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THE SOURCE OF OUR VICTORIES**

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*Speech delivered at the solemn meeting
commemorating the 40th anniversary of the liberation
of the Homeland and the triumph of the people's
revolution, by Comrade Ramiz Alia, Secretary
of the Central Committee of the PLA and President
of the Presidium of the People's Assembly
of the PSR of Albania*

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RAMIZ ALIA

Comrades,

We have gathered in this solemn meeting to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution.

Our joy is great because the victories which the people have achieved in the titanic 40 years' struggle for the construction of socialism are great ones, because the heroism of our working people for the defence and progress of their free and independent Homeland is outstanding.

In this brilliant jubilee we turn our thoughts to and honour our valiant partisans who fought with rare courage and brought freedom to the Homeland, turn them to those sons and daughters of the people who laid down their lives to drive out the fascist occupiers and overthrow the feudal-bourgeois classes, turn them to hundreds of thousands of workers, peasants and people's intellectuals who, with pure hearts and ardent spirits, have poured

out torrents of sweat and made countless sacrifices in order to build the new socialist Albania, turn them to all our people who, with rare courage and determination, are carrying forward the glorious cause of socialism.

Our profound gratitude is directed to our valiant Party, which, with a sure hand, through its wise leadership, brought us to these happy days which we enjoy today. It is addressed to Comrade Enver Hoxha, the great son of our people, our beloved teacher and leader, the architect of the new socialist Albania.

On these red-letter days for the Albanian people we greet all our compatriots, wherever they are, whose patriotism and love for the Motherland have always been a powerful support and assistance in our struggle to defend the freedom and independence of the country.

We also greet the many friends and admirers of Albania throughout the world, whose sincere sympathy and support have been inspiring in the battles for the construction of socialism and in our struggle against imperialism and international reaction.

Forty years is not a long period in the history of a people, especially for the Albanian people whose history extends over thousands of years. But the 40 years of the epoch of the Party challenge the centuries. Through

the triumph of the people's revolution Albania emerged from slavery to freedom, from poverty to prosperity. Through this victory all the shackles of capitalist oppression and exploitation were broken, the epoch of feudal and patriarchal canons was closed and dependence on and interference by foreigners came to an end. November 29, 1944 opened the new epoch, that of a great overthrow, of major political, ideological, social and economic transformations, the epoch of embracing the communist ideal and of the construction of socialism.

Our people come to the 40th anniversary of Liberation proud of the road they have traversed, and the Party with its head held high for the victories achieved. Today our new Albania is a country advanced in all fields and directions. To make a comparison with the past there are ample figures of statistics. Compared with 40 years ago, in 1983 the social product had increased almost 30 fold, total industrial production 155 fold and total agricultural production nearly 5.5 times over. During this period the growth of the social product has been about 8.5 times higher than the increase in the population. At present, more than 80 per cent of the population lives in new houses and apartments built since Liberation. These and other figures like them say a great deal. But no figures, no statistics, can

express the majesty and proportions of what has taken place.

Only the minds and hearts of our people are able to feel and understand the depth and extent of those colossal quantitative and qualitative changes which have been made during these 40 years. We began with the combination of yokes of oxen to till the land and reached the point when we produce tractors and combines, we started with the cooperatives of tinsmiths and blacksmiths and reached the point when we pour thousands of tons of steel, we began with the anti-illiteracy courses and now we have our University and Academy of Sciences. No figure can express the difference between the pine torch which filled the poor peasants' cottages with smoke, and the electric light which illuminates the whole of Albania. Statistics are of no value to compare the swamps which drowned the country and spread malaria with the beautiful flourishing fields of Maliq, Myzeqe and Lezha or the plantations of Lukova which provide the people with many blessings.

Comparisons with the past now serve us only to see what we began from and what we have achieved, to see to what heights the Party has raised our beloved Albania and what great possibilities we have to advance even more rapidly on the road of socialism.

We are envious of no one for anything. Our capable workers and engineers themselves design and build gigantic hydro-power stations when countries much bigger than Albania turn to foreigners. We build our own ports and railways with our own forces, we set up factories and plants, we train the people ourselves and cure the sick ourselves.

Anyone who knew the Albania of 40 years ago could hardly have thought that it would be changed so quickly into a country with multi-branched modern industry and agriculture, capable of providing for the needs of the people at such a high level, with a powerful technical and scientific base, able to cope with programs of high rates of development of the economy and culture.

But these things occurred in Albania, because the Marxist-Leninist science was combined in a single creative current with the lofty patriotism of our people, the determination and the courage of the communists was combined with the enthusiasm and the optimistic spirit of the working masses. Albania is an example of the broad roads which the revolution opens up, an example of the vitality of Marxism-Leninism and the strength of the people in power.

