

**RAMIZ ALIA** REPORT TO THE 9<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS OF THE PLA

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**REPORT  
TO THE 9<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS  
OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR  
OF ALBANIA**

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**RAMIZ ALIA**

**REPORT  
ON THE ACTIVITY  
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR  
OF ALBANIA AND THE TASKS  
FOR THE FUTURE**

Submitted to the 9th Congress of the Party  
of Labour of Albania

November 3, 1986

**KIBRISTA SOSYALIST**

**GERÇEK LONDRA BURÖSÜ**

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RAMIZ ALIA



Dear comrade delegates,

We have come to this Congress to draw up the balance of the work and struggle of the Party and our people during the past five years and to set the objectives which we must achieve in the coming years. And we have come here proudly and with honour, because the tasks which the 8th Congress set, the line which our great Comrade Enver Hoxha presented, have been accomplished successfully. Our beloved Homeland has been raised to a higher level in the complete construction of socialist society, the life of the people has been made more prosperous, and the country has advanced and been strengthened.

In a few days we shall celebrate the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Party. The Albanian communists have reason to be proud, have reason to be joyful and happy at this anniversary. Our Party has led the Albanian people in the most glorious period of their history, in their most heroic struggles, in the most decisive revolutionary upheavals and transformations of all times. Its mission to lead its own people to complete national and social liberation and in the construction of socialism it has accomplished honourably and gloriously. But the

more the victories increase, the greater the responsibility of the Party to defend and develop them, to lead the people towards new and more advanced frontiers.

The Party comes to this Congress with its ranks united, ideologically tempered and politically more mature. It comes enriched with many new experiences, with great organizing and mobilizing capacities. The struggles we have waged, the victories we have achieved, have further strengthened the links of the Party with the masses and have made the unity of the people more steel-like. The patriotism of our people has been raised even higher, their revolutionary spirit has been even more enhanced.

A major victory for the Party and our people was the discovery and defeat of the plot of the multiple agent Mehmet Shehu and his criminal gang. The danger which they represented to the freedom and the independence of the Homeland and the future of socialism in Albania can only be guessed, but cannot be calculated. The Party has thoroughly analysed this hostile activity, and the facts are known. We are able to say that the consequences of this activity in the Party, the economy, the state organs, the Army and the Ministry of Internal Affairs have already been eliminated successfully. The escape from this great danger further enhanced the revolutionary vigilance and fighting spirit of the Party and the people, made them more determined and wide awake in the struggle against internal and external enemies, gave them new strength, made them more

optimistic and even more confident of the future.

The victories achieved during the five years since the 8th Congress are a fresh confirmation of the correctness of the line of the Party and the strength of our socialist order, of the triumphant doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha. They are a further confirmation that the road of socialism, on which the Party of the communists has led Albania for almost half a century, is the only road which guarantees it genuine national freedom and independence, which assures its people of a truly worthy life, guarantees the socialist achievements and ensures the conditions to stand proudly amongst advanced and emancipated nations.

The freedom and independence of the Homeland, our socialist life, the good name and respect which Albania enjoys in the world, our people dedicate to our heroic Party, dedicate to their glorious son, the unforgettable Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Comrade Enver we have among us no longer, but we have his immortal work, we have his wise teachings and instructions, we have his rich theoretical heritage, which inspire us at every moment and guide us in every step.

Our gratitude, the gratitude of the communists and the whole people for what Enver Hoxha has done for Albania and its people has been and will always be boundless. Our respect is directed to that great man who, at the most tragic moments of the history of Albania, founded the Communist Party

which organized and led the great anti-fascist uprising of the Albanian people, is directed to the legendary commander of the National Liberation Army which drove out the foreign occupiers and overthrew the internal traitors. Our thoughts go and will always go to that man who, at the head of the Party, laid the foundations of the people's state power and guided the great social transformations and the deep-going processes of the socialist construction in Albania.

The name of Albania and the name of Enver Hoxha are inseparable. The whole of its recent history bears the brand of his outstanding personality, of his theoretical thinking and his political activity. When our people say that they are loyal followers of Enver they express the great fact that their character and features, their way of thinking and acting, their ideal and aims, have been formed in the school of his revolutionary struggle. The figure of Enver Hoxha is the figure which symbolizes and embodies the ardent love of country and dedicated revolutionary militancy, the popular wisdom and brilliant mind of the cultivated man, the modest son of the people and the outstanding statesman.

