant violations of the maritime sovereignty of the freedom-loving Nordic countries and to try to establish its domination over all the seas of the North.

As concerns the so-called securing of Europe against a world war, this has taken no step forward. What is more, this is unattainable, since neither the East nor the West can disarm themselves and can make not even the slightest attempt in this direction, because both the Soviet Union and the United States of America would be damaged. The only efforts these two imperialist powers are making, are to increase their offensive weapons for war and their nuclear arms. The SALT meetings, likewise, have yielded no results whatever, they are bogged down. The parties in the discussion are simply indulging in fruitless talk.

The campaign about disarmament which the superpowers are conducting, their endless plans and schemes, the conferences and talks which have been going on for years on end, are a bluff and swindle aimed at disguising their arming. Their aim is to force the other peoples and states to reconcile themselves to, and allow the sanctioning of, the monopoly of nuclear and other modern weapons of the United States of America and the Soviet Union, and recognize their right to uncontrolled and unlimited arming and ceaseless perfecting of the technology of weapons of mass extermination.

The imperialists and the social-imperialists know that, by maintaining their stocks and monopoly of the production of modern weapons, they can also maintain their blackmail and threat, the fear and insecurity which their military machine instils in others, and the permanent pressure which their weapons exert even if they are not fired.

The problems of war and peace have always preoccupied the peoples of the world, the broad working masses, who want no new disaster to befall mankind again. The danger is real. The superpowers are making preparations for a world war, and to this end, apart from their unrestrained arms race, they are also trying to create the circumstances which they judge suitable, by playing the bourgeois cliques in various countries off against one another, by stirring up nationalist sentiments, to set the peoples at loggerheads with each other, and so on. All this activity and these hideous methods of the superpowers lead straight to the road of preparation of a new world war.

These preparations are accompanied with blackmail and many threats, the work of US imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism or other capitalist bourgeois countries. They have created the opinion that the future war which is in the making and may be launched, by one or the other superpower, whether an all-out or a partial one, will be a lightning war, so short that within three to four days, the Soviet social-imperialists will succeed in occupying the whole of Yugoslavia (since Albania, according to them, «will be swallowed at one bite»!), and thus, the Soviet tanks will reach the east coast of the Atlantic, in Portugal, in a matter of ten days! This is the utterly misguided state of mind that is being nurtured every day by the propaganda of the superpowers to intimidate the states and the peoples, to weaken their defence, to lower the vigilance and morale of the masses of the people, to sap

their revolutionary will to fight in defence of freedom and independence. Our Party holds that this propaganda and these views represent a special strategy and tactics to establish imperialist and social-imperialist control and domination over the national political, economic and military life of all states. Therefore as such, they must be resolutely combated. As to «Albania's being only one mouthful» —, watch out, gentlemen, for socialist Albania is a hard bone that'll stick in your throat and choke you! Should the Soviet social-imperialists undertake such a venture against our country, they will suffer an irreparable defeat.

The same holds good for US imperialism, too. Should it dare perpetrate such aggression, it, too, will never come out of it alive. The lessons from its defeat in Vietnam and Cambodia are very fresh.

In any country, its freedom and independence are dependent mainly on the stand adopted, whether you decide to live free and on your feet, or no your knees as slaves. When you are determined to live free and stand ready to fight, then the blackmail is knocked back, strength is revived, the people's courage mounts, and it is difficult for the aggressor to attack you. This is how our people think, and they put this view bluntly to any enemy who may imagine that he would have a «walk-over» in Albania, too. Our people have never been and are not afraid of any power, no matter whether it is a big power or a medium one, and no matter how well armed it may be, that might dare to attack our country. Our people will fight valiantly, intelligently, and with every means at their disposal, convinced that they will defeat the aggressors, whoever they might be. This stand is based on the sound reality of our country, on the steel-like unity of the people, on the lofty aim of defending the freedom and independence of the homeland and the great victories of socialist construction at all costs, which the Party has inculcated in everybody, old and young; it is based on the intensive military training of the entire soldier people and the configuration of the territory of Albania. The aggressors will find themselves quite unable to «walk over» Albania. Instead, they will find their own death here. The enemies can be sure of one thing, that they will never set foot on our soil, that their weapons and bombs will never be able to subdue the great resistance, the spirit of heroism, and the ardent patriotic feelings of the Albanian people.

Lenin teaches us that war breaks out when the depth and abrasiveness of the contradictions reaches the most acute stage, when all the talk, propaganda and «economic reforms» are no longer able to restrain it. The imperialists and the social-imperialists are heading for war. But they are not entirely free to act at will. Many factors exert their influence on this issue. War may break out in Europe, as it may in Asia, against socialist China, or in other regions, such as the Middle East for example, where so many contradictions are entangled and such dangerous events are unfolding. No possibility can be ruled out.

The important thing is that the peoples should not fall into fatalism, become passive observers and be caught

unawares; they must be prepared for the worst and fight to prevent it from occurring.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that imperialism and the war-mongers must be weakened through the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the peoples. If an aggressive imperialist war cannot be prevented, then it is the task of the revolutionaries and the proletariat to turn it into a liberation war.

It should be driven home to the peoples that the enemies of the revolution and the world proletariat, the enemies of freedom and the oppressed peoples, the instigators and the cause of war, are US imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, and the reactionary bourgeoisie of each country. These powers constitute and represent the savage world capitalism, which has its source in, and draws its strength from, the inhuman exploitation of the masses and the peoples. A stern, consistent, and determined struggle must be organized against these savage powers, against their ideology and various forms of organization, from the different reactionary and demagogic parties, the trusts and multinational companies down to their smallest national and international organism, from the banks and political and military alliances down to their aggressive armies, until, in the end, their state power is smashed right down to its foundations.

The present conditions demand that this merciless and allround struggle is waged by all the peoples of the world, by all progressive people who have the true and complete interests of their nations at heart and have made them the aim of their struggle and life. If this struggle is led by the world proletariat and its vanguard, the communist party, which is guided by the unerring theory of Marxism-Leninism, it will be more resolute, unceasing, and ever mounting.

The imperialists and the social-imperialists have as their close allies the reactionary bourgeoisie of each country where they exercise their influence. They use these allies to do their dirty work and wield the whip on their behalf, so they feed and arm them to have them ready as a striking force in a world conflagration and against peoples who rise in revolution against their internal and external oppressors. Therefore, these forces cannot be separated from one another. Without combating the one, you cannot combat the other, without combating the internal reactionary force until you have overthrown it, you cannot combat the external enemy, you cannot prevent war. You must destroy every kind of base the super-powers have established and created in a given country, for in this way you weaken and destroy the world influence and strength they have based on the enslavement of peoples and countries.

It is essential that we Marxist-Leninists work to arouse the revolutionary spirit in the masses of the proletariat and its closest allies, the peasantry, the working masses, the progressive and patriotic people. This we must do without fail, because all the enemies are competing with one another to destroy socialism, to strangle the revolution and enslave the peoples.

We must base ourselves on the mobilization and strength of the peoples, on the unity of all those who

want to throw off the imperialist-revisionist yoke. We stand for the unity of the world proletariat and all the true anti-imperialist and progress-loving forces who, through their struggle, will smash the aggressive plans of the imperialist and social-imperialist war-mongers.

Consistent in their Marxist-Leninist line, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people have been and are against the two superpowers, against predatory imperialist war, against the monopoly bourgeoisie and international reaction. Therefore, in the future, too, they will spare no effort and will fight, together with all the other anti-imperialist and anti-social-imperialist peoples, with all the Marxist-Leninist parties, all the revolutionaries and the world proletariat, all progressive people, to foil the plans and manoeuvres of the enemies and ensure the triumph of the cause of the freedom and security of the peoples.

At every moment our country will be found standing beside all those peoples whose freedom, independence are threatened and whose rights are violated. We have repeatedly declared this stand, and not just in good times, but in dangerous times as well; the peoples of the world can be sure that socialist Albania is with them and fears no sacrifice.

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The important tasks set by the 6th Congress of the Party in the field of foreign policy and our country's relations with the other countries have been successfully fulfilled. Life and the development of events have fully vindicated the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist line and stands of our Party in the field of foreign policy.

The international position of Albania is unwavering. The People's Republic of Albania has expressed its opinion on international events and problems publicly, unhesitatingly, and courageously, and it has always maintained a wise and unwavering stand in defence of the interests of our socialist homeland, the peoples, and general peace and security.

The authority and prestige of our country are ever on the rise. The voice and word of socialist Albania are listened to, and respected by, the peoples, the revolutionaries and progressives. Its many friends and well-wishers love and respect socialist Albania for its frank and principled policy.

The People's Republic of Albania has its independent foreign policy. Its aim is that its opinion on foreign policy should find the approval of the progressive and freedom-loving peoples, the revolutionary progressive forces, the true Marxist-Leninists. We make no secret of this. This is also in the interests of all peoples, and of those states in the world which respect the freedom and independence of our country, irrespective of differences in the economic and social order.

Our socialist state does not interfere in the internal affairs of any country with which it has various political, economic and cultural relations. But this does not mean that, for the sake of these relations, or of good neigh-

bourliness with the bordering states, or of the policy of non-interference in internal affairs, the Albanian state should not air its views on international policy in general, as well as on the ideological and political stands of these states, just as they, too, have the right to express their opinions on the ideological and political stands of the Albanian state.

We think that these attitudes should be no hindrance to economic, cultural and political relations in the fields in which it is considered that we have common interests, because these relations serve to develop friendship among the peoples. For our part, we shall conduct these relations only from the viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism. It is the right of the others to judge them from the viewpoint of their own ideologies, and they are welcome to do so.

The People's Republic of Albania holds that this is the way that relations should be developed with its neighbouring states as well as with the other countries with which we maintain various relations. But the leaders of some states think, and this stems from their political and ideological views, that to have good neighbourly relations, in the aforesaid forms, means that each side should shut its mouth about the ideological line followed by the other. They think that to trade with a given country means to cease polemics, to refrain from expressing one's opinions on the policy pursued and ideology upheld by that country. The polemics we conduct is always based on facts and well-considered. It singles out for criticism those stands and actions that assume an international character, that exercise a negative influence in the world, or that damage the interests of our state.

It is common knowledge that contradictions of a political and ideological character, sometimes very profound ones, develop between various countries and continually come to light. But irrespective of this, relations of good neighbourliness as well as economic, commercial, and cultural relations are maintained between our country and a series of states. Our differing political or ideological views do not constitute an obstacle in this direction.

The imperialists and the social-imperialists claim that the smaller states should not be allowed to raise their voice as loudly as the bigger states over different problems. True, Albania is a small state, but it cannot accept such a view. It rejects this discriminatory claim of great-power chauvinism. Our country does not agree that international politics should be a monopoly of the big states alone. They base this monopoly on their economic strength and the powerful propaganda means they have at their disposal, through which they strive to create the opinion and the mental attitude that the world can never find stability except under their tutelage. In other words, this means that he who wants to live, in slavery, of course, should never speak his mind, but should be soft-spoken and wear a sweet smile in face of the crimes, blackmail, fraud and double dealing of the great or medium imperialist, capitalist or revisionist powers. They accompany these above-stated claims with the fear of war and with direct and indirect threats addressed to this or that state, with the threat and act of the cancellation of some promised

credit, etc. These states, whether big or medium, that submit to political blackmail or are afraid of war, are constantly in a fever and lose much, if not all, of their confidence in their own strength.

The bourgeois and revisionist politicians resort to all sorts of trickery, deceit, feints, flattery and hypocritical attitudes according to the circumstances created in the international situation. They are all trying to create, and to a certain extent have succeeded in creating, the opinion that this is the proper way to act, for this is how «politics» is conducted. According to them, to engage in «politics» means to change flags at any time and on any occasion, to have good relations with one or the other, not to do him some good but to outwit him, to conceal one's real intentions by covering them with smiles. Politicians of this sort aim, on the other hand, to create the false and very harmful opinion that those who openly defend the rights of the peoples, who do not conceal the opinions they have on states and their leaderships, are not skilful politicians, but inflexible and sectarian people.

We Albanians are a people who fear no one, who do not fear the attacks of enemies, let alone slanders, for we are convinced of the correctness of our line and determined to defend it. In case of war, if we are attacked, we have the rifle ready, likewise we have a ready tongue to reply to enemy slanders.

The bourgeois and revisionist world think that we are an isolated country. This is the capitalist-revisionist view of things. The imperialists and revisionists consider that country which has closed its doors to the invasion through their decadent culture and degeneration through enslaving credits, tourists and spies, as isolated. From this point of view we really are, and intend to remain, an isolated country. But this is all to the good of our people. Our country is progressing and flourishing, and our people are living very well. If we were to act otherwise we would become slaves. We have known fascist slavery and the revisionist pressure and attacks, therefore it is not easy for them to deceive us with their slogans and ways of life. We do not and never will allow fascists, spies and agents, people who want to smuggle in bourgeois and revisionist degeneration, to enter Albania. But we are happy to welcome honest and correct people who wish Albania and her people well, friends of our country, even though their beliefs may be different from ours. We respect their friendly feelings and attitude towards the Albanian people. All these, and they are the representatives of the majority of mankind, are welcome here. With these we are friends, with the peoples fighting for their freedom and rights we are friends, with the proletarian and Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries we are friends. With the capitalists and revisionists, who want to enslave and oppress the peoples and suppress their progressive ideas, we have been and shall be enemies.

The capitalists and the revisionists measure isolation with trade. We have traded and continue to trade with all countries, with the exception of the United States of America, the Soviet Union, Spain, Israel, and some other states ruled by fascists and racists. But trade is of mutual advantage. The capitalists need our goods, just as we need

some of theirs. If anybody thinks that Albania will die if some state, for evil aims, refuses to sell us these goods, he is grossly mistaken. The revisionist Soviet Union established a savage blockade against us, but Albania is living and can live a thousand years without trading with the Soviet revisionists and in spite of their blockade.

Cultural exchanges with different countries are a very good thing. We have practiced cultural exchanges and will go on practicing them in the future, too, but in agreement and equality with one another. Those who want to have cultural relations with us, must respect our traditions, customs, feelings, and tastes. Decadent culture is not accepted in Albania. Others, for their part, have the right to accept such of our performances, films, books as are acceptable to their country. This, also, is a question of reciprocity. Our country carries on this practice with many states. Besides socialist China, which is our ally, the People's Republic of Albania maintains cultural relations with such fraternal countries as Vietnam and Korea, but also with France, the Scandinavian countries, Egypt, and many other countries.

We want to develop these relations further, and with each passing year possibilities are created to expand them. Of course, we have our own art, music, literature, traditions and culture, which we love, and would like others to be acquainted with them as well. But we also respect progressive world culture, from which we take what is useful to us and spread what serves us in our country.

Our Party has always given importance and devoted the proper attention to the question of the promotion and expansion of international relations in all fields, between the People's Republic of Albania and the states in favour of respecting the well-known principles of equality, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual benefit. During the years since the 6th Congress of the Party the activity of the Peoples's Republic of Albania in the international arena has been constantly increased and strengthened. Today our country maintains diplomatic relations with 74 states. The People's Republic of Albania takes an active part and has its say in the UNO and many international organizations, meetings and conferences, on the problems preoccupying mankind today.

Faithfully and consistently abiding by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in its foreign policy, the Party of Labour and the People's Republic of Albania have aimed, first and foremost, at developing and strengthening the relations of fraternal friendship and militant unity, of cooperation and mutual aid, with the People's Republic of China. The close friendship and cooperation between our two peoples, two parties and two countries have been forged and tempered in the great class struggle against imperialism and revisionism, against the hegemonistic policy of the two superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, and against all the reactionary forces in the world, in the common struggle for the construction of socialism and the triumph of the cause of the revolution and Marxism-Leninism. The Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people are loyal friends and allies of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people. Our

two peoples and countries are comrades-in-arms of the same ideal, and are inspired by the same aims and internationalist tasks. No slander or concoction of the bourgeois-revisionist propaganda can cast any shadow over the Marxist-Leninist character and the vitality of the Albanian-Chinese friendship. Our Party and people will constantly strive to keep the fraternal friendship and collaboration with the great Chinese people, their glorious Communist Party, great People's China, pure and strong.

The Albanian communists and the Albanian people are immensely rejoiced at the successes achieved by the fraternal Chinese people under the leadership of the Communist Party of China in the socialist revolution and socialist construction in China, in the class struggle for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the strengthening and progress of their homeland. The victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the smashing of the counter-revolutionary plots of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao, and Teng Hsiao-ping, have created a revolutionary situation and have consolidated the positions of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat in China.

The historic victories which the Chinese people have attained in their glorious revolution and the construction of socialism, the creation of the new People's China and the high prestige it enjoys in the world, are directly linked with the name, teachings, and guidance of the great revolutionary, comrade Mao Tse-tung. The work of this outstanding Marxist-Leninist represents a contribution to the enrichment of the revolutionary theory and practice of the proletariat. The Albanian communists and people will always honour the memory of comrade Mao Tse-tung, who was a great friend of our Party and people.

Our Party and people hail these victories of the Chinese Party and people and wish them new successes. Our Party and country energetically support the right of the fraternal Chinese people and of the People's Republic of China to liberate that inalienable part of their territory, Taiwan.

Our Party and people have hailed the great victory achieved by the Vietnamese people in their armed struggle against US imperialism and its flunkies. The liberation of South Vietnam and the unification of the whole country into a single state marked the realization of the lofty national aspirations of the Vietnamese people, for which they have made innumerable sacrifices. We will preserve and further strengthen the militant friendship between our two fraternal countries.

Our Republic maintains relations of friendship and fraternal collaboration with the People's Democratic Republic of Korea. Our Party and people support the just cause of the Korean people for the liberation of South Korea and the reunification of the country, and their struggle against the aggressive policy of US imperialism.

A close fraternal friendship and a powerful militant solidarity, tempered in the struggle against imperialism and its collaborators, exist between us and the Cambodian people. We will strive to further promote the relations between the People's Republic of Albania and Democratic Cambodia on the basis of this friendship.

The Albanian people have hailed with joy the crowning with victory of the prolonged struggle of the Laotian people against the US imperialist aggressors and the local reactionaries, and the creation of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos. We stand for the development of friendly relations between the two countries, in the interest of our two peoples and of the struggle against imperialism and reaction.

The People's Republic of Albania has always stood for the development of normal relations with the neighbouring states on the basis of the wellknown principles of equality, respect for state sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and mutual benefit. The development of relations based on the policy of good neighbourliness responds to the interests and aspirations of the neighbouring and Balkan peoples to live in terms of friendship and understanding with one another.

Our country maintains normal trade and cultural relations with Yugoslavia which are beneficial both to us and the Yugoslavs.

Our policy towards Yugoslavia has not changed and will not change, provided that the Yugoslav government, too, is correct towards us. The declaration of the Party of Labour of Albania, that in case of any eventual aggression against Yugoslavia by the Soviet Union or some other power the Albanian people will stand by the Yugoslav peoples, will always hold good. But the Yugoslav side must respond to this stand of Albania with just and correct action towards us.

The Yugoslav state, of course, has the right to pursue whatever policy it finds most reasonable, but the Albanian state, also, has the right to criticize those acts which are detrimental to the good neighbourliness between our two countries. The Yugoslav government makes concession to, provides facilities for, and admits to its ports the warships of the aggressive naval fleet of the Soviet social-imperialists. That is its own affair, but it also concerns Albania, the other Balkan countries, and the countries of the Mediterranean basin.

As a true Marxist-Leninist party, our Party has always maintained a correct stand with regard to our Albanian brothers who live on their land, in Kosova, Macedonia, and Montenegro. The endeavours made by some Yugoslav authorities to stir up enmity between the Albanians in Yugoslavia and the People's Republic of Albania are in vain, but they do great harm. We Albanians are still the same now as we were before, we maintain and will always maintain a Marxist-Leninist stand towards the peoples of Yugoslavia, as well as towards the problem of the Albanian population in Yugoslavia. Our fraternal ties of blood and language with the Albanians in Kosova, Macedonia, and Montenegro, the ties of tradition and national customs give us the right, without interfering in the internal affairs, of the Yugoslav state and respecting international norms, to concern ourselves to see that they enjoy all the rights, freedoms, and advantages that the other peoples of the Yugoslav Federation have. And this is not a question of some agricultural cooperative in Albania, which has a Macedonian population who enjoy all

the rights provided by the Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania, or about some non-existent minority from Montenegro in Albania, as the Yugoslav propaganda claims. When we speak of our brothers living in Yugoslavia, we are speaking about more than one million five hundred thousand Albanians.

It has always been our opinion and desire that the ugly stands and acts of the time of Rankovich should never be repeated, that the Albanian population in Yugoslavia should not be persecuted, or left in poverty, that the Kosova region should not be discriminated against in the political, economic, and cultural fields, and that it should be given equal treatment with the other nationalities. It would be considered as unfriendly policy towards the People's Republic of Albania if attempts, of whatever nature, by the Soviet revisionists to harm our country from Kosova were permitted.