Free and independent Albania, the new

socialist life, our communist prospects, are the outcome of our glorious National Liberation War. That war determined and defined the future history of our Homeland and all our victories stem from it.

During the centuries the Albanians have waged many wars and shed torrents of blood for freedom and independence. Rarely has any other people striven so hard and sacrificed so much to see themselves liberated from foreigners and masters in their own land.

We place a high evaluation on the patriotic work of those outstanding Albanian men who fought with the rifle and the pen for the National Renaissance, who strove unsparingly for the land, for knowledge, for human dignity in order to see Albania sovereign and equal with the other nations. We honour the historic work of the old man of Vlora, Ismail Qemali, and other great patriots who 72 years ago, on 28 November 1912 proclaimed the national independence and raised the flag at Vlora.

Those struggles and efforts of our forefathers are part of the outstanding patriotic traditions of our people, traditions which our Party safeguards firmly and which our people have handed down from generation to generation.

Not only did our National Liberation War respect these heroic traditions and carry them

forward, but since it was a profoundly popular war, led by the Party and its revolutionary ideas, it crowned with success all the legendary efforts and battles of our forebears and finally realized and went far beyond even their boldest dreams and aspirations.

During the Second World War many others fought against fascist occupiers as we Albanians fought, but all did not achieve that great national and social victory which our people achieved. In Albania not only were the foreign occupiers, the Italian and German fascists, driven out, but together with their departure the exploiting classes were overthrown, too, the people took power in their own hands and set out resolutely on the course of the construction of socialism.

What occurred in Albania did not come about by good luck or by accident. It was the result of a clear political line, of a considered strategy and tactics applied consistently and correctly and of a correct and bold leadership. Comrade Enver Hoxha says that the revolution may be carried out, but if it lacks the true socialist perspective it may deviate, and the struggle and sacrifices made for its triumph go for nought.

Our war was victorious because it was headed by a genuine political staff which knew what it wanted and where it was going, had the

Communist Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, which remained loyal to the Marxist-Leninist teachings and put them into practice with determination and in creative ways.

The merit and ability of our Party are based on the fact that it was able to find its bearings correctly in the grave conditions of the foreign occupation and the complicated international circumstances, able to find the most suitable ways for the solution of the fundamental contradictions of the Albanian society at that time, able to select its internal and external allies and define its relations with them correctly, and to create the political and military organisms which would make possible the victory in the war and the triumph of its line.

The creation of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Front will remain one of the great acts of historic importance of the Party, an example of its political wisdom and ideological maturity. Only through a political front in which the Party would retain the undivided leading role could the unification and organization of the people be achieved, and all the active forces of the nation be mobilized in the struggle against fascism and the traitors. Only such an organization could carry out simultaneously both the political functions of the war and those of the new people's state power

which was emerging from this war. Herein lies one of the main original features of our people's revolution and one of the most valuable contributions of our Party to the general experience of the revolutionary and liberation wars.

Of similar historic importance is the creation of the National Liberation Army which represented the armed striking force of the people's revolution. The Party charged it with two great missions: to fight to liberate the Homeland and to defend the new people's state power. On this question our Party was guided by the Marxist-Leninist teachings that no revolution can triumph without the organization of its armed forces. However, it applied these teachings in creative ways, bearing in mind the political and social conditions in Albania and, above all, the tasks which the revolution had to carry out at the various stages of its development.

Our National Liberation Army was outstanding for its high level of political consciousness, its pure moral qualities and internationalist spirit, features which it acquired through the great educational and organizational work of the Party, and which it demonstrated again when on the orders of the General Commander, Comrade Enver Hoxha, it went to the aid of the peoples of Yugoslavia

in the war for their liberation from the foreign invaders.

The National Liberation War made our people masters of the country and their own fate. It gave Albania the people's state power, one of the greatest and most brilliant achievements, one of the most monumental works of the epoch of the Party, as Comrade Enver Hoxha defines it in his work «Laying the Foundations of New Albania».

Our people's state is strong because it has its roots in the people. The connection with the masses and the participation of the masses in governing the country has been and remains the fundamental line of the Party for the construction and functioning of our people's state. On every important economic, political or social problem, the working masses, in complete freedom, have their say which is listened to and respected. They take part actively in drafting laws and plans for the economic and cultural development of the country and play the decisive role in implementing them.

Our people are linked like flesh to bone with the state power because the people's state power and socialism freed the masses from all the ills of the past, from unemployment and emigration, from taxes and levies, from inflation and increases in the cost of

living, from all those ills from which the people in the bourgeois and revisionist countries suffer.