We consider the peoples of Yugoslavia as fraternal peoples, and are convinced that, neither now nor in the future, will they allow the territory of their homeland to be treated like Czechoslovakia. They will accept nobody's yoke, they will not allow the Soviet tanks of the Warsaw Treaty, nor those of US imperialism, to «roll» freely over Yugoslav soil. Despite the irreconcilable contradictions of principle between us and the Yugoslav state and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in ideology and politics, over which we have not shut our mouth and will not do so in the future, either, we respect and trust the peoples of Yugoslavia, because history has shown that they are valiant peoples.

In regard to our relations with Greece, for our part, they are based on the policy of good neighbourliness, of non-interference in each other's internal affairs, of mutual benefit and respect for territorial integrity, sovereignty and national independence. We have sought and wish to live in terms of friendship with the fraternal Greek people, and have made and continue to make every effort to ensure that the ties linking our two countries become constantly stronger. The present Greek government has sought and continues to maintain a friendly stand towards our country. This is in the interests of our two countries and to the detriment of our common enemies.

We realize that the present Greek government is a government of a coalition of parties, and that it has many opponents in the ranks of the opposition parties. Each of these parties has its own stand. Naturally, this is an internal question of the Greeks. Nonetheless, we think and desire that all these parties should consider the friendship, cooperation and good neighbourly relations between Greece and Albania as beneficial both to Greece itself and to Albania.

At any time and under any circumstance, the struggle of the Albanian people in defence of their independence, freedom and sovereignty is at the same time beneficial to the defence of the freedom and independence of Greece and its people. This we say to the fraternal Greek people with an open heart, for we are the descendants of those who aided them and stood loyal to the end to the revolution of the year 1821, when others abandoned and betrayed it. The friendship between our two peoples has

been tempered in our common fight against Italian fascism and the German nazis.

We Albanians do not want our policy with the Greek state to be a temporary policy dependent on circumstances, but a realistic, friendly, and durable policy between our two peoples. As for the monarcho-fascists and the crazy self-styled «Northern Epirots» who, from time to time, seek to create a tense atmosphere in the relations between our two countries with their absurd claims, we wish to say that their cries have brought only loud laughter from the Greek minority living happily in Albania. We tell them: Carry on, if you wish, with your old trade of styling yourselves as «Northern Epirots», because neither we nor the Greek minority in Albania have anything to fear from you, since the Albanians and the Greek minority are closely linked to each other like brothers.

We are convinced that there are reasonable politicians in Greece who view problems realistically and are clear that no evil will ever come to them from socialist Albania, and that the friendship of the Albanians is valuable to them, just as the friendship of the Greek people is valuable to us.

As for the overseas neighbour, Italy, we maintain normal diplomatic relations with it, and are trying to develop trade and cultural relations. But it is understandable that this does not depend on our side alone. We want and try to be friends with the Italian people. This desire emanates from the pure feelings of the Albanian people and the correct policy of our socialist state. We hope that every Italian, and every Italian politician who takes a realistic view of things, may also think that friendship with Albania is very important for Italy, as well.

To sum up, as regards these three neighbouring countries, it is our desire to live as good neighbours, in open cooperation, without interfering in each other's internal affairs and without anybody trying, in one way or the other, to impose his own views.

Good relations exist between the Turkish Republic and Albania. Trade and cultural exchanges are developing normally. There is no obstacle to our peoples always being friends and living as good neighbours with each other.

We continue to cherish sincere friendship for the fraternal Bulgarian people. But we are obliged to point out that we do not trust the leadership of the Bulgarian party and state in the slightest degree, since it has demonstrated its hostility towards our country and has become a tool in the hands of the Soviet social-imperialists. Bulgaria has been turned into a country which concocts intrigues and has become a Soviet bridgehead. Proceeding from these position, it is trying to blackmail the neighbouring countries, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Greece and Albania. With the social-imperialists behind it, Bulgaria is ready at an opportune moment to seize the Dardanelles, and thus the San-Stefano Treaty would be reenacted. For these reasons, it is our desire that relations between Turkey and Greece proceed towards the best and most appropriate solution for the two Balkan peoples and states, via open and frank negotiations between the two parties. That would be a great victory for us other Balkan countries, as well.

With Rumania, too, as a Balkan country, we want to have good relations and develop them normally. We hail

the efforts of the fraternal Rumanian people for the progress and prosperity of their country.

A great deal has been and is being said about all-round cooperation of the peoples of the Balkans, about a Balkan conference, and so on. Our Party and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania long ago stated their opinion about Balkan cooperation, and have explained why they did not take part in the Athens meeting. In our view, in the situation in the Balkans today, the indispensable conditions necessary for a multilateral meeting and agreement do not exist. We believe that, at present, the development of bilateral relations is the best way to create a spirit of trust and understanding in the Balkans and the conditions to achieve genuine and sincere cooperation on a broader basis in the future.

Our relations with the Arab Republic of Egypt, the Democratic and People's Republic of Algeria, and the other Arab countries are developing normally in a positive direction, on the basis of the traditional friendship which exists between the Albanian people and the Arab peoples, to the benefit of the struggle against the aggressive hegemonic policy of the two imperialist superpowers and reaction.

For the Arab peoples we nurture sincere feelings of affection and friendship which we shall continue to develop further. They are progressive and peace-loving peoples, who have made a valuable contribution to many aspects of world culture. We believe that the Arab peoples will achieve their complete liberation from the yoke of foreign capital and the blood-thirsty imperialists, and victory in their just struggle against the Israeli aggressors.

We will powerfully and firmly support the just cause of the Arab peoples to oppose imperialist-zionist aggression, to liberate the occupied Arab territories, and to cope with the conspiracies of US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. Our people and our country support the just struggle of the Palestinian people to gain their national rights, to return to their homes, of which they have been robbed by Israel, the instrument of US imperialism. We maintain ties with, and support, the Palestine Liberation Organization. We would like to see a strong militant unity, which is the reliable basis of their triumph over the zionist and imperialist enemies, established among the Arab peoples.

The People's Republic of Albania maintains friendly relations with France, and they are developing in the interests of the two countries. We respect the French people for their revolutionary past and their progressive culture. Distinguished men of French science, art and culture, are sincere friends of Albania. We maintain normal relations with the French state, though they do not approve of our regime, nor we of theirs. But we observe that the French government does not interfere in our affairs.

The same hold good for the governments of Belgium, Austria and Switzerland, with which the bilateral relations are correct. We observe with satisfaction that our country's relations with Sweden, Norway, Finland, and Denmark are extending, and we appreciate the realistic and friendly attitude of these countries towards Albania.

The People's Republic of Albania has established diplomatic relations with a large number of countries of

Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and will work to promote exchanges in various fields with Mexico, Peru, Tanzania, Pakistan, etc., step by step and within the possibilities. Albania is ready to establish relations with other states, too, which desire such a thing, on the basis of the recognized principles governing relations between sovereign countries.

With the Federal German Republic, we have unresolved problems dating back to the Second World War. There the German revanchists are alive and engaged in full-scale activity. Their policy is expansionist and with hegemonic tendencies. The Bonn government, which poses as a democratic government, defends the crimes of German fascism and does not make even the slightest attempt to pay the reparations for the damage which the German nazi barbarity inflicted on Albania and its people. The Bonn government should not think that this problem will remain just a propaganda issue. It will be pursued by our side, with evidence and facts, in all the international bodies.

Ever since the revisionist cliques in power in the countries of East Europe embarked on the road of hostility towards socialist Albania, blindly carrying out the commands of the revisionist Soviet leadership, they have reduced relations with our country to a very low and restricted level. As long as they follow this road, there can be no change in our relations with these countries.

The stand of Albania towards the revisionist Soviet Union, the enemy of Albania, socialism, the freedom and independence of all the peoples remains unaltered. Our country has not maintained and will not maintain any relations whatsoever with the Moscow social-imperialists. The Soviet Union is in pursuit of openly expansionist aims, especially in the Balkans and the Mediterranean. It has hegemonistic designs not only on Rumania, but also on Turkey, Yugoslavia, Greece and Albania. It is seeking to achieve these ambitions through aggression or subversion. Under these conditions, we, the Balkan countries, have a duty to sharpen our political and military vigilance and be prepared to cope with a possible attack. It is common knowledge that the enemies strike wherever they find weakness and division.

Our stand towards the United States of America is already known. Albania and the Albanian people are not consumed with grief over the lack of relations with America, which has pursued and is pursuing a savagely hostile policy towards our country. In the future, as in the past, we shall always resolutely denounce and oppose the aggressive and hegemonistic policy of US imperialism, which is aimed against socialism and the freedom and independence of the peoples.

As regards Britain, this country is very closely linked with the policy of the United States, and in its stand towards Albania takes the same position. Consequently, our stand cannot be different, either. Britain must return the gold it plundered from the Albanian people and make good the damage it has caused Albania. We will never renounce this right.

The Party of Labour of Albania is convinced that the stands of socialist Albania have always been and continue to be correct, and to a certain degree, express

the aspirations not only of proletarian revolutionaries but also of progressive people who view many things as we do, but who for many reasons, do not express them openly.

In its analysis of situation, in the conclusions it has drawn, in the assessments it has made and the stands it has adopted, our Party has always acted and continues to act in close unity with the people. That is why the entire Party firmly defends this policy, why the entire people support and implement it. On the other hand, it is this unity,

this correct Marxist-Leninist understanding of international events, the principled and resolute stands towards the lofty interests of our socialist homeland, towards the great cause of the revolution, socialism and the liberation of the peoples, which constitute that sound guarantee that our country will always have unshakable international positions and will always advance on a reliable course, proud and undaunted.

VI

THE MARXIST-LENINIST MOVEMENT AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST MODERN REVISIONISM

Just as in the past, during the interval between the two Congresses, too, the Party has waged a consistent and principled ideological struggle against modern revisionism, has unceasingly exposed the evil, anti-Marxist, chauvinist and counter-revolutionary activity of the Soviet revisionists. With wisdom and courage, socialist Albanian and its Party of Labour have faced up to all the hostile ideological attacks, political pressures and military threats, and with an iron fist have smashed the many counter-revolutionary activities which the various revisionists have undertaken against our country. This struggle of major ideological importance has armed the members of our Party and made them ever more aware of the great danger posed by Soviet modern revisionism and its adherents.

Life has proved that the course of open and uncompromising struggle which our Party chose for the exposure of the Soviet revisionists, its resolute defence of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, was the only reliable course to save the situation and to triumph. This encourages us and makes us all the more determined and unyielding to the end in the struggle against revisionism and any other sort of opportunism.

The Party of Labour of Albania has made an extensive and profound analysis of the revisionist betrayal, and it has done this on the basis of the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the experience of the revolutionary struggle of the world proletariat, and its own experience.

Modern revisionism, which seized power in the Soviet Union and the European countries of people's democracy, with the exception of Albania, and established itself, also, in a large number of communist and workers' parties of the world, emerged as a strong international reactionary current. It represents a motley of anti-scientific currents and pseudo-theories which are counterposed to Marxism-Leninism with the aim of combating it and hindering it from becoming what it is, a powerful weapon and unerring guide to action in the hands of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, to destroy capitalism to its

foundations and to build the new socialist society and later, communism, in its stead.

The seizure of power by the Khrushchevite revisionists in the Soviet Union and other countries was a heavy blow to the international proletariat and the revolution. The betrayal by the revisionist cliques in the communist and workers' parties that renounced Marxism-Leninism and the revolution, and followed the revisionist Soviet Union, made the situation in the communist movement even more serious. In power or not, the revisionists took Draconian measures against the true communists and revolutionaries, conducted a slanderous campaign of propaganda and denigration against the Bolshevik Party of Lenin, against the work and figure of Stalin, and the socialist victories achieved in the Soviet Union. They undertook the struggle to extinguish the revolution.

First, the Khrushchevites strove to deceive the peoples of the Soviet Union, to eliminate their own internal and external opponents, to mislead world opinion, and to show the capitalist world that the time of Stalin had come to an end. The revisionists went even further in their slanders and adopted as their own the language of that propaganda with which, for years and years on end, international capitalism had been attacking scientific socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. These renegades and traitors did this also to win the trust of the world bourgeoisie, especially the US imperialists.

That was the big down payment the Khrushchevites made to world capital to ensure it that the era of revolutions had «come to an end», that «détente» had begun, that the theory of class struggle was being eliminated, both in the Soviet Union and beyond it, that co-existence and the «peaceful» competition in every field had started. The revisionist theoreticians, everywhere they happened to be, started to justify the abandonment of the great and essential thesis of Marxism-Leninism about the seizure of power through violence, by means of the revolution, and to spread the illusion about transition to socialism in a peaceful way.

The Khrushchevites waged a struggle over the whole front in all these directions. The strategy of Khrush-

chevite revisionism, based on the reactionary, imperialist, bourgeois ideology, was aimed at transforming the Soviet Union into a social-imperialist superpower, for the purpose of dominating the world and the nations together with the Americans.

The Party of Labour of Albania has courageously and consistently exposed the fiendish tactics which the Khrushchevites used in order to throw mud at Bolshevism and Stalin, at the revolution and communism. It has shown that the Soviet revisionists have destroyed all their connections with communism once and for all, and transformed the Soviet Union from a centre of the world revolution, as it was in the time of Lenin and Stalin, into a centre of the counter-revolution. Our Party warned that the Khrushchevite revisionists and their followers in the various parties and countries would turn into zealous collaborators of the bourgeoisie and strive, first of all, to destroy the socialist system, and not only would they work to do this in the countries where they were in power, but they would make, as they actually did, every effort to fight socialism in Albania and China, too. It also predicted that these savage enemies of communism would strive to weaken and eliminate the confidence of the world proletariat and progressive people in the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, in the future socialist and communist society.

Life has now fully vindicated these predictions and conclusions of the Party of Labour of Albania.

The Khrushchevite betrayal has transformed the Soviet Union into an aggressive, neo-colonialist, war-mongering imperialist power. The Soviet society has become bourgeois down to its tiniest cells and capitalism has been restored in all fields. The revisionist bourgeois dictatorship represented by the stratum of the new Soviet bureaucrats, technocrats and capitalists makes the law in everything. The former socialist base and superstructure have been destroyed to their foundations. Great Russian chauvinism has been set up as the dominant ideology, national oppression has become part and parcel of the bourgeois class policy pursued by the ruling clique.

The former socialist countries of Eastern Europe which tagged along behind Khrushchev's bandwagon ended up as mere vassals of the Kremlin. Modern revisionism has demonstrated in practice that it is not only an anti-working class and counter-revolutionary ideology, but also an ideology of national oppression and justification of imperialist slavery. The revisionist parties of the East European countries have become parties of national betrayal. Their leaders, who are removed and installed by Moscow according to its desires and plans, have humbly accepted unrestricted Soviet domination as well as the chauvinist doctrines on «supra-national socialist culture», the «man of general socialist nationality», and so on, by means of which the social-imperialists want to erase the national identity of ancient and famous countries of Europe that have contributed so much to its culture and history.

Life has confirmed, also, that there is no longer anything communist about the pseudo-communist parties of Western Europe, Latin America and Asia, which embraced revisionism. They are no longer guided by the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism, but by anti-Marxist theories,

distorted in content and form, though some of them, to disguise themselves, try to keep up a more or less Marxist phraseology. Their entire program, if it can be called a program, has been reduced to a few simple reformist demands which, far from threatening the bourgeois order, are intended to save it from profound upheavals and make it more workable in the new situations.

When Khrushchevite revisionism came out in the arena of the struggle against Marxism-Leninism, the bourgeoisie and all international reaction predicted the finish of socialism, the end of the international communist movement. But socialism and the revolution not only withstood the concerted bourgeois-revisionist onslaught, weathering the greatest and most severe counter-revolutionary storm that has ever crashed against them, but also succeeded in scoring victories of historic importance for the revolutionary and progressive development of mankind.

The dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of socialism which were betrayed by the the revisionists, have been carried forward by Albania and China, which remained loyal to Marxism-Leninism, defended it with determination, and declared stern ideological war on Khrushchevite revisionism and its followers. Communism did not die out, as the bourgeoisie hoped, and the opportunists and the liquidationists rejoiced too soon. The proletariat rallied its forces, and as occurred in the time of Lenin, with the great split away from the Second International, brought forth the new Marxist-Leninist parties from its ranks. These parties shouldered the great historic mission of upholding and carrying forward the glorious cause of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat for social and national liberation, which the revisionists had betrayed and discarded.

The revisionist onslaught spread a thick fog over the fundamental questions of the strategy and tactics of the revolution and created no slight confusion that affected broad detachments of the workers' movement and the anti-imperialist forces. But Marxism-Leninism fought off this furious and fiendish onslaught and emerged victorious. While Khrushchev and the other petty theoreticians of their so-called «creative Marxism» suffered bankruptcy and disgrace, the science of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin remains deeply implanted in the minds and hearts of the entire world proletariat, and is at all times the unerring compass of the revolution and socialism, the victorious weapon in the class battles of the proletariat and the working masses.

At present, the entire revisionist camp is in disarray. The various detachments of modern revisionism have split into hostile rival groups, each struggling to defend and advocate «its own specific road to socialism», «its own national Marxism». All that each revisionist party thinks about, and works for, is how it can capture most positions of superiority and domination in the ranks of world revisionism and how it can make itself beautiful and attractive in the eyes of bourgeois opinion.

The Party of Labour of Albania long ago said that modern revisionism, like the earlier revisionism of Bernstein or Kautsky, can never build that cohesion, that steel-like unity which only Marxism-Leninism, the scientific

ideology of the working class, is in a position to do. Revisionism is synonymous with splits, lack of unity, chauvinism and anarchy. Our Party was convinced that, with their slogans that they were «independent», «sovereign», and «capable» of applying the Marxist-Leninist theory in the conditions of their own countries, the revisionist parties would not only break away from the Soviet Union and the so-called «socialist family», but would become involved, as they have done, in irreconcilable conflicts with one another.

The Soviet revisionists have made many efforts to gather up all the revisionists and keep them united around themselves. They needed this united front of revisionism not only to cope with the great ideological and political struggle and polemics of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Communist Party of China and the other Marxist-Leninist parties, but also to stave off the competitive power of US imperialism.

To achieve and defend this «unity», especially to keep the parties of the countries where the revisionists hold sway under their thumb, the Khrushchevites have relied on their military and economic strength as well as on secret subsidies sent by Moscow to the revisionist parties of the capitalist countries. Nonetheless, they have not succeeded. Life has shown that in essence, the revisionist parties did not and do not agree with the Soviet revisionist party. The latter is now endeavouring to save face but its attempts are lame and the crutches with which the revisionist unity is propped up, are breaking one after the other.

Many and unceasing attempts have been made by the Soviet revisionists, with Brezhnev at the head, to call the «communist» parties of the world to meetings, in which they are supposed to affirm their «Marxist-Leninist» ideological «unity», but these efforts were like trying to round up a flock of hares. Discussions went on for more than two years about a meeting of the European revisionists, and the procrastination, caprices, and unexpected difficulties, resulting from the existing contradictions, were almost never ending. But even when it was held, this meeting, like some previous one, showed only that the revisionists had sunk still deeper into the morass of opportunism and counter-revolution.

The anti-Marxist Berlin Conference will remain in history as a conference that publicly proclaimed the transition of modern revisionism to the social-chauvinist positions which social-democracy has defended up till now, that officially and publicly abandoned the idea of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The «specific national roads to socialism», which each of them advertised on its own behalf at the meeting, in fact, showed the roads the revisionist parties follow to betray socialism, the plans and methods they employ to undermine the revolution and to split the proletariat, and to sabotage the liberation struggle of the peoples. Under the bogus slogan of independence from a single leading centre, they rose against the scientific ideology of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism, and proletarian internationalism, which are one and indivisible. Their substitution of «international solidarity» for proletarian internationalism is a reflection

of their replacement of the proletarian ideology with bourgeois ideology. To the revisionists, solidarity means solidarity with the bourgeoisie and struggle against the proletariat, solidarity with the imperialists and struggle against the peoples. On the lips of the revisionists, «solidarity», is a formula of justification that allows them to join forces with the devil and his son, with the social-democrats and the Vatican, with the multinational companies and the fascists, with NATO and US imperialism, with anyone who is against the revolution, the proletariat and socialism, anyone who defends the system of capitalist exploitation.

The Berlin Declaration, in which the participants each put down their own political and ideological views as though it were the visitors' book of an exhibition, represents a really rare document of self-exposure of the revisionists as incorrigible opportunists and anti-communists.

In point of fact, the revisionist camp has now split into several opportunist trends, in which each has assumed a well-defined political and ideological physiognomy and is scrambling for pride of place in revising Marxism-Leninism and disrupting the revolution, by openly proclaiming their «specific», «socialist theories». On the one hand, this indicates the extent of the degeneration of revisionism, its utter disintegration, and on the other hand, it reflects the efforts of revisionism to serve the bourgeoisie better and to refine its methods in the fight against Marxism-Leninism and the revolution.