In Albania, the people's state power which performs the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, realizes true democracy for the masses of the people, the emancipation of all strata of society, ensures freedom and equality for all. The claims that socialism can be built through the so-called self-administration, through political pluralism, or the state of the whole people, etc., are theories and practices intended to strip the working class of power and perpetuate capitalist domination. It has been confirmed not only theoretically but also by the 40 years of our practice that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the only state power, the only form of government, which can smash the resistance of the overthrown exploiting classes, withstand external aggression and organize the construction of socialism.

Today when we are living free and happy in socialist Albania, we can see even more clearly the correct course which the Party and the people's state power pursued for the accomplishment of major socio-economic transformations and can understand even better how wise and scientific that revolutionary program which the Party drafted at that

period for the construction of socialism has been.

When Albania was liberated, among the many problems that faced the Party and the people there were two main ones, the agrarian problem and that of the industrialization of the country. Albania was mainly a peasant country and the life of the people was based almost entirely on agriculture. Moreover, the countryside was very backward from the standpoint of property and social relations, just as agricultural production was extremely limited. As for the implements of labour they were very primitive. There could be no talk of the existence of any real industry at that time. There were only a few artisan workshops and the odd backward mine. Numerically the working class was very small. Education was extremely restricted.

The Party tackled all these problems at the same time. It was clear to the Party and our people that the country could not advance without its industrialization. Industrialization was not only an aspiration of the people but also an historical necessity in order to defend the victories of the revolution and to build the new life. But from what should this industrialization begin and what course should it follow? A start could have been made from light industry, if one bears in mind that Al-

bania lacked the initial capital and this industry was capable of yielding an accumulation more rapidly. But that course would have kept the country dependent on others. Therefore, the Party chose the other course, which presented difficulties and demanded sacrifices, but which guaranteed the country economic and political independence. It gave priority to heavy industry which was to become the reliable base for the development of light industry, agriculture and other branches of the economy. The basis of the development of heavy industry was to be the utilization of local raw materials, of the mineral and energy resources of the country, in the first place. Today it is clear to everybody how farsighted and decisive this orientation of the Party has been.

The priority which was given to heavy industry in our country did not lead to one-sided development of industry and the economy in general, as has occurred in many countries. The Party took care that all branches should develop in harmonious and proportional ways. Our industries were developed in close connection with one another in such a way that, apart from their own internal development, they assisted the advance of one another.

The Party has pursued a policy of establishing new industries where the raw material and labour power is located and where there

is a developed infra-structure. By means of the distribution of industry the Party has aimed at the development of all zones and has avoided the situation in which some remain simply agricultural zones and others have a great industrial concentration. In this way, also, the depopulation of the countryside and the peripheral regions has been avoided.

With the industrialization of the country our working class, which is the pillar of socialist society, has been created also. This is another great victory of the line of the Party. Now the working class is a numerically big class, compact, politically and ideologically uplifted and fully conscious of its mission as the leading class of our society.

The revolution and the people's state power solved the problem of the countryside correctly, too. The program which the Party worked out envisaged the simultaneous solution of the problem of ownership, the agricultural and the social problem. The main link on which the Party seized to accomplish this revolutionary transformation was the collectivization of agriculture which was to lead to a radical change not only in the life of the peasantry but also of the whole country. The collectivization was carried out on the basis of well-known Marxist-Leninist principles, but it

also took into account the concrete conditions of our country.

During these 40 years the Party and the people's state power have taken a series of measures of principled and practical importance for the continuous development of the cooperativist system. Huge investments have been made for land improvement and drainage, for mechanization and the introduction of advanced technologies, and for the educational and cultural uplift of the working peasantry. All these things have transformed our agriculture into a modern agriculture which, as to the yields of grain and other crops, bears comparison even with the countries with the most advanced agriculture.

The Party has regarded the vigorous and rapid development of agriculture as a necessity also on account of the special conditions of our country when industry was undeveloped. At first agriculture became the main basis of the socialist accumulation and assisted greatly in the development of industry and other sectors of the economy. To this day it remains one of the main pillars of this development.

The special care which the Party has devoted to the development of agriculture and the countryside, parallel with the progress of industry, has been of vital importance. The backwardness of the countryside which can

be seen today in some of the former socialist and other countries where agriculture has been underrated, and the grave results which have flowed from this show how correct and effective the principle which our Party applied, of relying firmly on both legs, industry and agriculture, has been and is.

The policy of our Party and our state for the development of the economy has been guided by the great aim of serving the fulfillment of the growing needs of the people, of raising their spiritual and cultural level and creating the most suitable conditions for a life enriched in all directions.

The successes which we have achieved in these forty years by consistently applying the revolutionary principle of self-reliance, the vitality of the economy and the strength of our socialist order, stand out even more clearly at the present time when the whole capitalist and revisionist world is experiencing a prolonged and grave crisis which has swept all sectors and fields of life. Our economy has an unshakeable stability, its rates of growth remain high, the standard of living of the population is improving and the future is clear.