The situation in the revisionist camp is also a consequence of the persevering and incessant struggle the Marxist-Leninists have waged against them. This is a victory for the Marxist-Leninist parties and their revolutionary line, which we must always carry forward, increasing our vigilance still further and even more resolutely carrying on the ideological struggle against modern revisionists of all hues, as well as against all reactionary ideologies. The enemies of communism have now stepped up their diversion against Marxism-Leninism. Split or united, dependent on or independent of Moscow or anybody else, in their role as anti-communists, they fight in unison against the revolution and our parties, against Marxism-Leninism.

The imperialist bourgeoisie and its ideologists have always worked against communism and continue to do so. Their aim is to disorientate the proletariat and its revolutionary parties, which are their sworn enemies. By spreading the idea that Marxism has allegedly become obsolete, that it has been left behind, that its basic theses and principles must be «reinterpreted» in the new conditions of the 20th century, their intention is to attack Marxism and to sow confusion about its fundamental principles. The bourgeoisie and its «theoreticians», including the revisionists, try to deny the need for revolution and, especially, for the violent overthrow of the bourgeois society, to reject the dictatorship of the proletariat and the class struggle, and to write off proletarian internationalism.

Thus the aim of all their work to undermine the Marxist-Leninist ideology is to distort its basic principles so that they will be inoperable. The bourgeoisie is trying

to keep every demand of the proletariat within the framework of bourgeois laws, to entangle it in the spider-web of pseudo-freedom of speech, «democracy», and street demonstrations. It tries to have these demands «settled» by the bosses of the parties and the trade unions in the warm rooms with comfortable armchairs of the capitalist employers or their technocratic employees.

To confuse the people, to benumb the revolutionary thought and action of the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist parties, innumerable anti-Marxist trends are in action, the most varied revisionist and «Leftist» «theories» are emerging and being spread. They are the fifth column in the ranks of the world revolution, the aim of which is to prolong the life of international capitalism by fighting the revolution from within to prevent it from breaking out and, in case it does, to have the firemen to put it out and the scabs to break the will of the working class.

One of these pseudo-theories is that of the technical-scientific revolution. According to its authors, this revolution makes Marx's proletarian revolution unnecessary, because, as a result of the technical-scientific revolution, capitalism and the capitalists have been weakened, the capitalists no longer play any role, and technique and the technocrats have the decisive say. This is a big bluff. Not only have capitalism and the capitalists not been wiped out or weakened, but they are oppressing and exploiting the proletariat and the working people as before, they still have the means of production in their hands and are the real rulers, whereas the technicians and the technocrats are nothing but their obedient employees and servants.

Other «theoreticians» try to «provide arguments», to justify replacing the revolution by the «solution of day to day problems» and changing the «way of life» according to the possibilities created by the consumer society. Here the efforts to weaken the class struggle, to prevent attacks on the system, attacks on bourgeois society, are very obvious. But to redress social injustices, the proletariat needs political power, its dictatorship. And this can be attained only through violent revolution, and not by changing the way of life on the model of the consumer society.

The bourgeoisie and its press have given and give a major space to all the propagandists of anti-communism, ranging from Marcuse to Garaudy, from Gilas to Fisher. The theories of Proudhonist anarchism against the revolution and communism are flourishing all around, and Trotskyism has become the fashion.

To hinder the proletariat on its revolutionary road, modern revisionism is assisting imperialist reaction in this field with all its means and in every way, open or disguised, with all sorts of pseudo-scientific philosophic theories and slogans.

The first to come out in support of world capitalism and to apply itself with unrestrained zeal to the fight against the revolution and Marxism-Leninism was Yugoslav revisionism, the so-called «self-administration socialism». Born as an opportunist ideological trend and as a political practice to undermine socialist society and the true communist parties from within, it remains a favourite weapon

in the hands of the international imperialist bourgeoisie in the struggle against socialism and the liberation movements. The danger of Yugoslav revisionism stems from the fact that it offers ready-made concepts and «tested ways» to all those who embark on the road of revisionist betrayal and capitalist degeneration. First the Khrushchevites, and then the Togliattists and others have been inspired by Yugoslav revisionism, and found support and encouragement to fight socialism and the Marxist-Leninist ideology in it.

Masquerading as a «socialism non-aligned» with Soviet «socialism», Yugoslav revisionism carries on sabotage and undermining activities among the progressive forces of the developing countries, striving to set their sincere socialist aspirations on a wrong course, and mislead the efforts many of them are making to eliminate the vestiges of colonialism and create free, democratic, and independent states. Everywhere and on the largest scale possible, it engages in demagoguery of the 'ouvrierist' type, and has become the greatest champion of anarchist and liberal-Trotskyite views. Titoite «self-administration» has proven to be an eclectic bourgeois doctrine which has led to permanent political and ideological confusion, to weak and disproportionate economic development, to great social differentiation, to squabbles among nationalities, and degeneration of spiritual life in Yugoslavia.

The «self-administration structure» which covers all the fields and all aspects of life, the elimination of democratic centralism and the role of the unified management of the state, the anarchist federalism and the anti-state ideology in general, have brought about a great fragmentation of the working class, a competitive opposition among its various sections, and what is worse, a marked bourgeois individualist spirit of looking after local and sectional interests. Not only does the working class not play a hegemonic and leading role in the Yugoslav state and society, but on the contrary, through the system of self-administration, it has been placed in such conditions as to be unable to defend its overall interests and act as a compact and united body.

As always, in the future, too, our Party will fight to expose the deceptive nature of the Yugoslav variety of revisionism and the danger it presents.

The ideological struggle against modern revisionism is broad and all-sided. The theories and views of the Soviet revisionists, their opportunist practices, must be dealt with and denounced, as up till now, but with even more determination. Being the ruling ideology of a big country which has large material and propaganda means at its disposal, Khrushchevite revisionism remains the leader of the modern revisionist front. The theories of Bernstein and Kautsky were codified at the 20th Congress, which became a source of inspiration and a base of support for all the revisionist trends. Soviet revisionism represents the most complete and highly elaborated «theory» and practice of revisionist counter-revolution, which has revised the Marxist-Leninist theory in all fields and on all questions.

Time has proven that the theses of the 20th Congress were neither «simple ideological distortions», nor erroneous assessments of situations. The «Khrushchevite theories» represented a consciously chosen course for the elimina-

tion of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the restoration of capitalism, ideological and political means specifically chosen for the transformation of the Soviet Union into an imperialist state and the liquidation of obstacles to the implementation of the policy of great power chauvinism.

The 25th Congress of the revisionist Party of the Soviet Union, which was held at the beginning of this year, confirmed the intentions of the Soviet leadership to persist in this course. This means that in the future revisionism will continue to step up its savage ideological aggression against Marxism-Leninism and the true socialist countries, that it will continue to fight to undermine the revolution, to subjugate the liberation movements of the peoples and to sabotage them.

Despite the defeats it has suffered, Soviet revisionism still continues to exert influence, not only where it represents the ruling ideology of the state, but also in the majority of revisionist parties, as well as in some national-democratic parties of the developing countries, and elsewhere. It is still able to speculate on the past of the Soviet Union, on the name of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, and its use of communist phraseology as a mask has been improved further. It is clear that without a radical exposure of the ideological platform of Soviet revisionism, which also constitutes the theoretical basis for its imperialist policy, its expansion and hegemonism cannot be effectively opposed, the mobilization of the genuine anti-imperialist forces to the necessary extent and in the proper form, cannot be carried out, and the aggressive plans of the superpowers cannot be defeated.

The historic importance and necessity of exposing the ideological roots of Soviet revisionism also rests on the fact that this serves to expose all other opportunists, too, who pose as opponents of Soviet hegemonism, but who, with their policy and attitude, actually serve it.

Our Party holds that the continuation and extension of the ideological struggle against revisionism in general, and of Soviet revisionism in particular, the deepening of that great polemic which began after the 1960 Moscow Meeting, constitutes an important and imperative duty for all the Marxist-Leninists, for all true revolutionaries. Now, as at that time, the historic burden falls on them to defend Marxism-Leninism from revisionist attacks and distortions, to defend the revolutionary line of the true world communist movement from influences and pressures brought to bear upon it by the bourgeoisie and the various opportunist forces, to defend proletarian internationalism against the great-power chauvinism of the Soviet social-imperialists and bourgeois nationalism of the other opportunists. Lenin's saying that, without fighting opportunism, it is impossible to fight imperialism, remains just as valid and indispensable today. The defence of Marxism-Leninism is a question of principle. It cannot be made dependent on the circumstances which arise, on the basis of which the enemies of the proletariat combine and divide their interests.

The Khrushchevite idea, so loudly trumpeted, that the time of violent proletarian revolutions has allegedly gone, and that state power can be taken from the hands

of the bourgeoisie «in a peaceful way», «in the parliamentary way», was music to the ears of the revisionists in the various countries of the world. Exploiting this idea, they built up such strategies and tactics which they thought would help them to win the trust of their bourgeoisie, who would see that the communists had now become tame, that the dangerous old doctrine preached by Marx and Lenin was dead, that their revolution would be a «peaceful», «reformist», «humanitarian» revolution.

The Italian revisionists, headed by Togliatti, and with all his followers up to Berlinguer, this big landowner from Sardinia, had long been waiting to kindle the fire of the struggle against Marxism-Leninism. Since early on they had been sharpening their weapons for the anti-communist struggle, first by proclaiming their theories of «polycentrism» and «structural reforms» and later with their «historic compromise».

Our Party long ago exposed the opportunist character of the Togliattist theories and their counter-revolutionary aims. At the same time it explained that the Togliattists, encouraged and supported by the Soviet revisionists, would go further with their betrayal, that they would become the most zealous champions of European opportunism.

And the facts show that, from seeking collaboration with social-democracy, the Togliattist revisionists went on to turn into social-democrats themselves, from demanding the implementation of the bourgeois Constitution, they became the most zealous defenders of the bourgeois order, from peaceful travellers on the road to socialism they turned into armed soldiers of capitalism.

Like all the other revisionists, the Italian revisionist leadership boasted loudly that with its new theories it had found the key to the explanation of world events which neither Marx, Engels, Lenin nor Stalin had foreseen, that it had found the most creative solutions to the problems of the revolution. But phenomena and events overturned all the theories and sermons of the revisionists.

This is especially the case with the events in Chile, which brought to light just how silly the revisionist theories are and the great damage they cause the revolution. The revisionists advertised Allende's Chile as the most correct example of the struggle for socialism, which conformed completely to the new revisionist standards. To them, Chile proved that the transition to socialism could be made in a parliamentary and peaceful way. To them, Chile was the «living proof» of the implementation of the so-called «pluralist», «democratic», and «national» socialism, the concrete implementation of all theories trumpeted by the whole revisionist world chorus.

But what for the Chilean people is a great tragedy, although a temporary and passing one, for the modern revisionists constitutes an irreparable defeat, a collapse of castles built on sand, of all their opportunist theories.

The fascist coup in Chile was a very stark disproof of the revisionist theories on the peaceful and parliamentary way, just as in the case of Indonesia several years earlier. It showed that the iron laws of class struggle, of revolution and counter-revolution do not change to suit the morbid dreams and subjective desires of the revisionists.

Following the events in Chile, the Italian revisionists, as the zealous servants of the bourgeoisie they are, further elaborated their «theories» committing themselves even more deeply to their course of betrayal. They came out with the thesis that, under the «new conditions», a communist majority in parliament was no longer sufficient for the transition to socialism, that they had first to conclude a general alliance with the main bourgeois parties as well. Thus, the «historic compromise» with the Italian Christian-democrat Party, with the party of the Vatican and FIAT, NATO and the Common Market, came into being. Now the Togliattist revisionists, entangled in their reformist theories, are insistently begging the social-democrats and the Christian-democrats for a slice of the profits which speculative capital is drawing from the sweat of the Italian people.

It is regrettable that these renegades, who seek to become administrators of the affairs of the bourgeoisie, continue to mislead the Italian proletariat. But we express our belief that the working class of Italy will emerge from the stagnation into which the revisionists and their reformist anti-revolutionary trade unions have plunged it and will realize that in the present conditions of Italy, it must take up the red banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and forge ahead towards the revolution, or fascism is bound to come with all the grave consequences with which it is only too familiar.

In step with the Italian revisionists march the French revisionists, who also have become zealous mouthpieces of the bourgeoisie to attack and denigrate Marxism-Leninism.

The revisionist party of France has now turned into a party of the bourgeoisie. This came out very clearly at its 22nd Congress, when its secretary, Georges Marchais, presented his «strategy» for the transition to socialism. The French revisionists dropped all disguise. They launched an attack against Marxism over a broad front and on the most fundamental principles. They declared to the world that they have renounced the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, that their socialism would be achieved without class struggle or the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, without the need for the leading role of the party of the proletariat. The revisionist Marchais called it «socialism in French colours». From all the colours in which this «socialism» is decked out only the red of Marxism-Leninism is missing, the colour which infuriates and terrifies the bourgeoisie and the traitors.

According to Marchais, the transition to socialism will be achieved through the development of bourgeois democracy and freedoms. Under this socialism everybody will live in peace, the wolves and the lambs together. The thesis on the utilization of the bourgeois democracy and freedoms as the road to socialism, is a great deception for the masses, a veneer over capitalist society. It is known that in the epoch of imperialism a development of increasing freedoms and democracy for the masses can never take place within the framework of the bourgeois society. On the contrary, this is the period of the great development of the forces of reaction, the militarization of the economy

and the other aspects of life, the oppression of the proletariat and nations, which reaches its most savage and barbarous stage under fascism. Only the violent revolution and establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat can secure the conditions for freedom and democracy for the broad masses of the people to flourish.

In his report to the 22nd Congress of the French revisionist party, the petty-bourgeois Georges Marchais, borrowing from the reactionary theories of bourgeois ideologists, to the effect that class differences are smoothed out in the industrial society, said that now, «in France one can no longer speak of a proletariat, but of a working class». But the revisionist Georges Marchais cannot liquidate the proletariat with a stroke of the pen. It lives on and fights to dig the grave for capitalism and revisionism.

It is not without a purpose that the modern revisionists and the ideologists of the bourgeoisie change the name of the proletariat. Here we have to do not with a simple question of the name, but with the denial of the absolute necessity of overturning the social relations through revolution, through violence. The revisionists know that, if there is talk of the proletariat, which in capitalism has nothing but the strength of its arm, then it is automatically implied that it must fight its exploiters and oppressors; must break the shackles. It is precisely this struggle, which has the objective of destroying the old power of capital to its foundations, that the bourgeoisie fears. Therefore, its ideologists and its lackeys of the Georges Marchais type, strive hard to convince people that the proletariat today is allegedly no longer as Marx defined it, exploited by the capitalists, that it is no longer its labour force which creates surplus value and capital, that allegedly the means of production are no longer in the hands of the capitalists, but of the administrators, the technocrats.

In negating the existence of the proletariat as the main revolutionary force of the society, as the grave-digger of capitalism, the revisionists want to open the way to other anti-Marxist theses, too. Since there is no proletariat, there is no longer any need for a dictatorship of the proletariat, either. On this key problem of the theory of scientific socialism, in fact, everybody in the revisionist camp takes the same positions. However, for tactical reasons, for the sake of appearances, some of them defend the form of the «dictatorship of the proletariat», as do the Soviet revisionists and the parties of the countries taking part in the so-called socialist family, while others, like Marchais, Berlinguer, and Carillo, drop this mask. In fact this is a bluff on the part of the Moscow revisionists, because the dictatorship of the proletariat no longer exists either in the Soviet Union or in the countries of Eastern Europe. Only one dictatorship, the capitalist, fascist dictatorship, exist there.

In the Soviet revisionist «bloc» they even talk about the theory of class struggle, but this, too, only for appearances' sake, for the purpose of misleading people, because class struggle in its Marxist-Leninist sense is not waged either in the Soviet Union or in the other countries of Eastern Europe. Marchais, Berlinguer, and company, for

their part, preach «fraternization despite divergencies», fraternization and unity to go «to socialism through reforms»: bourgeoisie, capitalists, workers, police, bourgeois army, etc., all together. Long ago the Khrushchevites declared the class struggle within the Soviet Union to be extinct. But in fact the struggle which the new bourgeoisie is waging against the working class exists there. In the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries, the struggle of the proletariat against the savage exploitation by the new bourgeoisie exists and is developing, and as the events in the Soviet republics, in Poland and elsewhere show, the working class is rising in revolts against exploitation. This struggle is bound to gather momentum in the future.

In working out his theory of scientific socialism, Marx refuted all the old forms of socialism preached by the utopians and the others before them. He taught the world proletariat that it must organize itself and fight for the establishment of a new social order based on scientific socialism. Marx denounced and refuted «feudal socialism», «clerical socialism», «petty-bourgeois socialism», «bourgeois socialism» and «conservative socialism». He sternly condemned and unmasked Proudhon's «The Philosophy of Poverty» and to this end wrote his renowned work «The Poverty of the Philosophy».

Now, the new Proudhonist Georges Marchais is seeking to impose this philosophy, dressed up in different garb, on the French proletariat. With their theories of «creative Marxism» all pseudo-Marxists like Marchais are trying to deceive the proletariat by depriving scientific socialism of its foundations. When they say they are objective in their recognition of the laws of development of society, they are simply telling lies. In fact they are the lackeys of the consumer society created by the capitalist and imperialist bourgeoisie.

This revisionist activity, with shades of a certain independence from Moscow, allegedly to mislead the bourgeoisie of their own countries, but in fact intended to mislead their own and the international proletariat, is gathering momentum in all the revisionist parties of the capitalist countries. **The Party of Labour of Albania has a duty to unmask this revisionist activity, which is not something separate from the activity of the Khrushchevites.**

Taken as a whole, the revisionist trends, which emerged on the basis of the deviation from Marxism-Leninism and the betrayal of communism, are the offspring of their capitulation in face of new situations in the conditions of the further sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism and the pressure of the bourgeoisie, in the conditions of ever increasing contradictions between western capitalism and Soviet social-imperialism, the result of the rivalry between the two superpowers, in general.

The bourgeoisie and the social-democrats are jumping with joy now that the revisionists have thrown out the «Leninist heritage» and are putting themselves forward as «loyal partners in the democratic confrontation». But the bourgeoisie and its lackeys are rather hasty in celebrating their «victory».

The betrayal and opportunism of the social-democrat and revisionist chiefs has brought grave damage to the

class interests of the proletariat, but the revolutionary struggle of the working class can never be extinguished. Opportunists and renegades come and go, but the proletariat and its ideology, Marxism-Leninism, remain an indomitable force. The socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat are an historic necessity, and there is nothing which can stop them from coming about.

In the revisionist parties of the world, the Soviet, French, Yugoslav, and other definitions of proletarian internationalism are being discussed. In fact what they are discussing is how to oppose proletarian internationalism.

In the phrase 'proletarian internationalism' only the term proletarian links internationalism indissolubly with the world proletariat, links it in unity of struggle against the capitalist bourgeoisie, against the trusts and monopolies, against imperialism and social-imperialism. Proletarian internationalism is the unity of thought and action of the proletariat of each country in particular and of the world proletariat in general, for the purpose of overthrowing the old capitalist world by violence, smashing the power of the bourgeoisie to its foundations, and becoming the masters of means of production and everything else that serves the capitalists for the exploitation of man by man.

The goal of the proletarian revolution is to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat through which the construction of socialism and the suppression of the remnants of the ruling classes is realized. If the class struggle is allowed to die down, these remnants constantly strive to seize back state power and restore the old bourgeois-capitalist order either in the guise of «constitutional monarchy», «bourgeois democracy», the «progressive republic» or, finally, the bourgeois-revisionist, social-imperialist «socialist republic», etc.

To carry out its program, whether a minimum or maximum one, the proletariat of each country must be led by its vanguard, the revolutionary party of the working class. This party cannot be other than a communist party, a party that in all its struggle, before and after the seizure of state power, is guided by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. The revolutionary party of the working class always applies these ideas in the correct way, without distorting or deviating from them, both in organizing itself and the proletariat, and in leading the revolutionary struggle. It also make the teachings of Marxism-Leninism the basis of its work to map out and implement its policy of alliances, which are necessary over different issues and at different moments, in order to prepare, organize, and wage the revolutionary struggle that will lead to the overthrow of the capitalist order. The essence of proletarian internationalism lies in this interpretation and implementation of Marxism-Leninism.

Today, the world proletariat is not a single bloc, it is split by various bourgeois ideologies: capitalist, reformist, social-democratic, «socialist», revisionist, etc. All these different ideologies and political trends have the single objective: to split the proletariat, to prevent it from rallying and organizing itself into a great force as the gravedigger of capitalism that it is. Therefore, all these anti-Marxist ideologies and trends are props for local and inter-

national capital, are forces against the revolution, socialism and proletarian internationalism.

For us, Marxist-Leninists, the international solidarity of workers and proletarian internationalism is understood from the angle of, and developed according to, the principles of Marx and Engels expressed in the Communist Manifesto: «Workers of all countries, unite!». This motto of Marx and Engels, to which Lenin and Stalin remained loyal and which they carried further ahead, is militant, revolutionary, and always very important. It was a call for unity among the workers by the First International, it was a call for unity among the workers by the Third International.

The Second International betrayed Marxism, and its parties became mouthpieces of the bourgeoisie, turned into reformist parties. They disowned the call of Marx and Engels, «Workers of all countries, unite!».

With the formation of the Third International the call, «Workers of all countries, unite!» resumed the genuine revolutionary meaning of the Communist Manifesto. This call gained still greater power of inspiration and mobilization with the setting up of the first socialist state in the world which became the pivot of this slogan of the Manifesto. The world proletariat now had the first fatherland of liberated proletarians.

When the Comintern decided that the existence of the Communist International was no longer necessary, because the communist and workers' parties in the world had been formed, strengthened and tempered in class battles, Marx's formula, «Workers of all countries unite!» still remained a powerful call for unity.

After the Second World War, with the victory over fascism and the reactionary bourgeoisie, the working class took state power into its hands, established the dictatorship of the proletariat, and began the construction of socialism in many countries of the world. The motto of Marx and Engels became still more powerful, because the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin had triumphed in many countries, and the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism was thus confirmed in practice.

But modern revisionism emerged and usurped power in the Soviet Union and in many other former socialist countries. Many communist and workers' parties of the world deviated from, and betrayed, Marxism-Leninism, they turned into social-chauvinist parties, even into social-fascist parties. In this situation, in which these pseudo-socialist states are no longer the dictatorship of the proletariat and these pseudo-communist parties are no longer parties of the proletariat, whether in power or not, they have definitively broken all their connections with communism, with Marxism-Leninism, with scientific socialism, the proletariat and its doctrine which Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin elaborated. To them, the call, «Workers of all countries, unite!» has lost all meaning.

The evil, the danger, is that by way of disguise, the modern revisionists, whether in power or not, continue to utilize these formulae that are the guiding essence of our doctrine, depriving them entirely of their force for leadership and organization. The revisionists not only apply these formulae in practice in the opposite sense, but

they also distort and deform them in a cunning and sophisticated way. The whole aim of the modern revisionists is, by preserving some formulations, to distort the entire Marxist-Leninist doctrine, to build a set of other anti-Marxist theories meant to disorganize the proletariat of a given country or the world, to extend the life of the capitalist bourgeoisie, to put off the proletarian revolution, if not to suppress it altogether, be it in a single country in which the conditions are ripe for it or in several countries simultaneously.

The next great, though not insurmountable, evil is that the modern revisionists who have seized power, have profited from the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and become superpowers or important states, as in the case of the Soviet Union, while the revisionist parties, big or small, misuse the past and the previous struggles which the proletariat of their countries has conducted on the Marxist-Leninist road, for their own ends. The Soviet revisionists proclaim, «We are Leninists», «We defend Lenin», at a time when they have trampled underfoot and betrayed his teachings. The others do the same. They try to weaken, to raise doubts about, or to wipe out altogether the love, respect, and trust which the proletariat has for its great leaders and the revolutionary doctrine of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

In this situation the greatest evil is that amongst the proletariat there still exists the correct idea created in its consciousness about the first socialist state, the Soviet Union, which Lenin founded after the triumph of the October Socialist Revolution and which became the first powerful state of the proletariat and a colossal support for the entire world proletariat. Now this state no longer exists, because the revisionists have turned it into an anti-proletarian state. This situation can and does cause weaknesses, uncertainty about final victory, because willy-nilly, the cult of the «great proletarian state» has been created. This weakens the unity of the proletariat and its «bite» in the struggle against the capitalist bourgeoisie and the traitors to Marxism-Leninism.

The present situation in the international communist movement resembles the heroic period in which Marx and Engels struggled and worked. The world proletariat, we Marxist-Leninists, must return to, and study, the doctrine of Marx and Engels, their strategy and tactics of struggle and victory. Marx and Engels are no longer alive, but their doctrine lives on, and it should guide us. They are our irreplaceable leaders.

The present situation in the international communist movement resembles the period of the principled revolutionary struggle of Lenin, Stalin and the Bolshevik Party. They had Marx and Engels as their only and unerring guide. At the head of the Russian proletariat, they led the revolution to its triumph and established the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin and Stalin died, the Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union turned into a revisionist party and the first state of proletarians was transformed into a bourgeois chauvinist and social-imperialist state. Neither Lenin nor Stalin had the experience of a proletarian state prior to them, but they created it with the revolution, through revolutionary violence and work, being

guided step by step by the doctrine of Marx and Engels which they further enriched.

Now the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice remains as a great store of wealth for the world proletariat. It should study and apply its consistently. The study and implementation of Marxism-Leninism in the correct way on the part of the proletariat and its revolutionary communist parties on the basis of the situation in each country and in the international arena, the merciless struggle against modern revisionism in whatever form it crops up, the exposure of the bourgeois ideology, the struggle against the disruptive activities, oppression and exploitation by the enemies of the working class, all this is the struggle for the cohesion and unity of the proletariat of the world. This is an indispensable prerequisite for success in the fight against world imperialism, social-imperialism, the capitalist bourgeoisie and world reaction. **In this great and difficult struggle the proletariat should act in close unity, but the unity of its ranks is achieved only by faithfully following and applying the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. Our Party has marched and will continue to march on this road. It has and always will put Marxism-Leninism in command.**

Proletarian internationalism is the ideology of the proletariat, is one of the most powerful weapons and a condition for the triumph of the revolution and the construction of communism. It is an indivisible whole, and there are not several kinds of internationalism, one Soviet, one Italian, one Yugoslav, one French, etc., as the revisionists claim.

«There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism», wrote Lenin as early as April 1917, «and that is working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in one's own country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) this struggle, this, and only this, line, in every country without exception»¹.

In struggle for the cause of the revolution and communism, in struggle against modern revisionism, the Marxist-Leninist parties of the various countries of the world are developing, growing stronger, and achieving successes. Our Party sincerely rejoices at their victories which it regards as common victories that belong to the world proletariat as a whole.

The existence of Marxist-Leninist parties in all the continents and regions of the world shows that conscious champions, determined revolutionaries who fight with all their strength for the great cause of communism, have now risen in defence of the interests of the world proletariat, of the revolution and socialism.

A good number of fraternal parties are working in difficult conditions of illegality because the fascist regimes attack them with the most furious means of suppression and terror. Others are compelled to carry on their activity under the difficult circumstances of the struggle that the big bourgeoisie, the social-democrats and revisionists conduct against them. But all these difficult conditions and circumstances have failed to check the revolutionary

drive of the Marxist-Leninist communists, have not been able to prevent the consolidation of their ranks, or the ever greater growth of the influence of these parties among the working class and the masses of the working people.

Many outstanding fighters of the Marxist-Leninist movement have been barbarously murdered by the fascist criminals who are ruling in many countries, have died under police torture, or are still languishing in the dark dungeons of reaction. Through their determination, their courage, their lofty spirit of self-denial and their devotion to the great cause of the proletariat, they have become radiant beacons of the struggle of the masses of the working people for national and social liberation.

With very deep respect we honour the memory of our beloved comrades Pedro Leon Arboleda, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Columbia (M-L); Carlos Daniel, Member of the Executive Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil; Thakin Zin, Chairman of the Central Committee, and Thakin Chit, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Burma; Charu Mazumdar, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist); as well as the memory of the brave Spanish FRAP fighters and the Basque patriots. Their unblemished image and revolutionary life will live on in the hearts of all true patriots and communists as a lofty example of inspiration, a call to arms in the struggle against the bloodthirsty bourgeoisie and reaction.

The Party of Labour of Albania proclaims its complete internationalist solidarity with the Marxist-Leninist parties. The bourgeoisie and the revisionists would like our Party to stop supporting and helping the new Marxist-Leninist parties. But this will never happen. Now, as always, our Party is of the opinion that for the freedom of a nation, the revolution, the defeat of the bourgeoisie, imperialism and social-imperialism, it is an important duty to give internationalist aid. Marx and Lenin have taught us this, and this lesson guides the struggle of our Party. **Just as the Marxist-Leninist parties and the progressive peoples everywhere in the world have helped us, in the past, in our struggle for national liberation and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we, too, are duty bound to help the proletariat, the Marxist-Leninist parties and all the progressive forces in the struggle they are waging so that their peoples, too, will win their freedom and build socialism.**

This aid is by no means interference in the internal affairs of other states or export of revolution, as the imperialists and social-imperialists, together with all the lackeys of the bourgeoisie, would like to present it. We know why they do this. They want to have their hands free to oppress the proletariat and the peoples, to keep them under their yoke and prevent them from organizing and making revolution.

But our actions, our thoughts, and the correct meaning of our aid to the peoples and revolutionaries, cannot be put on a par with the aggressive actions of

¹ I. V. I. Lenin, «Collected Works», Vol. 24, p. 63 (Alb. ed.).

imperialism, revisionism, and the reactionary bourgeoisie, against the peoples fighting for their liberation and the Marxist-Leninist, progressive, and revolutionary parties that lead them. Our actions constitute a proper internationalist collaboration, whereas their actions are brutal, aggressive, colonialist attacks.

The Party of Labour of Albania support the revolutionary struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties with all its strength. In our view, each Marxist-Leninist party relies, first of all, on the proletariat and the broad masses of the working people of its own country, but it also enjoys and should enjoy the support of the proletariat of the whole world, the support and solidarity of all the true Marxist-Leninist parties of the different countries and, above all, of the true socialist countries. But in order to ensure this support continuously and unsparingly, it is essential that each party should be guided consistently by Marxism-Leninism, the ideology of the proletariat.

Today, the new Marxist-Leninist parties are resolutely facing up to the savage and wily struggle of the capitalist and revisionist bourgeoisie, as well as of their ordinary and secret police. Our comrades have gained rich experience in this struggle, which helps them take the necessary measures to repulse the attacks that may be launched against them from various quarters and in the most varied forms. The Marxist-Leninist parties cherish not the slightest illusion about «bourgeois democracy», and the sham «trade union freedoms» of the capitalist countries.

At the same time, as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin teach us, the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries also take advantage of the legal conditions, but always bearing in mind that our principles must not be caught up and damaged in the thorns the bourgeoisie has planted on the road to the revolution. The true communists never for a moment forget these lessons, but strive to make them their own flesh and blood, for it is only in this way that the new Marxist-Leninist parties can successfully lead the struggle of the proletariat and the democratic and freedom-loving forces, a struggle that is neither easy, nor painless, nor without sacrifices.

Great sacrifices have been, are, and will continue to be the order of the day for the members of the true Marxist-Leninist revolutionary parties, and they are conscious that they make these sacrifices for the sake of the lofty interests of the revolution and socialism. Without these sacrifices, without fighting with lofty revolutionary self-denial, victory cannot be attained. Under the example of the sacrifices of each Marxist-Leninist party, the proletariat of each country marches forward, and likewise the proletariat of the world. This is what instils confidence in Marxism-Leninism and its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist communist party, among the proletariat. The Party is tempered in unceasing battles and struggles till final victory.

The bourgeoisie is afraid of the revolutionary organizations of the proletariat and its vanguard. On the face of it, the capitalists and the revisionists pretend to make light of the new Marxist-Leninist parties, but this attitude of apparent unconcern is by no means real. They fear

the revolutionaries, therefore either openly or secretly they prepare their attack. The great leaders of the revolution have taught us that, along with the legal struggle, we must also organize the illegal struggle. Our Party has been and still is of the opinion that the second variant, the illegal struggle, is the greatest guarantee for the achievement of victory. If this is not organized, at the moments it finds appropriate, the great striking force of the bourgeois dictatorship works havoc and extinguishes any resistance of the proletariat and its vanguard.

The bourgeoisie has adopted and continues to adopt numerous laws to protect itself against this organization. Apart from its incessant surveillance and onslaughts on the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries, it encourages crime, anarchist and terrorist struggle, prepares, supports, and sets in motion fascist gangs that kill, attack, and rob the masses in the streets, and it does this in order to keep the working people under terror, to intimidate them. In the end they carry these actions as far as the establishment of a fascist dictatorship in this or that capitalist country.

But through these organizations and actions the bourgeoisie is also trying, on the one hand, to create confusion among the masses, and on the other, to present them as actions of the communists and the revolutionary proletariat, in order to discredit them. The Marxist-Leninist parties always bear in mind these manoeuvres and wiles of the class enemies and fight to expose and foil them.

Every day the Marxist-Leninist parties are confronted with a deafening demagogic, pseudo-democratic, pseudo-Marxist, pro-fascist propaganda conducted by the reactionary bourgeoisie in every capitalist country, as well as by social-imperialism and the revisionist traitor parties in the world. The aim of the enemies is to influence the immature and untested revolutionaries with the aim of throwing them into confusion. They think that, through such intensive demagogic propaganda, they may gradually and imperceptibly create dangerous illusions in the ranks of Marxist-Leninist parties in order to make them lose their revolutionary impetus and lead to their weakening, degeneration and liquidation.

The Marxist-Leninist parties respond to these all-round attacks and manoeuvres of the enemies by unceasingly strengthening the party, by always aiming at quality rather than quantity in their ranks. Along with this, they attach importance to the theoretical education of party members in Marxism-Leninism, to their constant tempering in the daily revolutionary activity to make them vanguard fighters, unwavering under any circumstances. They keep in mind the well-known fact that their ranks are not strengthened with members of a special quality, the enemies, who are very experienced in undermining the revolutionary parties, will smuggle their agents into the organizations in order to cause disruption and create factions in the ranks of the party, to weaken and liquidate it.

Lenin and Stalin have taught us that the assessment of the people to be admitted to the party should not be based on words, but on deeds. Communists are tested and

tempered through concrete revolutionary actions, which require maturity and also courage and a lofty spirit of sacrifice and self-denial. Such virtues are found, first and foremost, among the best elements of the working class, of the poor, oppressed and suffering peasantry, in the ranks of the pure and truly revolutionary youth.

Facing a savage enemy of many faces, who strives to infiltrate our ranks by all manner of means, the Marxist-Leninist parties also thoroughly understand the need which the working class of each country has for unity, for a truly revolutionary leadership, its Marxist-Leninist party, of which there is only one, because Marxism-Leninism is only one, and the proletarians have no differing or opposing interests among themselves. The Marxist-Leninist parties have gained valuable experience in the struggle for the unity of the Marxist-Leninist forces. They fight both against narrow sectarian and subjective attitudes, and against the liberal concept of unity for unity's sake, which may endanger even what has been built with so much difficulty and effort. The Marxist-Leninists cannot accept unity divorced from principles and revolutionary actions, or unity which may bring the spirit of opportunism, liberalism, dogmatism and sectarianism into the party.

Our Marxist-Leninist parties are preparing the revolution and are in struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism and the reactionary bourgeoisie. In order to come out victorious from this struggle, they draw up a correct and appropriate strategy and tactics, which enables them to find loyal allies from among the various strata of the masses of the working people, first and foremost, the poor peasantry. On this question Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have bequeathed us very valuable teachings. We must deepen these teachings in the conditions of the epoch we are living in without being deceived by pacifist slogans, or bourgeois parliamentarianism and electoralism.

In the countries dominated by capital, the youth constitute a great reserve for the revolution. The mass of the unemployed youth, abandoned and deprived of all hope and prospect by the bourgeoisie, number millions. A great revolt against social injustice is seething among them. Great forces are gathering and building up for revolutionary outbursts. It is up to the Marxist-Leninists to unite the enthusiasm of the youth, its revolutionary aspirations, with the drive and aspirations of the working class, to lead it on the correct course towards the liberation of all society from the yoke of big capital.

The problem of unity and alliances in various fronts and organizations, in which the Marxist-Leninist parties should never conceal their identity, is a very delicate problem of first-rate importance. A single mistake in line, an incorrect or rigid attitude, disregard of progressive thinking on this friendship and unity created in struggle, is fraught with great dangers.

The Marxist-Leninist parties of different countries face a common enemy and wage a common struggle, relying on common basic principles, on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. But their struggle cannot be the same, it cannot be waged without regard for the conditions and

circumstances in each country. It is impossible to lay down prescriptions on how to act in all the varying and intricate situations which arise and which cannot be foreseen, and in any case, they are not always advantageous. On the contrary, striving to implement a rigid line which does not conform either to Marxism-Leninism or to the concrete conditions of the particular country in which each Marxist-Leninist party is carrying out its activity, is often harmful and dangerous.

In its time the Comintern carried out intensive and very useful activity for the organization and tempering of communist parties. It was created at a time when it was essential to carry Marxism-Leninism, as a scientific theory, deep among the masses of the world proletariat, when it was necessary to clear the minds of the revolutionary elements infected by the opportunist ideas of the social-democracy of the Second International, and make them conscious of the need for the consistent implementation of the ideas of Marx and Engels in their struggles. In creating new Marxist-Leninist and workers' parties in the world, the Comintern tried to help them become independent from the bourgeois parties, to launch them into struggle against those parties and the capitalist bosses. Thus, in the time of Lenin and Stalin, the Marxist-Leninist parties were restored and strengthened, and they passed, so to say, from the stage of infancy, to a higher stage of revolutionary maturity and organization.

The revisionists savagely attack the great work of the Comintern, precisely because it created and developed the communist parties in the world, which taught the millions of the proletariat how to fight the bourgeoisie of their own country so that it would not be able to perpetuate its power. The modern revisionists and, together with them, the bourgeoisie, unceasingly attack the Comintern and spread the slander that it had allegedly become a tool of the Soviet Union and Stalin. But, at that time, the Comintern was an indispensable organization which made a major contribution to the strengthening of the revolution and the victory of socialism. It was the great good fortune of the world proletariat that the Soviet Union of the time of Lenin and Stalin became a powerful support for the proletarian struggle all over the world.

There are people who do not fail to say that the Comintern allegedly made mistakes. That mistakes may have been committed cannot be ruled out, but mistakes involving violation of major principles were not made. On the other hand, it should be realized that, even those mistakes that may have occurred, were either brought about deliberately by deviationist elements who had managed to infiltrate the world communist movement or, some of them, by inexperienced revolutionaries. Thus, sometimes, inaccurate or completely wrong information was sent to the Comintern, and consequently, being misinformed, willy-nilly, it took incorrect decisions in some cases. However, the grave conditions of the bourgeois-fascist terror under which the communist and workers' parties and their sections in the Comintern had to carry on their activity, must not be forgotten. The present critics of the Comintern fail to realize that the communist and workers' parties of that time had to seek and create

alliances with progressive elements and groupings who sometimes changed their positions. Thus, the directives issued by the Comintern were useful for activities at a given time, while later, when new circumstances arose, they lost their value.

It is not our intention here to analyse the activity of the Comintern or to raise the question of setting up such an international organ again. For the time being it is inappropriate and it would not bring the benefits expected to the revolutionary struggles which are being and will be waged by the Marxist-Leninist parties all over the world. Our Party holds that having a correct concept of the major role formerly played by the Comintern at the time of Lenin and Stalin, we the Marxist-Leninist and workers' parties are duty bound to constantly strengthen and temper the close cooperation among our parties, of course, with none being dependent on, or taking orders from, any other. As internationalist communists, we need to exchange our experience and, each of us, in the conditions of his own country, must act on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. It is essential that this should be done, because, of course, the bourgeoisie and the revisionists are carrying on the collusion between them, and are doing so in many forms and ways, right up to holding so-called regular «international» meetings. Their aims are clear to us. First and foremost, they are struggling to preserve their exploiters' state power to the detriment of the people and, by means of the numerous intrigues they hatch up, to fight the proletariat and prevent it from organizing and tempering itself with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and establishing socialism and communism through revolution.

We think that the cooperation in the true revolutionary way between our Marxist-Leninist parties must be many-sided. The exchange of experience may be done on a bilateral or multilateral basis. The situation may also mature to the point that a large meeting of the representatives of all the Marxist-Leninist communist and workers' parties can be achieved. Long ago, at the time of its 5th Congress, our Party raised this important question. Our Party is determined to defend and implement the great principle of revolutionary cooperation between the Marxist-Leninist parties.

We the Albanian communists assure our brothers of the same ideals and comrades-in-arms that we shall continue to fight with determination against the common enemy for the victory of the revolution and Marxism-Leninism, as we have done up till now. The international working class and the Marxist-Leninist parties, all those peoples who are fighting against the superpowers, against the bourgeoisie and reaction, have found and will always

find in the Party of Labour of Albania, in the Albanian working class and people, a loyal ally, a reliable support and backing. We consider this our basic internationalist duty, which we shall carry out resolutely and conscientiously.

Comrade delegates,

In concluding this report, the Central Committee expresses its complete confidence and conviction that the communists, the working class and all our working people, will set to work with renewed revolutionary vigour to translate the great tasks put before us by our 7th Congress into life.