Our state is a stable and consolidated state, with a sound political organization and efficient administration. The bureaucratic sclerosis of apparatuses and the liberal degene-

ration of institutions which are characteristic of many countries, are unknown to our state. Based on the extensive democracy for the masses and placed under their permanent and direct control our state apparatuses are subject to continuous regeneration and perfection.

Our society is one which is characterized by a sound political and ideological unity, by the one social mentality. What makes our society stable, dynamic and compact is the complete conformity of the interests of the various strata, the unbreakable alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry, the common communist ideal, for which they work and struggle.

The clarity of the roads opened by the Party for the future, the economic and intellectual potential which our country already possesses, have created a powerful basis and many possibilities for extensive, rapid and more qualitative development in the coming years.

Now the Party and the government are drafting the new five-year plan which will carry the whole development of the economy and culture even further forward and will raise the standard of living of the working masses even higher. During the next five-year period, the energy base of the country will be

further extended through increasing the production of oil, coal and hydro-electric power, the metallurgical and engineering industries will be further developed with the aim that the production of complete technological equipment and means will occupy a bigger place. The chemical industry will make obvious progress, especially in the products destined for agriculture.

The opening of new mines and the extension of the existing ones will occupy a very important place in the new five-year plan. Their mechanization will be increased and new ore-enrichment factories will be built, further increasing the scale of the processing of raw materials in the country, with the fullest possible cycle of processing. Geological prospecting will be further intensified with the aim of developing and using new valuable minerals.

The light and food-processing industry will be equipped with new factories, while appreciable improvements will be made in its technology. This will enable an increased production of consumer goods, improvement of their quality and range and better fulfilment of the growing needs of the people.

In the coming years agriculture will be developed at even more rapid rates and its intensification will be extended in the plains, the hills and the mountains. The state will

make big new investments in agriculture with the aim of increasing the level of mechanization, the area under irrigation, the quantity of chemical fertilizers, the use of new seeds, and improving the breed of the livestock. As up to date, the main attention will be devoted to increasing the production of bread grain. At the same time the production of industrial crops, vegetables and fruit will be extended with the aim of fulfilling the demands of the market better as well as the demands of industry for raw materials. In the coming five-year plan special attention will be given to livestock raising in regard to increasing both the numbers of livestock and their productivity.

The other sectors, too, such as construction, communications, trade, communal and health service, etc., will also assume new development and growth. Education, culture and our new science will be raised to a higher level.

The continuous strengthening of the organization and management of the economy, the further perfecting of economic relations and the application of scientific technical achievements will play a greater and more active role during the next five-year plan for the development of the productive forces, the

deepening and intensification of the economy and increasing its efficiency.

The major transformations which have been carried out in the field of the economy during these forty years have been accomplished together with a profound ideological revolution, which created the social conditions for their success. Without liquidating the old feudal-bourgeois relations in production and replacing them with new relations the way could not have been opened to industrialization, the collectivization of agriculture, the development of culture, the rise in the well-being of the masses and the progress of the country towards socialism. Our originality on this matter is based on the fact that the new socialist relations of production, which led to the elimination of capitalist private property and exploiting classes, were established before the productive forces reached a high level of development and before the working class constituted from the numerical aspect a considerable majority in society. This is a valuable example in the practice of socialist construction.

Like the establishment of the people's state power, the creation of the new relations of production and all the social and economic transformations have been carried out through efforts and struggle in the course of overcoming

the savage resistance of class enemies. Our Party has always borne in mind and has consistently applied the great Marxist-Leninist teaching that the revolution does not come to an end with the establishment of the state power and that it develops uninterruptedly over a long period. Regarded as the motive force of society, the class struggle has been waged on a broad front both in the political-ideological field and in the economic field against both internal and external enemies.

Our practical experience of the class struggle has taught us and convinced us that it must be waged even after the elimination of the exploiting classes, not only against the remnants of them, but also against new enemies who emerge as a result of the external pressure and the bourgeois degeneration of individual elements. Bearing in mind these Marxist-Leninist principles about the class struggle, the Party and our people have been able to discover and liquidate the foreign agencies and all those who have tried to sabotage and undermine our socialist system and re-establish capitalism, starting from Kocı Xoxe down to Mehmet Shehu and his gang. This struggle which our Party and people have always waged with rare determination and from principled Marxist-Leninist positions, has been vital to protecting the freedom and

independence of the country, and the cause of the revolution and socialism.