Let us work tirelessly, comrades, with multiplied energies, to strengthen and temper the Marxist-Leninist unity of the ranks of our Party and the steel-like unity of the people around it more and more, to raise the leading role of the Party to a higher level, and make it more effective in all fields, in the entire life of the country.

Let us work unceasingly for an ever better implementation of the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, which is the line that guarantees the present and the future of our socialist homeland and our heroic people. Let us assimilate and resolutely implement the teachings of the Party, and carry the socialist construction in Albania constantly forward.

Let us mobilize ourselves totally and with great enthusiasm to fulfil and overfulfil the new five-year plan. Let us master the Marxist-Leninist science, let us acquire as much knowledge as possible, and make ourselves talented workers and consistent fighters for the further strengthening and progress of our socialist homeland. All of us, the entire people with the communists at the head and on the most difficult fronts, must master our Military Art, be vigilant and fully prepared to make even the supreme sacrifice to defend the homeland from any danger.

With the Party in the forefront and the banner of Marxism-Leninism aloft, forward to new victories, comrades, for the happiness and prosperity of the homeland, the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, the defence and victory of the Revolution!

LONG LIVE OUR HEROIC AND INDUSTRIOUS PEOPLE!

LONG LIVE THE GLORIOUS PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA. THE LOYAL, WISE AND RELIABLE LEADER OF OUR PEOPLE!

GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM!

MEHMET SHEHU

REPORT ON THE DIRECTIVE OF THE PL OF ALBANIA FOR THE OF ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC

THE PAST FIVE-YEAR PERIOD SINCE THE 6TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY WAS CHARACTERIZED BY THE ALLROUND STRUGGLE OF OUR PARTY AND THE WORKING MASSES OF OUR COUNTRY UNDER ITS LEADERSHIP, TO CARRY OUT THE TASKS LAID DOWN BY THE 6TH CONGRESS FOR THE SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION, TO DEFEND AND STRENGTHEN THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, IN THE CONDITIONS OF A FIERCE CLASS STRUGGLE, IN THE CONDITIONS OF THE GREAT IMPERIALIST-REVISIONIST ENCIRCLEMENT AND BLOCKADE. THIS PERIOD HAS PROVED ONCE MORE THE CORRECTNESS OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL CONCEPT OF OUR PEOPLE, THAT «THE WATERS MAY SLEEP, BUT NOT THE ENEMY», IT HAS PROVED ONCE MORE THE MARXIST-LENINIST CONCEPT ABOUT CLASS STRUGGLE, THAT, DESPITE ALL THE UPS AND DOWNS IT MAY EXPERIENCE, THE CLASS STRUGGLE GOES ON STERNLY ON ALL FRONTS DURING THE ENTIRE HISTORIC PERIOD OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM.

THE EXPERIENCE OF OUR PARTY OVER THE THIRTY-FIVE YEARS OF ITS EXISTENCE AND REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY HAS CONFIRMED THAT, AS LONG AS THE REMNANTS OF THE COUNTRY'S OVERTHROWN EXPLOITING CLASSES AND THE INTERNATIONAL BOURGEOISIE EXIST, THE ENEMIES, INTERNAL OR EXTERNAL, WILL NEVER GIVE UP THEIR AIMS AND THEIR COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY TO REGAIN THEIR «LOST PARADISE», TO RESTORE CAPITALISM IN THE COUNTRY WHERE THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED; THIS EXPERIENCE HAS ALSO PROVED THAT THE HOSTILE ACTIVITY OF THE REACTIONARY AND ANTI-PARTY ELEMENTS WITHIN THE COUNTRY IS ALWAYS CLOSELY LINKED WITH, FOSTERED, AND DIRECTED BY, THE EXTERNAL ENEMIES, THE FOREIGN BOURGEOISIE AND THE MODERN REVISIONISTS.

IN THE COMPLICATED STRUGGLE FOR THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THE TASKS LAID DOWN BY THE 6TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY, APART FROM DIFFICULTIES OF GROWTH, WE HAVE ALSO HAD TO COPE WITH AND OVERCOME THE HOSTILE ACTIVITY OF CONSPIRATORS AND PUTSCHISTS WHO TRIED TO UNDERMINE OUR ECONOMY AND OVERTHROW THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT; WE HAVE HAD TO FACE THE SAVAGE BLOCKADE PAINSTAKINGLY ORGANIZED AGAINST OUR COUNTRY BY THE IMPERIALISTS AND REVISIONISTS TO STRANGLE OUR ECONOMY, AS WELL AS THE GREAT PRESSURE OF THE ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL CRISIS OF THE CAPITALIST AND REVISIONIST COUNTRIES THAT EXERTS ITSELF POWERFULLY ON OUR ECONOMY AND COUNTRY, TOO. DESPITE ALL THESE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES, THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE, COURAGEOUSLY AND ABLY LED BY OUR HEROIC PARTY, ON THE WHOLE FULFILLED THE TASKS OF THE 5TH FIVE-YEAR PLAN SUCCESSFULLY. THIS IS A GREAT VICTORY FOR OUR PARTY AND PEOPLE, AND A GREAT DEFEAT FOR OUR IMPERIALIST AND REVISIONIST ENEMIES.

THE MAIN RESULTS IN THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THE TASKS OF THE 5th FIVE-YEAR PLAN (1971-1975) OF THE ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF OUR COUNTRY

The period of the 5th five-year plan (1971-1975) marked another important stage in our country's advance on the road to the complete construction of socialist society.

The main indices that characterize the development of our people's economy during the past five-year period are as follows:

RESOLUTIONS OF THE 7th CONGRESS

6th FIVE-YEAR PLAN (1976-1980)

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA

Principal indices	(in per cent)
	growth in 1975 as against 1970
- Total social production	37
- National income	38
- Total industrial production	52
- Total agricultural production	33
- Volume of goods transported	45
- Volume of investments (for the 5 years taken together)	50
- Productivity of labour in industry	21
- Productivity of labour in construction	28
- Volume of exports (for the 5 years taken together)	75
- Goods turnover in retail trade	35
- Real income per capita of population	14.5

Analysis of the work, the heroic struggle, and the successes achieved by the Party and the broad masses of the working people during the 5th five-year plan in the field of the economic and cultural development of the country, brings out the most essential general characteristics of this period:

First, during the 5th five-year plan our people's economy continued to develop at a relatively rapid rate, and the extended socialist reproduction assumed greater proportions, meeting the increasing needs of the country ever better, and further strengthening the stability of our independent economic and social development.

During the 5th five-year plan (1971-1975) the average annual rates of increase have been: for overall social production 6.5 per cent, industrial production 8.7 per cent, agricultural production 5.9 per cent, national income 6.7 per cent. These rates of development are two to three times higher than the rate of growth of the population. This is vivid proof of the vitality of our socialist economic and social order, of the allround superiority of the planned development of the people's economy.

The foreign revisionist and bourgeois press, especially

the revisionist Soviet press, propagate far and wide that the People's Republic of Albania has allegedly fallen on evil days, that the rates of increase of social production and the standard of living in Albania are allegedly falling and not rising, that this is allegedly to be blamed on the policy followed by the Albanian leadership which has closed the doors to «aid and credits» from the revisionist and capitalist countries! In a word, they are pitying the rider because his legs hang down!

The facts show that socialist Albania is developing its economy at rates faster than those of the countries in which the revisionists are in power and the other capitalist countries. The facts show that in Albania there is stability of prices for mass consumer goods, that there are no price rises, that in Albania there is no inflation, no unemployment; the facts show that in Albania the standard of living of the working people is steadily rising and not falling, as is the case with the capitalist and revisionist countries.

Let us take only the official figures of the 1965-1975 period about the rates of growth of industrial production (calculated at fixed prices):

Country	(per cent)
	Average annual growth for the 1965-1975 period
People's Republic of Albania	10.8
German Democratic Republic	6.4
Czechoslovakia	6.7
Hungary	6.2
Yugoslavia	7.0
Greece	9.3
The Soviet Union	7.9
Federal Republic of Germany	3.4
Italy	4.2
France	5.0

Likewise, the increase of agricultural production during the past ten years has also been higher with us than in the above mentioned countries.



*The Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA
and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PRA, Mehmet Shehu submitting his report*

The above figures refute the enemy propaganda and inspire us to further and ever greater successes.

Second, during the 5th five-year plan the rapid and complex development of the productive forces was ensured, the material-technical base of socialism was raised to a new and higher stage, and an important step forward was taken towards the transformation of Albania into an industrial-agricultural country. Thirtysix per cent of national income was utilized for the development of the economy and culture. In particular, the fund of productive accumulation, which is directed towards the priority development of the branches of material production, has taken the overwhelming bulk in the utilization of the total fund of accumulation.

During the past five-year period, important steps forward were taken for the further development and intensification of agriculture, in all its branches, and particularly in the production of bread grain. As a result of the great work of the agricultural workers for the implementation of the directive of the Party on making the country self-sufficient in bread grain, serious measures were taken and great results were achieved. As comrade Enver said in his report, relying on this year's results in wheat production and the expected results in maize production, socialist Albania has succeeded in ensuring the whole quantity of grain necessary for the people's bread from local production, as early as 1976. This is a great historic victory of our people and our Party, the result of the consistent implementation of the great principle of building socialism and defending the homeland on the basis of self-reliance.

In times past, Khrushchev's right hand man, that revisionist swindler Anastas Mikoyan, using the problem of bread grain as a means of pressure to force us into submission, told us that without the Soviet Union Albania would be left without bread, and would not survive even fifteen days! But more than fifteen years have elapsed since then, and Albania lives on, thriving, and now produces all the bread grain its people need, whereas the successors of Khrushchev and Mikoyan, the Brezhnev clique, have turned the Soviet Union from a country that formerly, in Stalin's time, used to export grain, into a country that imports millions of tons of wheat and maize from the capitalist countries each year!

The other revisionists, too, have used the grain we wanted to buy from them as a means of pressure on us, to force concessions from us. But the Albanian people and their Party never yielded. They turned into a solemn pledge the revolutionary instruction of comrade Enver Hoxha who told us, *«Even if we have to go without bread, we Albanians will never violate our principles, will never betray Marxism-Leninism. Everybody, friend or enemy, should get this clear!»*¹ And our people and Party have kept this pledge and they will always keep it!

Third, during the past five-year period the wellbeing of the masses of working people was raised in a systematic and allround manner, and the essential distinctions between town and countryside were further reduced. The participation in work by the active population has been exten-

ded, prices for mass consumer goods have remained stable, and the fund of social consumption has increased.

In order to cope with the uncontrollable rise of prices of imported commodities, the state used considerable accumulated resources and did not allow the purchasing power of the population to be affected. In 1975, as against 1970, the production of consumer goods (Group «B») grew 45 per cent. On these bases, during the 5th five-year plan the fund of consumption increased at rates higher than the rate of growth of the population, and the real incomes of the peasantry rose much more rapidly than those of the city population.

Fourth, during the 5th five-year plan the whole system of socialist relations of production was further perfected and revolutionized. The socialist property was developed and strengthened, its social management and administration was raised to a higher scientific level.

Important measures were taken in the management of the economy, the system of procurement and supply, as well as in the field of distribution, perfecting them further.

The further perfecting of all the links of the superstructure during the 5th five-year plan has opened a broader road to the further development of productive forces, has released numerous forces and energies, and has served to bar the way to the danger of bourgeois-revisionist degeneration of our socialist social, political and economic order.

The defence potential of the country marked an important turn towards the strengthening of the leading role of the Party in the Armed Forces, towards the organization and mobilization of all the energies of the people and the Party for strengthening our defence, making the defence of the homeland the duty above all duties. With an iron broom the Party cleaned up the hostile conspiratorial activity of Beqir Balluku and his gang in the army. Our Armed Forces are in full combat readiness to cope **successfully** with any external military aggression, and to score final victory over all aggressors, even in the most difficult circumstances.

The victories achieved during the 5th five-year plan on the political, ideological, economic, social, organizational and military fronts are the result of the truly heroic and glorious work of our people led by the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha, of the unbreakable moral and political unity of our people around the Party, of the determination and lofty proletarian principled stand and the boundless loyalty of the Party to the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

I. The execution of the tasks in the field of production

In accord with the directives of the 6th Congress of the Party, during the period of the 5th five-year plan (1971-1975), great progress was made and the rapid and har-

¹ Enver Hoxha, «Works», Vol. 19, p. 338 (Alb. ed.).

monious development of all the branches and sectors of material production was ensured.

1. INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

During the 5th five-year plan, industrial production was raised to a new level, the structure of industrial branches was further improved, with the development, especially, of the heavy extracting and processing industry, as a powerful basis for the growth of the entire economic potential of the country, for the development of other branches of industry, for the deepening and intensification of agriculture and the improvement of the balance of foreign trade.

Total industrial production in 1975 makes up 57 per cent of the total social production, as against 52 per cent in 1970. In 1975, as against 1970, the production of means of production rose by 57 per cent, and the production of mass consumer goods 45 per cent. The targets for the expansion of industrial reserves of useful minerals were fulfilled and overfulfilled, opening up more reliable prospects for the further socialist industrialization of the country, the utilization, of natural resources and the development of the various branches of industry for a relatively long period of time.

The light and food-processing industry met the needs of the population better and relieved the economy from the burden of importing many kinds of mass consumer goods. In 1975, as against 1970, the production of the food-processing industry increased by 51 per cent, and the production of light industry 34 per cent. In 1975, our economy was able to meet 85 per cent of the needs for mass consumer goods with locally produced articles, and this constitutes a great victory. This is the result of the correct economic policy of our Party!

2. AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

The Party has placed and continues to place the development of agriculture, which is the basic branch of our people's economy, at the centre of its attention.

Today we have a complex agriculture, comprised of powerful multi-branched state and cooperative, agricultural economies of large-scale socialist production, which is developing rapidly and being perfected from the organizational aspect. The setting up of higher type cooperatives in the past five-year period was an important economic and organizational measure for the increase of state aid to the cooperativist sector and the gradual raising of agricultural cooperatives to the level, and afterwards, when the necessary conditions have matured, to the status, of agricultural enterprises.

Proceeding further on the road of the intensification of agriculture, mainly through raising yields of crops and livestock, great work has been done for the strengthening of the material-technical base of agriculture. During the 5th five-year period the number of tractors (reckoned in 15 HP) rose 54 per cent; the park of farm machinery was

further enriched and completed. The area under irrigation reached 50 per cent of the total arable land. In 1975 our agriculture used 41 per cent more chemical fertilizers than in 1970. More than 90,000 hectares of new land were sown to crops, etc.

Increases in production in 1975 as against 1970 were: field crops 30 per cent, including bread grain 35 per cent, sugar-beet 76 per cent, sunflower 70 per cent, cotton 48 per cent, beans 47 per cent; livestock production rose by 35 per cent, etc. Important results were achieved also in the development of fruit and olive-growing.

The results achieved in agriculture, often under unfavourable weather conditions, prove the correctness of the line and directives of the Party on the ways and possibilities of development of this vital sector of our people's economy. They demonstrate the advantages that the socialist order has created and continues to create in the countryside, and the decisive role which the conscious revolutionary man plays in the development of agricultural production.

3. FUNDAMENTAL INVESTMENTS AND CONSTRUCTION

One of the important features of the 5th five-year plan has been the great and complex investments made for the rapid and allround development of the different branches of the economy and culture, and in the first place in the extracting and processing branches of heavy industry and in agriculture.

In comparison with the 4th five-year plan, in the 5th five-year plan investments rose 50 per cent and construction 49 per cent.

A series of complicated problems of the design, construction and exploitation of major projects have been coped with and solved.

During this period, 155 important new economic and social-cultural projects were built and commissioned. During the 5th five-year plan large-scale work went on on a series of major projects such as the Black Metallurgical Combine, the Fierza Hydro-power Plant, the Deep-processing Oil Plant, the Urea Plant, the PVC and Caustic Soda Plant, the Gjançi irrigation reservoir and other irrigation schemes in hilly and mountainous areas, the systematization and irrigation of the Gjirokastra plain, the drainage and protection of the Velipoja plain, the construction of the Elbasan-Përrenjas railway, and other major projects which have been or are being commissioned.

4. TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

Under the 5th five-year plan, the volume of goods transport increased by 45 per cent, and that of passenger transport 38 per cent. Transport of goods by rail doubled. Sea transport developed further and the sea-ports were further strengthened.

The communications sector met the needs of the economy and the people in town and countryside better, carrying out in 1975 a volume of work 61 per cent larger than in 1970.



II. The execution of the tasks in the distribution of the social product and raising the wellbeing and the cultural development of the people

A series of important measures were implemented under the 5th five-year plan for a further general rise of the material and cultural level of the people. The target set by the 6th Congress of the Party for the increase in the real income of the population was fulfilled successfully, there by further reducing the gap between the incomes of the peasantry and the incomes of the urban population. The real per capita income in town increased by 8.7 per cent, while in the countryside it increased by 20.5 per cent.

The prime factor in raising the wellbeing and increasing the real per capita income of the population has been and is the increased participation of the able-bodied population in socially useful work. In 1975, as against 1970, the number of working people increased by 21 per cent.

In raising the wellbeing of the cooperativist peasantry, increased income from the common property on the basis of the increase in agricultural production and the greater participation of people in work, has been an important factor. It is an important success that the average income per worker in the agricultural cooperatives in 1975 was more than 29 per cent higher than in 1970, while, at the same time, ensuring that the needs for extended socialist reproduction in these economies were coped with better than in the previous five-year plan.

In constant pursuit of the policy of reducing the essential distinctions between town and countryside, under the 5th five-year plan, a series of measures were implemented in favour of the cooperative peasantry, especially in the hilly and mountainous zones. A unified and centralized system of pensions for old people and social security allowances for mother and child was established in the countryside; the prices of certain means of production sold by the state to the agricultural cooperatives were reduced; the prices of a number of agricultural and livestock products bought by the state were raised; the state undertook to meet part of the investments for land improvement, irrigation, the development of fruit-growing, and so on. Not only from the economic aspect, but also from the political and social aspect, these important measures have helped to further narrow the distinctions between town and countryside and to increase agricultural production, and they have further strengthened the alliance between the work-

ing class and the cooperative peasantry under the leadership of the working class, which constitutes the highest principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Under the 5th five-year plan, further steps were taken to increase social consumption, thereby further strengthening the social character of the fulfilment of the needs of the working people.

In striving for a further uplift of the standard of living of the working masses and their revolutionary education, as two inseparable tasks of socialist construction, our Party has consistently applied and is applying a correct Marxist-Leninist policy in the field of distribution, not allowing pronounced disparities in the levels of income and the ways of life between classes and groupings of the population, not allowing the creation of privileged and favoured strata that can become purveyors of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology and a social basis for the restoration of capitalism. At the same time, our Party has been prudent and wise in the correct implementation of the socialist principle of distribution **according to work**, maintaining moral and material incentives at work, but without slipping into petty-bourgeois equalitarianism, and always giving priority to moral incentives over material ones. The measures adopted to further improve relations in the field of distribution on the basis of the decision of the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers in April, this year «On reducing higher salaries and some adjustments in the system of pay of workers, and the further reduction of disparities between countryside and town», serve this objective.

From the above measures, the peasantry alone will have a net yearly gain of 140-160 million leks, a figure which exceeds the gain of the entire population from the biggest reduction of prices for consumer goods ever made in our country up to date. At the same time, further improvements are made in the ratio between higher salaries and the average pay of working people.

Thus, today in our country, the ratio between the average wage of workers, in the respective branch, and the salary of the director of the enterprise is 1 : 1.7; in general, the ratio between the average worker's wage and the salary of a department chief in the ministry is about 1:2; the ratio between lowest and highest worker's wages, within the respective branch, is about 1 : 1.5-1.65, etc. Such a structure of differentials in the wage system is a matter of Marxist-Leninist principle of such great importance that the Central Committee has considered including it in the articles of the new Constitution which states that these ratios are defined by law.

In the countries where the revisionists hold sway, these differentials are 10 to 25 times larger to the advantage of higher salaries, without taking account of the various bonuses which directors of enterprises and the engineering-technical staff receive through the capitalist distribution of profits in the revisionist enterprises.

The goods turn-over in the past five-year period grew by 35 per cent. In 1975, compared with 1970, the increases in supplies to the population were: sugar 30 per cent, fats 27 per cent, meat 27 per cent, vegetables 22 per cent, milk 43 per cent, cheese 60 per cent, eggs 180 per cent, footwear

25 per cent, knitwear 51 per cent, furniture and household utensils 26 per cent, etc.

During the past five-year period the network of health service was further extended, especially in the countryside. Health centres have been set up in almost all the agricultural cooperatives. Whereas in 1970 we had one doctor for every 1,180 inhabitants, in 1975 we have one doctor for every 870 inhabitants. As is known, in our country the health service is provided by the state to the entire population free of charge. Ours is one of the countries with the lowest death rate per thousand inhabitants in Europe, and with an average life expectancy increased from 38 years in 1938 to 68 years of age at present.

During the 5th five-year period, education and culture assumed further development. In 1975, an average of 30 out of every 100 inhabitants attended school. In all the educational-teaching activity of our new socialist school, the conscious proletarian class trend and revolutionary education through the implementation of the three components of our new educational system: lessons — production work — physical and military training, has been strengthened.

In its concern to raise the material and cultural level of the masses, during the 5th five-year period, the Party not only maintained and improved the level of the people's wellbeing, but ensured a substantial rise of it, and for the entire people. This is a great victory for the general line and the economic policy of the Party, which shows the

superiority of our socialist economic-social order over the bourgeois and revisionist capitalist order, in such a vital and decisive field as care for man and his allround needs.

In our country the prices of consumer goods have been kept and will continue to be kept stable, and in correct proportion to the needs and the purchasing power of the people.

Whereas in the capitalist countries the contrary is happening. In the first 6 months of 1975, as against 1970, the general index of prices for consumer goods in the United States of America reached 138 per cent, in Italy 170 per cent, in Yugoslavia 250 per cent, in Greece 180 per cent, etc. The same thing has been happening also in the COMECON countries where the revisionists are in power, to such an extent that, as is known, powerful demonstrations and strikes of the working class broke out in revisionist Poland recently in protest against the raising of prices for consumer goods.

Taking into account the internal and external conditions, the objective and subjective factors which have been in action, the Central Committee of the Party reached the conclusion that, in general, the targets for the economic-cultural development of the country in the 5th five-year plan were successfully fulfilled, and the fundamental political, economic and social objectives set by the 6th Congress of the Party were attained.

ON THE DRAFT-DIRECTIVES OF THE 7th CONGRESS OF THE PARTY FOR THE 6th FIVE-YEAR PLAN OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY AND CULTURE FOR THE YEARS 1976-1980

The draft-directives of the 7th Congress of the Party for the 6th five-year plan 1976-1980 of the development of the economy and culture submitted to this Congress for discussion and approval, contain tasks of great importance for our uninterrupted advance and the deepening of the revolution and the socialist construction according to the principle of self-reliance.

The targets envisaged in the draft-directives are an expression of the aspirations and interests of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, of their creative thinking and their ability to march resolutely on the road to the complete construction of socialist society.

The Party sat down face to face with the people to discuss with them the drawing-up of the draft-directives of the 6th five-year plan. These draft-directives bear the stamp of the working masses of town and countryside as never before. Upward of 13,500 commissions and planning groups, consisting of more than 82 thousand members, 78 per cent of them workers and cooperativists, were set up and functioned all over the homeland, to draft them. About

160 thousand working people contributed to the discussion in the course of the examination of the draft directives, advancing about 45 thousand proposals, of which over 30 thousand were found valuable and endorsed.

During the popular discussion of the draft-directives, the spirit of initiative, the revolutionary drive and readiness of the working masses to undertake courageous tasks in the 6th five-year plan, tasks even greater than those envisaged in the draft-directives, erupted like a volcano. The working masses themselves improved on almost all the main indices of the 6th five-year plan forwarded in the draft-directives. Especially worthy of mention are the optimism and determination of the working people of agriculture who have improved on all the indices of the 6th five-year plan, and of the majority of the agricultural economies, which have undertaken, especially in the production of bread grain, to achieve the targets set for 1980, as early as 1977 and 1978. This is another splendid testimony to the revolutionary determination of our cooperativist peasantry, our working class and all the working people of our socialist country. And all of us are fully convinced that our wonderful

people will, as always, translate their pledge into reality, and match their word with concrete deed.

All this scientific mass work was directly led by the party organizations which encouraged the revolutionary thinking of the working class and the other working masses for the drafting of a realistic and mobilizing plan in the conditions of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade, of the great economic-financial crisis of the capitalist and revisionist world, and of the sharpening class struggle, which more than at any other time make it necessary for us to build socialism by relying on our own forces, holding the pick in the one hand and the rifle in the other, even more firmly.

The basic task of the 6th five-year plan (1976-1980), as the draft-directives lay down and the report submitted by Comrade Enver Hoxha to this Congress stresses, is as follows: **«To go on at rapid rates with the socialist construction of the country for the transformation of socialist Albania into an industrial-agricultural country, with advanced industry and agriculture, according to the principle of selfreliance, for the further allround strengthening of the economic independence of the country; to further improve the socialist relations of production and the superstructure; to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and enhance the defence potential of the homeland; to raise the material and cultural level of the working masses higher while carrying further the narrowing of distinctions between town and countryside. This is to be achieved on the basis of the consistent waging of the class struggle and the mobilization of all the forces and energies of the people under the leadership of the Party».**

In laying down the fundamental task, the Central Committee of the Party has borne in mind the stage achieved in the development of the productive forces of the country and the perfecting of the socialist relations of production, as well as the demands stemming from the conditions and circumstances of the sharpening of the class struggle on an international scale, the build-up of pressure on our country from the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and the deepening of the economic-financial crisis of capitalism.

The 6th five-year plan is characterized by several fundamental features which embody the economic policy of our Party:

First, the 6th five-year plan will mark the vigorous development of all branches of the economy, the fulfilment of the needs of the economy, the people and the defence of the country, **by relying more powerfully than ever on our own forces**, on the resources of labour and the material and financial resources of the country. The main directions which ensure the deepening of the implementation of the principle of self-reliance are as follows: the acceleration of the rate of production of means of production; the vigorous increase of agricultural production and the fulfilment of all needs for bread grain with home production; ensuring about 95 per cent of the country's needs for spare parts from our industry; narrowing the gap between exports and imports, in favour of exports; coping with the fund of accumulation better than to date, especially in fundamental productive investments, from the national income produced in the country; meeting more than 90 per cent of

the needs of the population for mass consumer goods with local production.

Second, during the 6th five-year plan (1976-1980), the people's economy and culture will continue to develop at rapid rates in all branches and sectors, harmonizing the factors of the development of production and the aspects of extended socialist reproduction better.

The rise of the main indices of development of the people's economy under the 6th five-year plan will be as follows:

Indices	(in per cent)
	Increase in 1980 as against 1975
— National income	38-40
— Total industrial production	41-44
— Total agricultural production	38-41
— Volume of goods transport	30-32
— Volume of investments (for the five years taken together)	35-38
— Volume of exports (for the five years taken together)	24-26
— Productivity of labour in industry	15-17
— Productivity of labour in construction ...	12-13
— Retail goods turnover	22-25
— Real income per capita of population ...	11-14

The attainment of these objectives, especially in industry and agriculture, is a fundamental task of this five-year plan to ensure a more allround implementation of the principle of self-reliance, the further strengthening of the people's economy, the even greater strengthening of the defence potential of the homeland, and the raising of the material and cultural level of the working masses.

Third, our socialist industry will continue to develop in breadth and depth and, on this basis, its role and direct impact on its own further development and that of agriculture and the other branches of the economy, will increase. Production of means of production in 1980 will be about 62 per cent larger than in 1975.

By giving marked priority to the development of the production of means of production, the level of self-reliance will be raised higher, the level of exploitation of the country's raw materials and other natural resources will be increased in breadth and depth, exports will increase and a relative reduction of imports will be achieved.

Fourth, our socialist agriculture will undergo a further very important, quantitative and qualitative, development so that local production will meet all the needs for bread grain and for increased reserves of grain for the state as well as for every agricultural economy, as well as fulfilling the needs of the economy and the people better for other agricultural and livestock products.

On the basis of the constant dissemination of advanced experience, of the best examples in the field of agricultural production, by implementing the requirements of the agro-technical code on a broad scale and in a scientific manner, by further perfecting the organization and management of the agricultural economies and strengthening the material-technical base of agriculture, the intensification of agricultural production will be accelerated and the development of an advanced and multi-branched socialist agriculture will proceed with more reliable steps, while also increasing the

level of independence of agricultural production from weather conditions.

Fifth, the effectiveness of fundamental investments and construction will be further increased, by improving the structure of their use according to the spheres of social activity, establishing and maintaining correct proportions in the development of extended socialist reproduction by concentrating more on the most important projects and the main branches of the economy and perfecting the organization and management of the work in all links of studying, planning, designing and carrying out fundamental investments and construction.

Sixth, the further general uplift of the material and cultural level of the people is accompanied with more rapid reduction of the differences in the levels of income between working people of the countryside and working people of the town as well as in the levels of income between working people of the sphere of manual work and those of the sphere of mental work.

In 1980, the level of real per capita income of the rural population is expected to reach more than 80 per cent of the level of the real per capita income of the urban population, as against 71 per cent in 1975. By proceeding on this road, revolutionary understanding of wellbeing under socialism will be further strengthened and this will help to bring about a better mobilization of the working people to carry out the new tasks of the five-year plan and will mark a further consolidation of the alliance between the working class and the cooperativist peasantry.

1. THE TASKS FOR THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY

Under the 6th five-year plan, the fundamental task of industry is: **the rapid development of industrial production, the extension and improvement of the structure of production by giving greater priority to the industry producing means of production, utilizing the natural resources and wealth of the country in a more complex manner, to create a broader and sounder base in meeting the needs of the economy for raw materials, fuels, electric power, spare parts, chemical fertilizers and other indispensable products of broad scale use.**

Total industrial output according to the branches of industry, will increase in 1980 as against 1975 as follows:

Industries	(in per cent)	
	Growth in 1980 as against 1975	
1. Oil industry	27-29	
2. Coal industry	63-65	
3. Chromium industry	71-73	
4. Copper industry	40-42	
5. Iron-nickel industry	500-510	
6. Electric power industry	145-150	
7. Engineering industry	40-42	
8. Chemical industry	140-145	
9. Building materials industry	50-53	
10. Timber and paper industry	18-20	
11. Glass and ceramics industry	20-23	
12. Light industry	22-24	
13. Food processing industry	23-25	

In the 6th five-year plan, special importance is given to the **oil industry**, which conditions the rapid development of all branches of the economy. In 1980, as against 1975, the output of crude oil will increase 11 per cent and that of natural gas about 48 per cent.

The development of the **mining industry** will be carried on at rapid rates. In 1980, compared with 1975, the output of chromium ore will increase by 46 per cent, of copper ore by about 55 per cent, coal about twice, iron-nickel ore about 3,3 times over, and so on.

The 6th five-year plan will also mark a relatively big development of ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy.

The commissioning of important projects of ferrous metallurgy, the new copper-smelting plant and the chromium smelting plant will further raise the level of processing of mineral ores in the country, opening new perspectives for the increase of industrial production in very important products.

The electric power industry will develop faster than industry as a whole and the other branches of the economy. Its target is to meet the needs for electric power ever better and blaze the trail for the development of industry and the entire economy of the country. In 1980, as against 1975, the production of electric power will increase about 2.2 times over, and, with the full commissioning of the big Fierza hydro-power station, the generation of electric power by the hydro-power stations will be increased three-fold.

To ensure and improve the electric power balance of the country in the future, work will start under the 6th five-year plan to build the most powerful hydro-power plant of the country at Koman, on the Drin River, as well as several other hydro-power stations with lesser capacity.

Under the 6th five-year plan, the **engineering industry** will play an important role in the further strengthening of the technical base of all the sectors of the economy. Its principal task is to maintain the stock of vehicles and the equipment at the disposal of the people's economy, to guarantee continuous renewal of the productive capacities. This task will be fulfilled by increasing the production of spare parts to the greatest possible extent. As against 1975, in 1980 the production of spare parts will increase by 63 per cent, and about 95 per cent of the needs of the people's economy for spare parts will be fulfilled with local products.

The engineering industry has reached such a level of technical development that now, besides carrying out its main task of maintaining the stock of vehicles and equipment of the people's economy, it is capable of organizing the production of assembled units and aggregates, of increasing the production of machinery and equipment for the mechanization of work processes, and turning out complete sets of equipment for the new industrial projects.

Under the 6th five-year plan, the **chemical industry** will be developed rapidly, becoming a powerful support for the development of agriculture and the other branches of the economy, and for the better fulfilment of the needs of the people.

The building materials industry will develop to keep pace with the large volume of construction to be carried

out in all the branches of the people's economy. Cement production will increase especially, rising about 55 per cent.

The **timber and paper industry** will grow further, to meet the needs of the economy and the people better.

The **light and food-processing industry** will develop further under the 6th five-year plan. The production of knitwear will increase by about 30 per cent, of ready-made clothing about 20 per cent, footwear by about 34 per cent, fats about 84 per cent, and sugar by about 80 per cent, and so on.

2. THE TASKS FOR A VIGOROUS DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE

To cope successfully with the two-fold blockade and encirclement by the imperialist and revisionist enemies, who are trying in every way to strangle our economy, to guarantee the defence of the homeland under even the most difficult conditions, the vigorous development of agriculture and **attainment* of self-sufficiency in bread grain is a permanent, economic, political and strategic task of prime importance for our Party and people.** Therefore, we should concentrate our minds, energies, means and priorities on this, to really make agriculture the concern of the entire people, and to absolutely guarantee that it carries out its basic task: **to ensure at all costs the production of our people's bread within the country and increase grain reserves, to fulfil the needs of the people for foodstuffs, to supply industry with raw materials and increase exports of agricultural products.**

During the 6th five-year plan, agricultural production will increase by 38-41 per cent, and within this framework the production of field crops will increase by 45-48 per cent.

In 1980, **bread grain production** will be 60 per cent greater than in 1975. More than 80 per cent of the increase in bread grain production, will be attained through increased yields.

This target is fully attainable if we consider the fact that the average yield of bread grain (wheat, maize and rye) reached 23 quintals per hectare in 1975, and in 1976 it is expected to increase to 28 quintals per hectare, precisely the planned level for this year. Therefore, there is no doubt that in 1980 the average grain yield will reach 34 quintals per hectare, as much as, or more than, envisaged under the five-year plan.

The state has made colossal investments in agriculture: marshes and swamps have been reclaimed, the plains, as a whole, have been ameliorated and brought under irrigation, hundreds of reservoirs and thousands of irrigation canals have been built in the hilly and mountainous areas, scrub has been cleared and large-scale land systematization schemes have been carried out, and so on. Now, we have a relatively powerful park of farm machinery, an entire army of cadres of higher and medium training with

great experience in farming, and thousands of splendid examples of production brigades that achieve high yields.

The rational use of bread grain and the fulfilment of the other needs of the people and the economy set the very important task of considerably increasing production and use of **potatoes** and **vegetables**. In the 6th five-year plan, potato production will increase by 48 to 50 per cent, and the production of vegetables by 50 to 52 per cent.

To fulfill the needs of the economy and the people better, in the 6th five-year period a great increase is foreseen also in the production of **industrial crops**.

During the 6th five-year plan the number of tractors (reckoned in 15 HP) will increase about 20 per cent, chemical fertilizers (reckoned in active material per ha) will increase about 65 per cent, the irrigation capacity will increase about 18 per cent, and tens of thousands of hectares of land in the most fertile plains will be improved, etc.

The Party has always followed a correct policy over the movement of the labour force from the countryside to the town and vice-versa, and for stabilizing and increasing the labour force in the countryside. In the capitalist and revisionist countries a process of depopulation and abandonment of the countryside, of the unrestrained shifting of the peasant population to the cities, is taking place, thus adding to the army of the unemployed and the level of the capitalist exploitation of workers and peasants. The modern revisionists boast when the country population dwindles. They call this «economic and social progress»! This is not progress but capitalist economic and social ruin.

With us, the opposite occurs. Today in our country, just as five or ten years ago, about 66 per cent of the population lives in the countryside, while the urban population comprises only about 34 per cent of the total population of the country, despite the rapid development of industry and other activities in the towns. During the 6th five-year period it is expected that the labour force engaged in agriculture will increase by about 30 per cent. This is a distinctive feature of our economic and social development and especially of our socialist countryside.

Great importance should be given to securing **high yield seeds** as well as to ensuring the optimal number of plants per hectare. Our target is that within 1977 no less than 85 per cent of the maize seed should be of first generation hybrid varieties, whereas no less than 60-65 per cent of the wheat seed should be of the first and second generation. Further work should be carried out to improve these norms rapidly, particularly as far as seed wheat is concerned. We should not spare either seed nor work to ensure the optimal number of plants per ha in all cases.

There can be no intensive and advanced agriculture without developed **livestock farming**. In this five-year plan a better harmonization is envisaged in the development of these two branches.

The production of meat will rise 40-41 per cent, milk and eggs 35-37 per cent, wool 34-35 per cent, etc.

In the 6th five-year period, **fruit-growing**, too, will be further developed. Fruit production will rise 68-70 per cent, citrus-fruits 60-65 per cent, grapes 64-68 per cent, etc.

3. FUNDAMENTAL INVESTMENTS AND CONSTRUCTION

To ensure the allround and rapid development of all branches of people's economy and culture, in this five-year plan, there will be a big increase in fundamental investments and construction. Compared with the 5th five-year plan, state investments in the various branches of the economy will increase by 43 per cent.

The size of these investments becomes apparent if we bear in mind that during the 6th five-year plan, for the development of the people's economy and other sectors, the state will invest as much as the total amount of investments made during the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th five-year plans taken together; that is, in the period 1976-1980 the state will invest more than it invested in the twenty-years from 1951-1970.

The bulk of the fundamental state investments is directed towards the development of productive forces in the branches of material production. Of the total volume of investments, 68 per cent will be used for the further development of industry and agriculture only. They will serve to carry the process of socialist industrialization further and to speed up the intensification of agriculture.

In agriculture, besides the state investments, important investments will be made also from the funds and means of the agricultural cooperatives themselves. If we include the investments to be made from the fund the agricultural cooperatives, the specific weight of investments made in the sector of agriculture amounts to 22.5 per cent of the total volume of investments as a Republic.

In the total state investments, construction-assembly takes about 51 per cent of their overall volume, with an increase of 48 per cent in comparison with the 5th five-year plan.

4. TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

During the 6th five-year plan, all kinds of transport and communications will be further developed and intensified, ensuring a more complete coordination between them.

Under the 6th five-year plan the volume of goods transport will rise 30-32 per cent, while transport by the means at the disposal of the Ministry of Communications will rise 35 per cent.

Rail transport will be given priority, increasing about 62 per cent. In 1980 it will carry out about 38 per cent of the volume of transport within the framework of the system of the Ministry of Communications. Motor vehicle transport of goods is to be concentrated mainly in the remote areas of the country.

Coastal shipping will increase about 50 per cent, and overseas shipping about 35 per cent.

During the 6th five-year plan postal services and communications in towns and work centres, as well as in the agricultural cooperatives, will be further extended and improved.

5. THE TASKS FOR THE FURTHER IMPROVEMENT OF THE WELLBEING OF THE PEOPLE

The targets put forward for raising the wellbeing of the people have been set in accord with the increase in national income and with the ratio of its distribution between the fund of consumption and the fund of accumulation, bearing in mind the deepening of the revolutionary understanding of wellbeing and the tempering of the consciousness of the working people.

During the 6th five-year plan **national income** is envisaged to increase by 38-40 per cent, at an average annual rate of about 7 per cent. The accumulation fund will comprise 35 per cent of the distributed national income, while the consumption fund will comprise 65 per cent, giving priority to the fund of social consumption. On this basis, in 1980 the real income per capita of population will be 11-14 per cent higher than in 1975.

To ensure the consistent implementation of the line of the Party for reducing essential distinctions between town and countryside, the real per capita income of the rural population will grow at a rate three times as fast as that of the townspeople.

The **increase in real income** and in the purchasing power of population will be covered by the necessary funds of goods and the increase in their circulation through the trade network. In 1980 the **goods turnover** is envisaged to be 22-25 per cent larger than in 1975, while for some staple commodities, which constitute the basis of the people's consumption, the growth will be still greater.

The 6th five-year plan will see a further strengthening of the measures for the protection of the **health of the people**, with the further development and extension of the health service, especially in the countryside.

All the state and economic organs, especially the organs of health and communal services, should attach particular attention to the **protection of the environment** to prevent pollution by industrial waste and refuse, and to keep our environment clean and beautiful.

6. TASKS IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION, CULTURE AND SCIENCE

During the 6th five-year period, too, one of the principal directions for the development of education will be to further increase the mass participation in schooling. In

8-year schooling work is needed to draw in and maintain the full contingent of pupils and to improve the quality of the teaching allround. Secondary schooling, especially vocational schooling, will be extended to a greater proportion of the masses. At the same time, lower grade vocational schooling and qualification courses will be further developed in order to train skilled workers for the various branches of the economy, especially for agriculture, the mines, oil, geology, and construction. In 1980 the number of pupils attending full-time and part-time secondary schools is forecast to be about 29 per cent greater than in 1975.

The training of higher specialists will be done in keeping with the essential needs of the various branches of the people's economy and culture at present and in the future, and according to the possibilities the state has.

Comrade delegates,

These are the broad outlines of the main directions and tasks of the 6th five-year plan. They constitute a majestic, militant and revolutionary program for the Party and the entire people, which, applied in practice, will ensure the triumphant march forward of our country on the road to the complete construction of socialist society.