The emancipation of Albanian society has been a very acute problem for the Party. The solution of it had great importance for the fate of socialism. When Albania was liberated our people had a great burden of backward customs, in their consciousness there was much poison of the various religions, feudal and bourgeois ideologies, there were many harmful prejudices which had been transformed into rigid ethical norms. The mass illiteracy kept them remote from knowledge and technical progress. All these heavy chains had to be broken for the creative energies of the masses to burst out and for the country to make progress and prosper.

The Party had to work out a bold but, at the same time, prudent program, because in this field it not only had to clash with convictions created amongst the masses for centuries, but also had to distinguish the good traditions which had to be defended from those which had to be rejected.

Evidence of the wise work and persistent struggle which the Party has waged for the emancipation of society is the colossal progress of the Albanian women who exerted a major influence on the progress of the whole of our society. The emancipation of women of Al-

bania is a concrete example of how such a complicated problem can be solved, an example which shows the strength of socialism and Marxism-Leninism.

The new socialist culture grew up and developed with the new Albania. The Party has regarded the development of culture not just as a realization of a permanent aspiration of the people, but also as a condition for the emancipation of the people, as a great force for the construction of socialist society.

Unlike bourgeois culture, our socialist culture is culture for the people and created by the people themselves. It is not a culture confined to books, an ivory tower. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, amongst us culture is the whole of life. Therefore, the Party has taken care not only to develop literature and the arts, but also to develop the culture of work, of behaviour, of life, all the aspects which make up what we can call socialist civilization. In fulfilling their noble mission the institutions of culture, the workers of literature, art and science, all creators in various fields, will never lack the care of the Party, the aid of the state and the support of the people.

During these 40 years a complete transformation has been carried out in the field of education. For years now all the children of the people, without exception, have attended

the compulsory 8-year schools. Secondary education has assumed extremely wide proportions. About 22,000 people attend the higher schools, the University, and the various institutes.

It is the great merit of our school that it has trained the huge army of cadres, technicians and specialists, all our new intelligentsia. It has turned out people with broad professional and cultural knowledge, formed politically and ideologically, devoted fighters for the cause of socialism, well-behaved and honest citizens. The far-sightedness of the Party, its colossal work to resolve that contradiction which existed between the growing demands which arose from the rapid economic and cultural development of the country, on the one hand, and the lack of trained people, on the other hand, is expressed in this field, too. The creation of the new intelligentsia is a major victory of the Party and our people.

The needs for cadres, especially for those of new profiles, are ever increasing. Our educational system has not only to train new cadres and specialists of contemporary level, but also to improve the qualification of the existing cadres in order to raise them to the level of present-day requirements.

The line of the Party on the economic and

social transformations has always been correct and creative. In each period and before each problem that emerged it has been further elaborated and perfected. This has enabled the Party to guide the socialist construction of the country successfully, to cope with the complicated problems of the socialist development on the Marxist-Leninist road, and to make the communist perspective ever more clear.

The revolutionary and creative stand of our Party was firmly displayed also when, as a result of the revisionist betrayal in the Soviet Union, the danger of bourgeois degeneration emerged. Our Party analyzed the revisionist phenomenon correctly, and, in struggle with the mortal danger to socialism from this new opportunism, it further developed the Marxist-Leninist thinking on a series of capital problems of the revolution and the socialist construction, such as those which had to do with the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the leading role of the Party in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the class struggle in socialism, with the harmonization of the general interests and the personal interests of the working people, etc.

From what occurred in the Soviet Union, from analysis of the causes of the emergence of modern revisionism, our Party drew valuable conclusions and lessons to close the way to

bourgeois-revisionist degeneration and to carry the cause of socialism ever forward. The numerous measures which the Party has taken and is taking for the continual revolutionization of itself, of the state power, of the consciousness of the people and the whole life of the country, have served this purpose.

The struggle of our Party and people against modern revisionism, for the defence of socialism, Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism is one of the most brilliant pages in the history of our revolution.

Historical circumstances brought about that our Party and people were the first to clash with the danger of modern revisionism. As early as the time of the war and immediately after it, they clashed with Titoite revisionism, which for a long time played the role of the Trojan horse within the international communist movement. Our Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, with clear and irrefutable arguments, exposed the profoundly opportunist essence of this ideological current and its national-chauvinist character. The present-day reality in Yugoslavia, which is in the grip of a grave economic, national and social crisis, when self-administration as an ideology and practice is obviously bankrupt, confirms the correctness of the

criticism and principled struggle of the Party against Yugoslav Titoite revisionism.

The struggle of our Party and people against Khrushchevite revisionism which destroyed the work of Lenin and Stalin, the victories of the October Revolution and socialism in the Soviet Union to their foundations, will always remain heroic and glorious. The defence of Marxism-Leninism, which our Party headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha put up in this struggle, the thorough exposure of the revisionist platform proclaimed at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will remain a brilliant example of ideological clarity, revolutionary courage and communist adherence to principle. They will remain a brilliant example of the courage, patriotism and revolutionary determination of the working masses and our whole people. These features, likewise, characterized the struggle which our Party has waged against the Chinese Maoist trend, too.