In setting the targets for the 6th five-year plan account has been taken of the internationalist aid of the People's Republic of China of the credits which the People's Republic of China has accorded to the People's Republic of Albania, on the basis of the official agreements concluded between the governments of the two countries. We thank the People's Republic of China, which, with the solicitude and under the instructions of comrade Mao Tse-tung, has given and is giving our country its internationalist aid to build socialism and strengthen its defence potential.

The tasks which this Congress is setting for the 6th five-year plan are big, but we have all the possibilities to realize them completely: in the first place, we have the correct Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Party and its correct line; we have the necessary material-technical base; we have the working class, the cooperativist peasantry, and the people's intelligentsia, which are linked like flesh to bone with the Party and are ready even to throw themselves into the flames to carry out the line of the Party; we have an entire army of wonderful, revolutionary, and capable cadres.

We are all convinced that the 6th five-year plan will be realized with success, and this will constitute another major victory of the Party and our people, and at the same time, another defeat for our imperialist, social-imperialist, revisionist and reactionary enemies.

Having spoken in detail about the main tasks emerging for the Party organs and organizations, for the state organs and those of the economy, as well as for the mass organizations in their activity to ensure the fulfillment of the 6th five-year plan, comrade Mehmet Shehu said:

We have heard the report «**On the Activity of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania**» delivered to this Congress by the beloved leader of our Party and people, comrade Enver Hoxha. We have all unanimously approved this historic report. All of us, the delegates to this Congress, all the members of the Party and the entire Albanian people, united like a steel fist around the Central Committee and comrade Enver Hoxha, are determined to carry through to the end the great tasks which emerge from this report.

The report which comrade Enver Hoxha delivered to this Congress is a reaffirmation of the correctness of the general line of our Party and a further development of this consistent, profoundly Marxist-Leninist line. We shall uphold this line in all our revolutionary activity.

The unanimous approval of the general line of the Party, as defined in the report of comrade Enver Hoxha, by us, the delegates to the Congress, by all the communists and the entire working people, is not only a powerful testimony to the unity of thought and action of our Party and people, but also a solemn pledge and militant oath by all of us to put it into practice at any cost and under any circumstances, to defend this line even with our blood if the need arises. And we shall keep this oath to the end.

The report of comrade Enver Hoxha also presents the line of the Party concerning the **new Constitution**. This is the second Constitution of our state drawn up by the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha. It bears the seal of the revolutionary individuality of our Party and people. It consecrates the majestic victories achieved up to date by our people and Party in the construction of socialism, and opens up great perspectives for our march forward, ever forward, the road of socialism and communism.

The new Constitution is a powerful weapon in the hands of the Party and the people for the affirmation and protection of the great victories we have achieved so far, to ensure that we continue on the socialist road, and to block the paths to the passage of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism in our country. Therefore, not only has the draft-Constitution been unanimously approved by our people and Party, but our new Constitution will be enthusiastically applauded by all the many friends of Albania and the revolutionaries of the world, and it is bound to be criticized by the enemies.

Through the new Constitution we give the leading role of the Party in the entire life of the country the force of law; we defend and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat; we prohibit for ever the return to the exploitation of man by man and the restoration of private property; we ban credits from the capitalist and revisionist states; for ever we refuse to admit foreign, military bases, warships and armies on our territory. We have given constitutional force to the settlement of these and other similar cardinal issues for the fate of the people, the homeland, and socialism in Albania.

They will call us «stubborn dogmatists». What if they do! When true Marxist-Leninists make a decision or carry out revolutionary actions, they are not concerned with what the reactionaries and anti-Marxists say!

Should we accept credits from the capitalist and revisionist countries? Never! «...the Albanian people and their Party of Labour will live even on grass if need be, but they will never sell out,»¹ said comrade Enver Hoxha in the crucial moments of the year 1961. This is the word of the Party, the solemn pledge of the Albanian people, who have never gone back on the word of the Party but always have kept their pledge and always will!

Should we permit foreign armies to be based or deployed on our territory? Never! They will say that we are small and cannot resist. That is what the imperialists and capitulationists have always said of small nations. But if Scanderbeg could resist for 25 years on end and always defeated the Osman Turks, what about us who have the Party, a united people, socialism, weapons, numerous friends all over the world? In these conditions, as comrade Enver Hoxha put it over 16 years ago, «Cursed be our mothers' milk, cursed be the bread the Party and people feed us with, if we do not defend the interests of our people!»²

In comrade Enver Hoxha's report great tasks are raised for the further strengthening of the leading role of the Party and the deepening of the revolutionization of its internal life. We are determined to carry these tasks through to the end, for without continuously strengthening the leading role of the Party, the revolution and socialism cannot advance; without the leadership of the Party there is no freedom, no independence, no social justice, no socialism, no communism. Therefore we communists and the entire people say: «**The Party above everything!**».

In comrade Enver Hoxha's report great tasks are laid down for **strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat** and improving the work of the state and economic organs. We will carry these tasks through to the end, for without the dictatorship of the proletariat socialism cannot be built. Only the revisionists claim that the dictatorship of the proletariat should be turned into a «state of the entire people», that «the state should begin to wither away right now». We say that far from withering away, our proletarian state «should be enlivened still more,» until after all revisionist and bourgeois seeds throughout the world have shrivelled and died!

In his report, comrade Enver Hoxha defined the **economic policy of the Party** for the 6th five-year period and for the perspective. We will carry out this policy with all our might, right to the end, for this is the only way to ensure the socialist road of development for our country.

At the centre of the implementation of the economic policy of our Party, comrade Enver Hoxha put the **principle of self-reliance**. Without fail, we must carry this fundamental principle of our Party right through to the end, for only in this way will socialist Albania be able to resist the hostile blockade and encirclement.

The blockade is savage and the encirclement is tight. But there is no blockade or encirclement that can conquer the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people!

Although a small country encircled and under blockade, socialist Albania stands like a granite «island» in the great and perfidious imperialist and revisionist ocean. Proud and heroic, it repels the waves and tempests of the times with contempt, and the flag of socialism and communism

that flies over this «island» will never be struck, because here we have a solid foundation and structure, very strong and unshakable, we have the people and the Party, educated in the immortal ideas of the great leaders of the world proletariat — Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and in the life-giving teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha.

In his report comrade Enver Hoxha clearly and openly defines the correct stand of our Party and state over the **great problems of the communist movement and the international situation**, of the present time and of the future.

Our Party and its Central Committee with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, have made it a standard of their revolutionary morality and character to say things openly, to tell the truth as it is and as they see it, without hiding the reality.

Our Party has never limited the range of its vision to the end of its nose, it has always looked far, far ahead. Therefore, it has never been caught unawares in the numerous and dangerous ambushes the enemies have laid in for it. Realistic foresight is a distinctive feature of the revolutionary maturity of our Party, and this foresight has always guided our revolutionary stand and action. All those who have cast a stone at our Party and the Albanian people have had that stone fall on their own heads. That is what has happened and always will happen.

We know that the US imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists and their flunkies will fight us. But we know also that the true revolutionaries will be of the same opinion as us.

We air our viewpoint boldly, as we see it, irrespective of what others may think. That is what Marxism-Leninism teaches us. That is how life itself and the struggle have tempered us. Someone may wonder why Albania, which is such a small country, should pronounce itself so openly on these things! But Marxism-Leninism does not recognize «big states» and «small states», «big parties» and «small parties», «big peoples» and «small peoples». According to Marxism-Leninism every nation has the right to have its say, every Marxist-Leninist party has the right to air its views. And the Party of Labour of Albania has exercised, and always will exercise this right, the Marxist-Leninist right to speak, for no one has granted it this right, but it has won it itself, through consistent revolutionary struggle. This is, at the same time, also a revolutionary duty for our Party. And it has honourably discharged this duty and always will.

Comrade delegates,

We have made a very good start in the great battle for the implementation of the 6th five-year plan. From the four corners of our homeland come the glad tidings of the wonderful successes that are being achieved in the fulfilment of the tasks of the plan for the current year. This

1 Enver Hoxha, Works, Vol. 22, p. 127 (Alb. ed.).

2 Enver Hoxha, «Works», vol. 19, p. 54 (Alb. ed.).

unprecedented drive at work and this lofty revolutionary spirit of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry, and all the working people has been still more encouraged by the socialist emulation which has burst out in honour of the 7th Congress of the Party and the great jubilee of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Party. Assuredly, after the Congress, this revolutionary drive and enthusiasm will burst out even more powerfully for the fulfilment of the tasks of the 6th five-year plan.

With unwavering confidence in the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist general line of the Party, with unwavering confidence in our forces, determined to go all-out for

the implementation of the line of the Party for the socialist construction and the preservation of the homeland from any threat, in steel-like unity of the people around the Party and of the Party around the Central Committee with comrade Enver Hoxha at its head, with a clear perspective of our happy future, the Albanian people, led with revolutionary mastery by the Party, will mobilize all their forces and energies for the fulfilment of the tasks laid down by this Congress, and they will always hold aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism in socialist Albania, for our socialist happiness and in the interests of the revolution throughout the world.

CLOSING SPEECH BY COMRADE ENVER HOXHA

Comrade delegates,

The proceedings of the 7th Congress of the Party are drawing to a close with a full success and amidst indescribable revolutionary enthusiasm.

At its 1st Plenum, the new Central Committee unanimously elected by the 7th Congress, elected the political Bureau and the Secretariat. To the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee the following comrades have been unanimously elected:

MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU:

Enver Hoxha, Adil Çarçani, Haki Toska, Hekuran Isai, Hysni Kapo, Kadri Hazbiu, Manush Myftiu, Mehmet Shehu, Pali Miska, Ramiz Alia, Rita Marko, and Spiro Koleka.

ALTERNATE-MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU

Lenka Çuko, Llambi Gegprifti, Pilo Peristeri, Qiriako Mihali and Simon Stefani.

THE SECRETARIAT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE:

Enver Hoxha, Hekuran Isai, Hysni Kapo, Prokop Murra and Ramiz Alia.

FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE:

Enver Hoxha

CHAIRMAN OF THE CENTRAL CONTROL AND AUDIT COMMISSION:

Pilo Peristeri

Allow me to assure the Party and the entire people, on behalf of all the comrades you elected to the Central Committee, that the new leadership will fight and work untiringly, with loyalty and devotion, for the cause of socialism in Albania, and the freedom and independence of the homeland, that it

will always measure up to its great mission and remain unwaveringly loyal to Marxism-Leninism.

The proceedings of this Congress and the election of the leading organs of the Party provided fresh evidence of the revolutionary communist features which characterize our Party, of its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, on which the Party always bases itself to guide the construction of the socialist society in Albania with a firm hand, to smash the obstacles and overcome the difficulties that our country has faced on its victorious march, to guarantee the people a happy and brilliant future.

The 7th Congress was another brilliant manifestation of the unity of the ranks of the Party, of the sound revolutionary solidarity which has been the invincible and all-conquering weapon in all the great class battles against internal and external enemies. From this Congress our unity emerged even stronger, and this is another guarantee that the enemies will never find cracks in our Party.

During these days, delegates who broadly represented the entire Party and all sectors have spoken in the Congress. With their mature and profound participation in the discussion, they made a valuable contribution to deepening the analyses and making the tasks now facing the Party clearer. They were an expression of the determination of the members of our Party and our entire people to carry constantly forward the communist ideals for which our heroic Party has fought boldly and dauntlessly.

The proceedings of the Congress were characterized by boundless loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of our Party, by loyalty to revolutionary principle and lofty proletarian consciousness. This is a testimony to the strength of the Party, a proof that it has in its hands the invincible weapon of Marxism-Leninism, which helps it to avoid mistakes and score ever greater victories.

The decisions which the Congress adopted, like those of earlier Congresses, will be another brilliant page in the glorious history of the construction of socialism in Albania, of the resolute struggle it is waging for the victory of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of communism.

Now, a great program of work and struggle lies ahead of the Party and the people. In the documents

which our Congress endorsed all the targets and objectives which have to be attained in the coming five years have been laid down in a clear and concrete way. Achievement of them will make our economy even more powerful, will make the defence of the homeland even stronger, raise our culture to a higher level and further improve the life of the people. Therefore, let us mobilize all our forces to carry out the 6th five year plan.

The successes achieved, the waging of the class struggle on the correct road, revolutionary determination and lofty patriotism of our people, the maturity and rich revolutionary experience of the Party, its correct Marxist-Leninist line enable us to say with firm conviction that the new objectives and tasks laid down by this Congress will be achieved and fulfilled successfully in all fields.

Therefore, just as up to now, we must spare nothing for the further strengthening and tempering of our heroic Party, the tested and reliable leader of our people, we must ceaselessly study Marxism-Leninism, the triumphant science of the proletariat, must assimilate and use more and more the rich experience of our People's Revolution and the construction of socialism, further strengthen the unity of the people around the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the invincible weapons for the successful construction of socialism and defence of the homeland.

Comrades,

A large number of representatives of the Marxist-Leninist sister parties from all continents took part in the proceedings of our Congress. This is a great honour for our Party. Allow me, in your name, and in the name of the entire Party and people, to extend my heartfelt thanks to our dear friends and comrades for the ardent greetings which they brought us and the warm words they addressed to our Party, and to thank the Communist Party of China for the fraternal message it sent our Congress.

The support which the Marxist-Leninist sister parties give the efforts of our Party for the con-

struction of socialism, their evaluation of its struggle against US-led imperialism, Soviet-led social-imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction, are a great and very valuable source of encouragement to us.

We assure our comrades in arms, the Marxist-Leninists everywhere in the world, that their sister Party of Labour, the Albanian communists and the Albanian people will always march forward on their road of the revolution and socialism, that they will never submit to any threat, however terrible it may be. Our Party will fight unflinchingly, always stand shoulder to shoulder with the Marxist-Leninist parties and the genuine revolutionaries in the class battles, and together, we shall conquer and triumph over our enemies, because we are all guided by Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The militant unity and internationalist proletarian solidarity of the Marxist-Leninists have been and are very precious to our Party. We shall not spare our efforts to strengthen them continuously, certain that in this way, we are performing our internationalist duty. Our Party will never cease its struggle against the aggressive plots and plans of the two superpowers, against the bourgeoisie and revisionism, its determined struggle for the defence of Marxism-Leninism, for the victory of communism.

Forward, comrades to put the decisions of the 7th Congress into practice as quickly and effectively as possible, to score new victories on the brilliant road, on which the Party leads us.

**LONG LIVE THE PARTY OF LABOUR, THE
INDOMITABLE LEADER OF THE VICTORIES,
OF THE PRESENT AND FUTURE, OF SOCIALIST
ALBANIA!**

LONG LIVE OUR HEROIC PEOPLE!

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM!

I declare the 7th congress of the Party of Labour of Albania closed.

ACTIVITIES DEDICATED TO THE OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PL

Comrade ENVER HOXHA meets the guests that attended the proceedings of the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania

On 30th October, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, comrade Enver Hoxha, received the foreign delegations that had come to attend the proceedings of the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, as well as the Marxist-Leninist guests: Mehmet Temel, of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Turkey, Ahmad Sadafi, of the Iranian Marxist-Leninist Organization «Tufan», Sigrun Hued Porgrimsd of the Communist League of the Marxist-Leninist Union of Iceland, the French pu-

blicist Patrick Kessel, the journalists, Torlief Hansen, of the Norwegian newspaper «Klassenkampen», Karena Wagner of the German newspaper «Roter Morgen», who where invited by the editorial board of the newspaper «Zëri i Popullit», to attend the proceedings of the 7th Congress of the Party.

Leaders of the Party and State, functionaries of the apparatus of the Central Committee of the Party and «Zëri i Popullit» where also present. The reception passed in a very warm and friendly atmosphere.

Reception at the Palace of Brigades

On the occasion of the conclusion of the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania and the jubilee celebration of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Party, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania gave a reception on November 7th in the Palace of Brigades.

Present at the reception were: the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Enver Hoxha, the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania, Haxhi Lleshi, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, Mehmet Shehu, other leaders of the Party and State, delegates to the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, representatives of the mass organizations and other guests.

Also present at the reception were the foreign delegations and guests that attended the proceedings of the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania.

The Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Hysni Kapo, delivered a short speech at the reception. He stressed the exceptional importance of the 7th Congress for the Party of Labour

of Albania and the Albanian people. Then, addressing the foreign delegations that attended the proceedings of the Congress, Hysni Kapo said:

«You, dear comrades of the fraternal parties, through the proceedings of our Congress, became acquainted with the work and successes of the Albanian communists and people, with their efforts in socialist construction and for the further strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania. You saw the determination of the Albanian people to continue the revolution, to develop the class struggle on the correct road, to resolutely combat the many imperialist and revisionist enemies that surround us, any bourgeois and revisionist ideology. The ardent words that you addressed to our Party and people at the Congress, as well as the fraternal messages of greetings from the Communist Party of China, the other Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations, inspire us and give us strength to implement the Marxist-Leninist line of our Party faithfully, to carry through to the end the great tasks which the 7th Congress of the Party set us.

With deep satisfaction we see that today, the Marxist-Leninist movement is growing and developing steadily on

THE 35th ANNIVERSARY OF THE PARTY AND ITS 7th CONGRESS

all the continents. Its strength lies, first of all, in the great ideas it represents, in its unwavering confidence in Marxism-Leninism, in the determination and courage it displays in the struggle for the great cause of the proletariat and the peoples, against the class enemies, against the enemies of the revolution and Marxism-Leninism.

The Marxist-Leninist movement has a brilliant future. The Marxist-Leninist parties, enlightened by the triumphant ideology of Marxism-Leninism, fighting with determination for the cause of the revolution, will certainly make their valuable contribution to the continuous strengthening and further consolidation of this movement that is striving for the realization of the aspirations of the working class and all the masses of the working people.

The Marxist-Leninist unity and the fraternal internationalist relations among the true Marxist-Leninist parties are growing steadily stronger. The best evidence of this pleasing fact is the participation of the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces that you represent in our 7th Congress. This unity is also expressed through the close links and mutual support that the Marxist-Leninist parties give one another in their revolutionary struggle. The Party of Labour of

Albania expresses its deep gratitude for this support.

By betraying Marxism-Leninism the modern revisionists of all hues, headed by the Soviet revisionist renegade gang, have betrayed the cause of the working class, the cause of the revolution and the liberation of peoples. Wherever the revisionists are in power capitalism has now been restored. This betrayal could not fail to lead their parties and the revisionists themselves into complete and all round ideological, political and organizational degeneration, could not fail to turn them into zealous lackeys of capital and social-imperialism.

As worthy successors to the finest traditions of the revolutionary struggle of the working class, the Marxist-Leninist parties have kept the banner of Marxism-Leninism unsullied and are raising it higher and higher each day. Through their determined struggle at the head of the working class and the masses of the working people, they will expose the revisionist betrayal to the end, and will tear every mask from the faces of the modern revisionists, so that they are shown up more and more as they really are, traitors and renegades, vulgar agents of the imperialist bourgeoisie and social-imperialism.

Of course, the difficulties are great. But for the Marxist-Leninist parties and the true Marxist-Leninists, the road has never been strewn with roses. They have been formed, grown up, and tempered in a fierce blow for blow struggle with the class enemy. Only they can and will lead the working class to the triumph of the revolution, which is inevitable.

On behalf of our Party and its Central Committee with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, on behalf of our people, we assure you, dear comrades, and through you, the parties that you represent, that the Party of Labour of Albania, in steel-like unity with its heroic people, will struggle consistently and undeviatingly for the implementation of the decisions of the 7th Congress. As always, our Party will keep the banner of Marxism-Leninism flying proudly on high, it will honourably discharge its duties towards its own peoples, as well as its internationalist duties. In the Albanian communists and the Albanian people the Marxist-Leninists and all the fighters for the cause of the working class, of the freedom and independence of the peoples, will find their reliable and sincere friends, their comrades of the one aim and of the one ideal».

Visit to the Museum House in Which the Party Was Founded

On November 8th, the beloved leader of the Party and the Albanian people, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Enver Hoxha, accompanied by the members and alternate-members of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of

the Central Committee of the Party, etc., paid a visit to the small house in which, 35 years ago, on November 8th 1941, the Communist Party of Albania (today the Party of Labour of Albania) was founded in conditions of greatest secrecy. The leaders of the Party and

State entered the room in which the meeting was held. With deep emotion, comrade Enver Hoxha took once more in his hand the pen with which he signed the resolution on the founding of the Party.

A photograph of those present was taken as a souvenir in the yard of the house. Thousands of residents of the capital had come out to cheer comrade Enver Hoxha and the other leaders of the Party all along the street that now is called Founding of the Party Street. —

Homage and Wreaths at the Graves of Martyrs of the Homeland

On the occasion of the Jubilee of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Party and its 7th Congress on November 8th homage was paid at the

graves of the Martyrs of the Homeland and wreaths were laid.

Comrades Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu laid the wreath on behalf of the

Central Committee. Wreaths were laid also from the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers, the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, etc. The members and alternate-members of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Party, etc. were present at the ceremony.

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On the same day, homage was paid at the Graves of the Martyrs and wreaths were laid by the Delegation of the Workers' Party of Korea, the Delegation of the Workers' Party of Vietnam, the Delegation of the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos, and by other delegations of the Marxist-Leninist parties that attended the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania.

At the Martyrs Cemetery the foreign guests were met by the Director of the

Foreign Department of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Piro Biti, the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the People's Council of the Tirana District, Nesip Ibrahim, and the Secretary of the Party Committee of Tirana District, Ruhi Sheqi.

During the ceremony of the laying of wreaths a brass band played funeral marches. —

A great rally in Tirana

On occasion of the conclusion of the proceedings of the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania and the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Party, on November 8th a great rally was organized in Tirana.

The «Scanderbeg Square», the main square of Tirana, was filled to capacity right from the earliest hours of the morning. More than 100,000 inhabitants of the capital, of all ages and walks of life gathered in this square to express, once more, to the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha, their deep love and gratitude for all the blessings the Albanian people enjoy today, and their readiness and determination to advance always on the course charted by the Party.

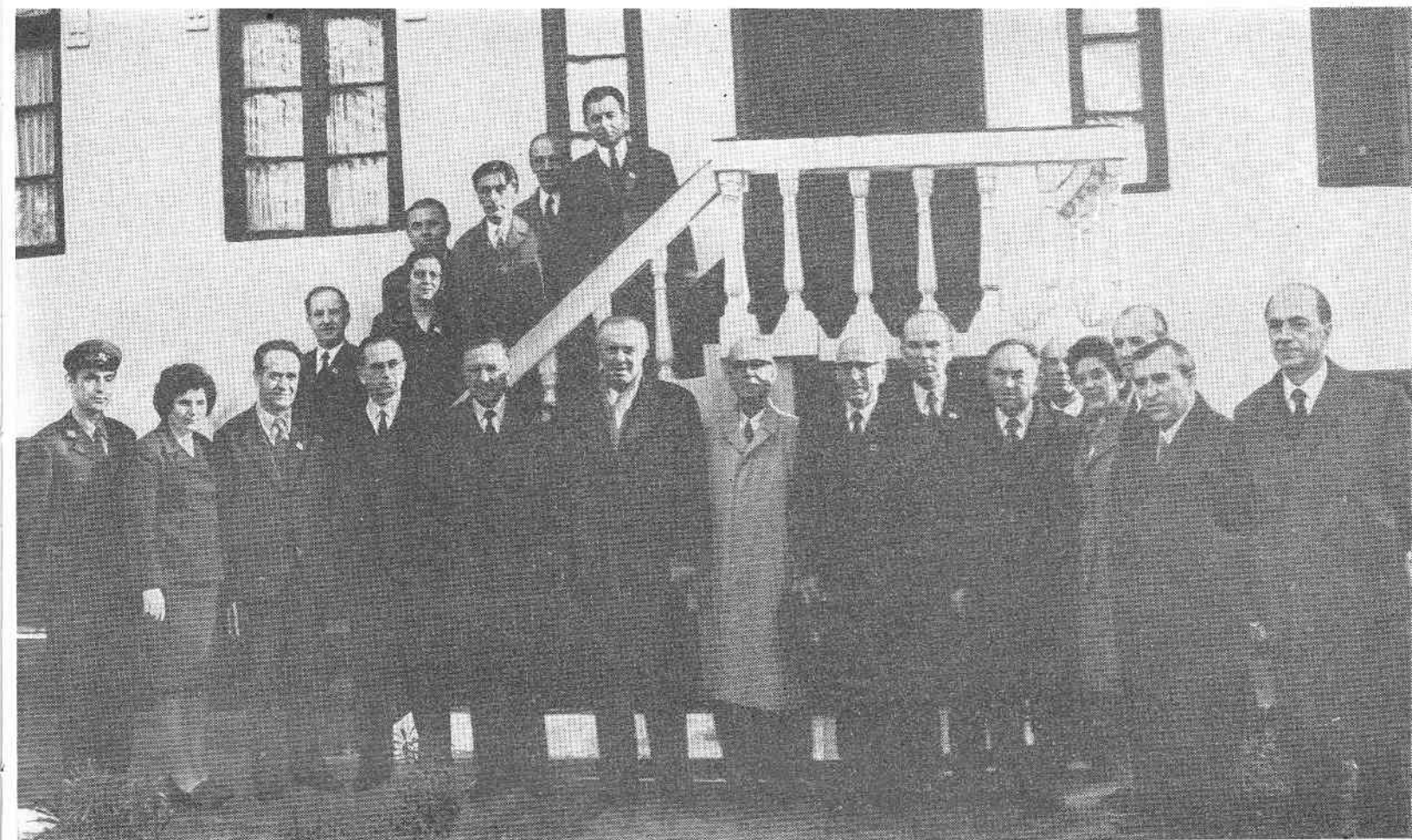
Present at the rally were the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Enver Hoxha, the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania, Haxhi Lleshi, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, Mehmet Shehu, other leaders of the Party and State, delegates to the 7th Congress of the PLA, as well as the foreign delegations that attended the proceedings of the Congress.

The Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, comrade Mehmet Shehu, conveyed greetings and goodwishes to all present, on behalf of the Congress, the Central Committee of the Party, and comrade Enver Hoxha personally.

«Since 8th November 1941, since that day when, in profound illegality in a small house of old Tirana, Comrade Enver Hoxha founded the Communist Party of Albania, thirty-five years have gone by», said Comrade Mehmet Shehu. «This is the most glorious period in the history of the Albanian people. The great historic revolutionary upheaval which has taken place in our country during this period, under the leadership of the Party, has completely changed the face of Albania. From a country occupied at that time by the Italian fascists and German nazis, Albania has been transformed into a free, sovereign, and independent country, a socialist

country, where the working class is in power, where the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established and is growing ever stronger. From the feudal and bourgeois hell of barbarous oppression and social injustice it was at that time, we emerged into the socialist light, into the life of happiness and joy, in which the exploitation of man by man, illiteracy and ignorance have been wiped out, where there are no more churches, mosques, and enslaving customs, no more oppression and misery, poverty, emigration and unemployment for the people. Today, Albania is the only country in Europe without exploiting classes, without taxes and levies, where the health service is provided by the state, free of charge for all the people, where education, too, is free of charge for all, where there is electric light in even the most remote house of our country, where the woman has won the rights that are due to her, complete equality with the man in political, social, and family life. Albania has become the country where the standard of living for the people is rising and where the prices of consumer goods have never gone up, where the relations of production are thoroughly socialist, such as to prevent the emergence of privileged strata and the return to capitalism. From the country which, at one time, was the most backward in Europe, today, Albania has become a country with the most advanced social order, a socialist country, with an economy that knows no crises, but has stability, and knows only development, with an advanced socialist culture, with a defence potential capable of coping with any danger, in any circumstances whatever. Little Albania, which once was scorned and humiliated by all, today, in the epoch of the Party, has won sympathy and friends throughout the world, and its word and voice are listened to with respect, because they are the word and voice of the Marxist-Leninist truth.

Who was it raised Albania to these heights? The Party, leading the people, the Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, and the blood and sweat of the Albanian people. Eternal glory to



Comrade Enver Hoxha and other leaders of the Party at the Museum-House in which the Communist Party of Albania (now the Party of Labour of Albania) was founded on November 8th 1941

our heroic Party and our industrious and valiant people.»

Then Comrade Mehmet Shehu spoke about the importance of the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania and the decisions it took.

«The report which Comrade Enver Hoxha submitted to the Congress and the decisions the Congress took, are a majestic revolutionary program of major tasks for the future of our country in all fields of life. At the same time, they constitute a further development of the general line of the Party for the complete construction of socialist society, and a further enrichment of the theoretical Marxist-Leninist thought of our Party».

«Congress and the Central Committee of the Party wish all the communists, all the working people of industry, agriculture, construction, transport, education and health, trade and finance, of all state and economic sectors, complete success in the realization of the tasks which the 7th Congress of the Party laid down, so that they will go to the next Congress, the coming 8th Congress, with the targets achieved, as the lofty interests of our homeland and socialism require».

Comrade Mehmet Shehu continued:
«Thirty-five years experience of the complex and complicated struggle of our Party has taught us that we must be vigilant and never trust the enemies — American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, revisionists of any hue and the reactionaries of the world. The 7th Congress of the Party once more re-affirmed the strategy and tactics in our Marxist-Leninist foreign policy, proceeding from the principle that our struggle in the international arena and for the defence of the interests of our homeland and the revolution in the world, should be aimed against both U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, at the same time, because these two superpowers are the most dangerous enemies of mankind and the revolution. And there is no force in the world that can shift socialist Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania in the slightest, from this proletarian class strategic position.

Storm clouds are gathering in the skies of Europe. It is the Soviet social-imperialists and the American imperialists who want to dominate Europe and the whole world, who have provoked this turbulent situation. But these

clouds will never black out the sky over Albania, because the strength of Marxism-Leninism, the heart of the Albanian people, the structure and ideas of the Party of Labour of Albania, cannot be conquered, nor even obscured, by the black clouds spread by the American imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists.

We have been and are encircled and under blockade. But we have never been afraid and never will be. We have coped with the encirclement and blockade with complete success so far and we shall continue to cope with it with complete success in the future, too. We lack nothing for this. We have everything — we have the Party of Labour, founded, educated, and led by Enver Hoxha, the Party of great problems and astonishing victories, with its correct Marxist-Leninist line, stronger than ever, with its unity more steel-like than at any other time; we have the people, with a firm grasp of the pick and the rifle, tireless, fearless, and linked with the Party like flesh to bone; we have a socialist economy that has given great proofs over many years, that it can cope successfully with the blockade and that it is capable of coping

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with any situation; we have a country with such a defence potential that we can say: Woe betide any aggressor who might dare to launch a military attack against the People's Republic of Albania!

It is true that we are encircled and under blockade, but we are not alone. We have many friends throughout the world. Look, here at the 7th Congress of our Party, all these Marxist-Leninist parties from the five continents of the world honoured us with their participation.

We have as friends the great Chinese people, who constitute one quarter of mankind, educated by Comrade Mao Tsetung with the feeling of internationalist love for the Albanian people. As Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 7th Congress of the Party, «Our Party and people will work ceaselessly to keep pure and strong the fraternal friendship and collaboration with the great Chinese people, with its glorious Communist Party, with great People's China».

All the progressive peoples and revolutionaries of the world are with us. In fact, looking at the question from the proletarian class angle, it is not we who are isolated, but our enemies, who are isolated by the peoples they rule and the revolutionaries the world over.

On this occasion, allow me, in your name, and on behalf of our whole Party and people, to sincerely thank our honoured comrades representing the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties at this rally, for the great help they have given us with their participation in our Congress, and to assure them that, whatever may happen in the world, the Party of Labour of Albania will never renounce its general line, which is based on the immortal teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, that it will always be in solidarity with the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and all the true revolutionaries of the world, and that it will always consider their cause as its own cause.

Comrades,

On the 7th November, 1917, 59 years ago, the Great October Socialist Revolution, led by Lenin and Stalin, triumphed. This event is celebrated by us, as well as by all the revolutionaries of the world. But the banner of Great October, the banner of Lenin and Stalin, has been dragged in the mud by the greatest traitors to the international communist and workers' movement, by the putschist revisionist clique of Khrushchev and his successors, headed by Brezhnev. In the fatherland of the Great Lenin, the dictatorship of the proletariat was overthrown by putschist methods and the Khrushchevites replaced it with a fascist dictatorship. The former Soviet Union has been transformed into a social-imperialist power, which is colluding and contending with U.S. imperialism for domination of the world. It is the duty of the genuine

communists throughout the world to raise and always keep aloft the banner of the revolution and socialism. We Albanian communists have never lowered our colours and will always uphold, higher and higher, the red banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Some days ago, the present Tzar of the Kremlin, the arch-revisionist Brezhnev, with the shamelessness characteristic of the revisionists, declared that, allegedly, «there is no objective factor to hinder the restoration of relations between the present day Soviet Union and Albania (!)». These renegades imagine that our Party can be turned which ever way the wind blows. Once again they are gravely mistaken. There is not and never will be a wind or even a typhoon, which will make us change the course of our ship, which is always steered by the unerring compass of Marxism-Leninism. As our Party has long laid down, since sixteen years ago, when Comrade Enver Hoxha hurled in their faces the Marxist-Leninist truth about their betrayal, right there in the Kremlin, everything divides us from, and nothing unites us with, the super-revisionists of Moscow. They are sworn enemies of Marxism-Leninism, socialism, and the peoples, and we will fight them to the end, until they are completely routed. This has been and will always be the stand of our Party and people. We reiterate this so that both our enemies and our friends may take good note of it.

We are on the right road. The enemies cannot do us any harm. We shall faithfully carry out all the tasks the 7th Congress of the Party set for us, apply and defend the general line of the Party and the victories of socialism which we have achieved with toil and sacrifice, as behoves us as loyal soldiers of the revolution, Marxism-Leninism, and proletarian internationalism, who worthily apply the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Forward, comrades, with fresh revolutionary drive to carry out the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Party and the tasks laid down by its 7th Congress!

Long live our glorious and heroic Party of Labour, the leader, organizer and inspirer of all the victories of the Albanian people, and its Central Committee!

Long live the glorious founder of our Party, the legendary leader of our Party and people, comrade Enver Hoxha!

Long live our wonderful, hardworking and dauntless people, who are building socialism holding the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!»

Then the rally was greeted by the leader of the Delegation of the Workers' Party of Korea, the Member of the Political Committee of the Central Com-

mittee of the Workers' Party of Korea, and the Chairman of the Control Commission of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, So Chol.

«Right from the first day it was founded, the Party of Labour of Albania, led by comrade Enver Hoxha, has energetically organized and led the heroic struggle of the Albanian communists and patriotic people against the Italian and German fascist occupiers and against the internal reactionary forces», he said. «In this way it achieved the liberation of the country and the brilliant triumph of the people's revolution.

After the triumph of the revolution, the Party of Labour of Albania mobilized all the people in a powerful struggle for the socialist revolution and socialist construction and, as a result, has built the new Albania, this beautiful country of the Balkans that is being transformed into an advanced socialist industrial-agrarian country.

We heartily welcome the brilliant successes achieved by the Albanian people in revolution and construction».

The leader of the Delegation of the Communist Party of Sweden Roland Pettersson, Chairman of the Party addressed the rally on behalf of the European communist parties (Marxist-Leninist) that attended the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania.

«We want to thank the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and all the Albanian communists for the great honour they did us by inviting us to take part in the proceedings of the Congress», he said.

«The 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania was characterized by the true proletarian internationalism. We, the Marxist-Leninist parties, should work in this spirit, because ours is a common struggle and imperialism, social-imperialism, revisionism, reaction and fascism are our common enemies. Learning from the Party of Labour of

Albania and its course of support for the great idea of proletarian internationalism, we are united in our struggle to score new and greater successes».

The leader of the delegation of the Communist Party of Argentine (Marxist-Leninist), the Member of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee, Gabriel Valdés, conveyed the greetings of the communist parties (Marxist-Leninist) of Latin America that took part in the Congress.

«The 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania», he said among other things, «is without doubt of an historic importance for the Albanian people, for it made a complete balance of the road traversed, laid down the tasks of strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat and carrying forward the complete construction of socialism in all fields.

The 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania was a testimony to the great victories achieved over the imperialist encirclement, over revisionism and world reaction. It demonstrated that a small nation may become big and invincible when it is armed and resolutely defends the principles of Marxism-Leninism. From this rostrum we want to declare solemnly, that if Soviet social-imperialism, if Yankee imperialism dare to attack socialist Albania, this will be considered as an attack against the revolutionary peoples of the world, and our parties will rise in its defence».

On behalf of the communist parties (Marxist-Leninist) of Indonesia, Japan, the Philippines, and Ceylon, the leader of the Delegation of the Communist Party of Ceylon, the Secretary General of the Party N. Sanmugathasan greeted the rally. He said:

«During these 35 years you have achieved a great number of successes which are the result of your work. After the liberation of the country from fascist slavery and foiling the

attempts of the imperialists and modern revisionists, who wanted to violate your sovereignty, you stood up to Khrushchev who tried to force you to your knees.

All these successes have been achieved thanks to your unwavering loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, thanks to the correct leadership of your Party with the great Marxist-Leninist, Enver Hoxha, at the head. We have been greatly inspired by your persistent and principled stand against modern revisionism and in defence of Marxism-Leninism. In the same manner, you have energetically opposed both US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism».

The leader of the Delegation of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), the Chairman of the Party, Edward Hill, also addressed the rally.

«Your 7th Congress, which was crowned with complete success», he said, «wrote new pages in the history of the complete implementation of Marxism-Leninism in the concrete conditions of Albania, consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat, and opened new and brilliant perspectives for the construction of socialism in Albania.

Today, the peoples of the world, — and I am speaking of the revolutionary peoples of Oceania, — rejoice with you on the occasion of this celebration. At the same time in these moments of rejoicing we remember with respect all those who laid down their lives for the noblest of causes — the liberation of mankind».

The greetings of the guests were met with prolonged applause and stormy cheering for Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The rally turned into a great and powerful manifestation of the love of the Albanian people for the Party of Labour and its Central Committee with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, into a true peoples' celebration. —

Festive Concert in the Opera and Ballet Theatre

In honour of the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania and the 35th anniversary of its founding, in the evening of November 8th in the Opera and Ballet Theatre a festive concert was given with the participation of the pro-

fessional artistic institutions of the capital and of the amateur groups of the districts.

The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Enver Hoxha, the President of

the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Haxhi Lleshi, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mehmet Shehu, other leaders of the Party and State, as well as the foreign delegations that attended the proceedings of the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, were present at the concert.

The rich program of revolutionary and folk items was warmly received and applauded. The artists were presented with bouquets of flowers. —

Exhibition of figurative arts

In the context of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Party and of the 7th Congress of the Party, a national exhibition organized by the Ministry of Education and Culture and the

Writers' and Artists' League of Albania was opened in the Gallery of Figurative Arts in Tirana.

Four hundred forty-five works of painting, sculpture etc. by 378 artists,

selected from among the hundreds of works created in honour of the great jubilee of the Party, are on display in the exhibition.

The President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Haxhi Lleshi, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mehmet Shehu, other leaders of the Party and State, as well as numerous workers of the arts and culture, workers from the centres of work and pro-

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СОВЕТ

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A view of the great rally organized in Tirana on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the PLA and its 7th Congress.

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duction etc were present at the opening ceremony. The inaugural address was delivered by the Minister of Education and Culture, Tefta Cami, who stressed the artistic value and importance of the ideas embodied in the

works displayed. Then the Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Hysni Kapo, cut the ribbon, and those present visited the exhibition. —



The jubile of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Albanian labour youth UNION

Only 15 days after the founding of the Communist Party of Albania, on the initiative and under the guidance of the Communist Party of Albania the organization of the Albanian Communist Youth (now the Albanian Labour Youth Union) was founded in another small house in Tirana.

In the festive enthusiastic atmosphere created by the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania and the jubilee of the 35th anniversary of its founding, the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Youth Organization also was celebrated in Albania. On this occasion numerous activities were carried out throughout the country. In Tirana, the Central Committee of the Albanian Labour Youth Union organized a commemorative meeting in the «Partizani» Sports Palace. Hundreds of young people from all the regions of the country, from all the fronts of work, education and the defense of the homeland, filled the great hall of the palace.

Leaders of the Party and State as well as two of the members of the first Central Committee of the Albanian Communist Youth, Nexhmije Xhuglini (Hoxha) and Tasi Mitrushu were present at the meeting.

Those attending the meeting listened with great attention and interest to the message of greetings from the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania addressed to the younger generation of Albania on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the founding of

the Albanian Labour Youth Union, which was read at the meeting by the Member of the Political Bureau and the Secretary of the Central Committee, Hekuran Isai.

The message was frequently interrupted by burst of applause and enthusiastic cheering for the Party of Labour of Albania and its Central Committee.

Then, amidst indescribable enthusiasm the floor was taken by Tasi Mitrushu, who handed to the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Labour Youth Union, Lumturi Rexha, the memoirs of comrade Enver Hoxha «On the Founding of the Albanian Communist Youth». On this occasion he also read the letter with which comrade Enver Hoxha accompanied his memoirs.

For minutes on end, the youth kept up their cheering for the Party and comrade Enver Hoxha.

The main address was delivered by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Labour Youth Union, Lumturi Rexha. In conclusion, a telegram of greetings was sent to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania. In it the youth pledge that they will always remain loyal to the Party and will honourably fulfil all the tasks which it sets them.

Commemorative meetings dedicated to the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Albanian Communist Youth were organized in all the districts of the country.

LAUDI MARKSIZEM LENINIZMIT



Albania today