The contribution which the Albanian communists have made to this struggle has greatly enriched the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice in uncovering and opposing modern revisionism. Our Party and people always consider the resolute struggle against Soviet and any other revisionism, which constitutes

the main danger to socialism and the communist movement, as their primary task.

Our country is building socialism in the conditions of a savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade. During these 40 years it has withstood repeated savage onslaughts of enemies, with their various attempts at interference, blockades, pressures and intrigues.

We have withstood them because the stands and actions of our Party have been clear ideologically and correct politically, because in any situation and on every occasion our people have displayed rare patriotism and determination, because our working masses have had unshakeable confidence in the justice of our struggle.

But the imperialist-revisionist encirclement does not belong to the past. It continues to this day. Therefore, we must ceaselessly enhance our revolutionary vigilance, strengthen the unity of the people around the Party, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, must always be organized and disciplined and work tirelessly to accomplish the tasks in all fields and on all fronts of the socialist construction and the defence of the country.

During these forty years of our free life, the Party and the people's state power have given the country a strong and reliable defence.

Creatively applying the teachings of Lenin, they have created a complete system of the arming, preparation and military training of the whole people. For a small country like Albania which relies on its own forces, the arming and military training of the whole people is the only possible and correct road to ensure an impregnable defence.

Our People's Army is trained militarily and educated ideologically, is equipped with all the necessary weapons to repel any aggression, and capable and ready at any time to accomplish the lofty mission with which it has been charged. The Party has been and is at the head of the Army, in command. This is a guarantee that our Army will retain its popular and revolutionary character unblemished, that it will always remain loyal to the people and their state power, will always be a powerful weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat, an unwavering defender of the cause of socialism.

Comrades,

During these 40 years the foreign policy of our Party and our socialist state, also, has been placed in the service of the defence of the country and the supreme interests of our Homeland. This policy emerged from and

was formulated by the Party in the time of the National Liberation War when the foundations of the new people's state power were laid. Unlike the foreign policy of the former ruling classes, a policy of dependence on great powers, submission to foreigners and acceptance of their dictate, the foreign policy of new Albania is a policy of independence and complete national sovereignty. At the centre of this policy has always been the defence of the supreme interests of the Homeland and socialism in Albania, along with the internationalist support for revolutionary struggles throughout the world. The voice of Albania in the international arena is the voice of its people alone and nobody else.

The foreign policy which our Party and state have pursued, the clear principled and consistent stands which the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has taken towards international events and various processes which are taking place in the world today, have made the name of our country respected and honoured everywhere. This policy and its international activity have ranked Albania amongst the most progressive forces of our time, amongst those who contribute effectively to the genuine strengthening of peace, and to the progress and emancipation of all mankind. The example of the construction of socialism in

Albania and this revolutionary policy have brought us close to and united us with the peace-loving peoples and progressive mankind, and have added to the many friends and well-wishers, supporters and sympathizers of our country throughout the world.

The thing that has always characterized the foreign policy of our Party and state has been its resolute stand against imperialism, modern revisionism and all international reaction. We have not reconciled ourselves to American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism and will never do so. We have opposed them, and continue to do so, not because they are mighty, wealthy, or powerful, but because they are the most dangerous enemies of freedom of the peoples, insatiable plunderers of the wealth of various countries and inspirers of imperialist wars. Therefore, opposition to imperialism and social-imperialism is the only correct policy.

Our foreign policy, as the policy of the working class in power, the policy of a genuine socialist state, has always been outstanding for its internationalist spirit. Our country has supported and is in solidarity with the revolutionary movements of the working class and the struggle of peoples for national liberation and for social progress, with the progressive forces which are striving for democracy and

opposing fascism, with all those people who are for peace and against imperialist war. We have supported and will continue to support these movements and forces, because they are our allies in the common struggle, because in this way we perform our internationalist duty.

Our Party has given and is giving its full support to the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties which represent the conscious vanguard of the working class world-wide. Marxism-Leninism, the ideal of the revolution and socialism, links us with them. The common struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, the cause of the freedom and independence of the peoples, link us with them.

The Albanian communists will spare nothing for the further strengthening of fraternal bonds and close collaboration with the Marxist-Leninist parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We have always been fully convinced that the international Marxist-Leninist communist movement will rise to a new, higher level in order to guide, lead and carry forward the world revolutionary process. In this common struggle the internationalist cooperation and unity between our fraternal parties and in the movement as a whole is being strengthened and consolidated.

Socialist Albania has diplomatic relations

with more than 100 states. It has been and is for normal relations with all those states which agree to build relations with our country on the basis of equality, non-interference in internal affairs, respect for national sovereignty and non-violation of territorial integrity and exchanges in all those fields where there is mutual interest.

We have been and are for the development of trade with different countries. However, we adhere to the principle that this trade must be advantageous to each side and must never be used as a means of economic pressure or political dictate. Our people place freedom and independence above everything. In our country the granting of concessions, permitting the activity of foreign economic and financial companies and institutions, the acceptance of credits or loans from the capitalist or revisionist states are prohibited by the Constitution.

Our country is for cultural and scientific exchanges with other countries, because we are convinced that these serve mutual recognition of the spiritual values of peoples and the strengthening of friendship between them. Democratic and progressive culture has been something close and dear to us, just as the other peoples honour and respect the ancient and new culture of our people. While apprecia-

ting the progressive cultural values of each country, as the heritage of all the mankind, at the same time we do not open the doors to reactionary, decadent, cosmopolitan, and other such cultures which poison people's minds and lead to their degeneration.

In the foreign policy of our Party and state the stand towards neighbouring countries has always occupied an important place. In our relations with them, we have been guided by the policy of good neighbourliness, by the desire to develop fruitful collaboration with them and by the conviction that normal exchanges in various fields assist the establishment of understanding, friendship and bonds between peoples and peace and security of this zone. Socialist Albania has always wished the neighbouring peoples well and has assured them that no evil will ever come to them from its territory.

This correct and principled policy which our country has always followed has made it possible to establish good neighbourly relations with Greece, Turkey and Italy, and these relations are developing and progressing normally. Trade relations and cultural and scientific exchanges have been extended with these states and, through joint efforts, prospects have been opened for collaboration in other fields of

mutual interest. When goodwill exists, the difficulties can be overcome and a common language found.

We have tried to establish good neighbourly relations with Yugoslavia, too. In the history of Albanian-Yugoslav relations during these 40 years there has been more friction and tension than development of normal collaboration. This has resulted from the Yugoslav policy towards Albania, which has been characterized by a hostile stand, by attempts to liquidate Albania as a state and the Albanians as a nation.

We do not want to go into the history of the development of this policy, but now, to anyone who judges matters objectively and realistically, it cannot but be clear that such a policy is short-sighted and without perspective.

Irrespective of the fact that there are irreconcilable ideological and political contradictions between Albania and Yugoslavia, we think that ways could be found for the normalization of relations between the two countries and this is in the interests both of Albania and Yugoslavia.

Socialist Albania has made and is making continuous efforts in this direction, and it will continue to work in this spirit in the future, too. However, it must be said that in Belgrade,

up till now, there has been a lack of goodwill to respond constructively to our clear and consistent predisposition.

It is up to Yugoslavia to put its own internal affairs in order. We have not interfered in anything which would affect or damage its stability, sovereignty and territorial integrity. This is the stand we have maintained towards the events in Kosova, too, in regard to which and in regard to other political, economic and social events in Yugoslavia no blame can be placed on Albania.

We have stated sincerely and with complete conviction that the correct settlement of the problems which are worrying the Albanian population in Yugoslavia, equal rights, like all the other peoples of Yugoslavia, respect for their culture, historical traditions and national language, would help to strengthen the coexistence of the peoples of the Yugoslav Federation and its stability and cohesion. At the same time this would also greatly assist in the creation of a favourable atmosphere for closer relations and collaboration between our two countries.

We would like to see the existing trade and other relations developed and carried further forward. Likewise, we think that the cultural exchanges which have been interrupted could be re-established. The doors to talks

with Albania will be open if the Yugoslav side displays readiness and goodwill.

Albania is a European country and as such it is vitally interested in what is occurring on this continent. Our stands towards Europe and its problems are well known. The divisions and splits in Europe, the frequent tensions and confrontations between various countries in this continent, have their source in their participation in the military blocs of the superpowers. As Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, our view is that only resolute opposition to American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, the liquidation of military blocs and the removal of atomic weapons and foreign troops can ensure peace in Europe.

Our country has been and is for good relations with the European countries just as with the neighbouring countries. Guided by the principles of genuine peaceful coexistence, we have established good relations with a number of countries of Western Europe such as France, Austria, the Nordic countries, Belgium, Holland, Portugal and so on. And with those countries of Western Europe with which diplomatic relations have not yet been established, through joint efforts the difficulties can be overcome.

Friendly relations have long been established with most of the Arab countries such as

Algeria, Egypt, Syria and so on. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has supported the struggle of the Arab peoples against the aggression of Israel and its imperialist backers. In particular, it has expressed its solidarity with and powerfully supported the right of the Palestinian people to have their own homeland, which has been stolen from them. It is our desire that the traditional long-standing links with the Arab peoples should be further developed and continually strengthened.

We desire the same thing also for the countries in Indochina, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, whose struggle against imperialism and other aggressors for liberation from foreign bondage and the defence of their national independence we have always supported.

The foreign policy of our Party and state is a policy tested in struggle and very difficult situations which have been created during the past 40 years both around our country and in the world. Practice has confirmed its correctness, effectiveness, and adherence to principle. By proceeding on this course, always remaining loyal to the supreme interests of the Homeland, the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, our foreign policy will achieve other greater victories and will serve the cause of the revolution and socialism in Albania even better.

Comrades,

As we celebrate the glorious jubilee of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland, the heroic war which our people waged against the fascist occupiers and local traitors, the work and innumerable sacrifices of the heroic working class, the patriotic peasantry and people's intelligentsia, the women and our revolutionary youth for the construction of socialism, the creative potential of the working masses for the progress and prosperity of the new Albania, emerge before our eyes in all their majesty.

Our people achieved these victories because they entrusted their fate to the Party, because they linked themselves with it forever, and followed it in every situation and at every moment. These 40 years of great tests have proved how correct the line of the Party has been, how sure its guiding hand and how farsighted its Marxist-Leninist policy.

The heroic struggle of our Party and people, the victories achieved in these 40 years, are closely linked with the name of Comrade Enver Hoxha, with his theoretical thinking and practical revolutionary activity, with his guidance as leader of the Party and outstanding statesman.

At all the great turning-points and his-

toric moments during these 40 years his presence and contribution have played a decisive role. To Comrade Enver Hoxha belongs the main merit in working out and elaborating the general line of the Party, the strategy of the National Liberation War, and the program for the construction of socialism.

Our people have called the time in which we are living the time of the Party. Comrade Enver Hoxha has always stood in the forefront of the struggles which have emerged during this time, in command of the tasks which it presented. It was Comrade Enver Hoxha who founded the Communist Party in those dark and troubled days of the fascist occupation, who commanded the glorious partisan army, who led over new and unknown paths the new state which emerged from the people's revolution, who guided the Party with wisdom and confidence in the stern battles with the many external and internal enemies, who taught our people how to defend their freedom and independence and how to build socialism.

Comrade Enver Hoxha is the founder of the foreign policy of the Party and our socialist state. The courageous and principled stands of our Party and people towards present-day international problems and events, their resolute struggle against imperialism and reaction, their irreconcilability with modern

revisionism and political and ideological opportunism in general, which have won for Albania respect and a honoured name throughout the world, are linked directly with Comrade Enver Hoxha's ardent patriotism and consistent internationalism, with his wisdom as a revolutionary leader and his foresight as a Marxist-Leninist thinker.

The love of the Party and the people for Comrade Enver Hoxha is a sincere love that stems from profound respect for his revolutionary work and life. It is a love which has developed from the friendship formed in the struggle for our great cause of the freedom and independence of the Homeland, a pure sentiment which has been created in the course of the work full of self-denial and sacrifice for the construction of our new life.

Therefore, the Albanian communists, the veterans of the revolution and the new fighters for the socialist construction, our whole people, today, in these happy days when we are celebrating the jubilee of Liberation and the triumph of the people's revolution once again express their boundless love to Comrade Enver Hoxha and wish him a long life and good health so that, with the Party and at the head of the Party, he will lead us in the new battles for the progress of our beloved Homeland.

The majestic victories which have been achieved during the 40 years of the people's state power fill us with legitimate pride, increase our enthusiasm and enhance our optimism. They inspire us to mobilize ourselves and struggle even harder and more vigorously to carry the socialist construction of the country steadily forward.

Now the Party has set great and very important tasks for all the sectors and branches of the economy, culture and defence. The successful accomplishment of these tasks demands that all of us work with consistently high rates of productivity and with efficiency, with proletarian consciousness and discipline, that the organization and management of work be strengthened, and the level of knowledge and sense of responsibility raised to a higher level.

As Comrade Enver Hoxha instructs us, we must always be vigilant, always at work and on the offensive to safeguard and carry forward the victories achieved. We must not allow anyone, whoever he might be, to violate and deny our sacred and immortal work, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. We must strengthen it, temper it, beautify it and hold it high as our ideal.

Therefore, let us unite to a man and with revolutionary spirit and ardent patriotism, with

the Party in the forefront and Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, march victoriously, as always, on the road which our people's revolution, the historic victory of 29 November 1944, opened up.

Long live the Albanian people!

Long live the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland!

Long live our glorious Party!

Long live our beloved leader and teacher, our dear Comrade, Enver Hoxha!