The struggle and teachings of Enver Hoxha remain the foundation-stone of the general line of the Party, they represent the cardinal points of orientation and reference for its daily activity. **Loyalty towards these teachings and their consistent implementation are the assurance of the present and the guarantee of the future, are decisive conditions**

**for the triumph of the cause of socialism and communism in Albania.**

Comrade Enver taught us that we must safeguard and ceaselessly strengthen the Party and its leading role. On this question he adhered rigorously to the principle that only a party of the Leninist type, which remains loyal to the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and the internationalist spirit, a party which remains at the head of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and does not share its leadership in the state and society with other political forces, a party incompatible with factions and currents and in permanent struggle with the bourgeois and revisionist ideologies, can defend the victories of the revolution and lead the people on the road to socialism. He created such a monolithic Party and led it for almost 45 years, with such a hegemonic Party our people ensured all those victories that we enjoy today.

The Party of Labour of Albania will always remain loyal to its course and work, always revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist, ideologically pure and organizationally strong, capable of coping with any difficulty and making any sacrifice for the people and socialism.

Comrade Enver Hoxha saw the destiny of the Albanian people, the future of Albania, closely linked with the existence of the people's state power, with its continuous development and democratization, with the strengthening of its links with the masses.

He never considered the people's state power simply as a lever of the Party for the implementation of its policy, but also as the means to achieve the ancient aspirations of the people for equality and social justice, as a defender of democratic and civil rights, as the representative of national interests and the decisive political and organizational factor for advance on the road of socialism.

The people's state power, for the establishment of which our people have shed so much blood, we will always keep strong and unsullied by any bureaucratic distortion or liberalist influence and we will work ceaselessly for its development on those sound, popular, democratic foundations which the National Liberation War laid and which the other great struggle for the construction of socialism has consolidated and perfected. The Party and the people will never allow our state power to be influenced by the bourgeois and revisionist ideas and practices, labelled pluralist, self-administrative, the state of the whole people, and so on.

Comrade Enver Hoxha wanted and made Albania completely free and independent, completely sovereign. All his theoretical thinking, all his activity, all the struggle against Anglo-American, Yugoslav, Soviet and other interference, express that great concept that the full independence of a country is achieved when it has no obligations of any kind to foreign powers, which condition its internal and external policy, when its political independence is

accompanied with an independent economy and defence, when the people are the sovereign owners of their national wealth and determine their own fate. It was Enver Hoxha who formulated and applied the Party's policy of self-reliance. Only such a policy could have fully ensured the freedom and national sovereignty of Albania, its independent political, economic and cultural development, and could have defended it against foreign pressures and dictates.

The Party and our people will always march on this great road of freedom and independence. Let nobody think or hope that Albania will ever bargain over its freedom and independence, that it will accept foreign tutelage and allow its sovereignty to be limited in the slightest degree, that it will be deceived by blandishments into entering the nets of blocs and integrations of the capitalist-revisionist world.

The whole history of the new Albania is the history of a stern class struggle which has been waged on all fronts against internal and external enemies. It is the merit of Enver Hoxha that this struggle has always been waged correctly, without deviating to the left or the right, that it has withstood the imperialist pressures and that it has never been influenced by either the views or the practices of revisionists. Enver Hoxha not only defined it as the main motive force of the socialist society, but also proved with brilliant arguments that it will exist during the whole period of socialism up to communism. He considered the class struggle as a

decisive factor to safeguard the unity of the people and the unity of the ranks of the Party, as a sound basis to defend the victories of the revolution and the fundamental condition for the construction of socialism. It was the keen class vigilance of Comrade Enver Hoxha, his political acumen and revolutionary courage which assisted the Party and the people to cope with the resistance of the overthrown classes and eliminate the gangs of saboteurs sent from abroad, to unmask opportunists of the type of Sejfulla Malëshova and uncover conspirators of the type of Koçi Xoxe and Mehmet Shehu, to foil the interference of imperialists and the intrigues of revisionists. The communists and our entire people will be eternally grateful to Comrade Enver who purged the Party and the country of these enemies who could have brought the greatest disaster upon our Homeland.

Our Party will never deviate from the class struggle and will always wage it resolutely and with adherence to principles. The people's state power, the communists and all the masses will never make concessions to enemies whoever they are. Anyone who tries to damage our freedom and independence, our socialist system and our communist ideals, will be put in his place.

Our people dreamed of seeing their country industrialized, of having enough bread from their own land, of receiving education and culture and enjoying the fruits of contemporary civilization. The Party, with Enver Hoxha at the head, made

this dream a reality. The idea and the ways for the industrialization of the country and the socialist transformation of the countryside, which Comrade Enver worked out in detail so thoroughly and extensively, were as original as they were vital to the salvation of the country. It was his idea to set up industry on the basis of the exploitation of the natural assets of the country, to create an independent energy base as the decisive factor for the development and progress of industry itself, as well as of agriculture and all the other branches, to train the qualified technical cadres who could bring into use and run the industry to be set up; it was he who worked out the great program to ensure the people's food within the country, and all those fundamental lines on which our socialist economy has advanced.

The great strategy for the development of our socialist economy, the majestic program for the socialist construction drafted under the leadership and according to the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, our Party will apply with determination and in a creative spirit, upholding the Marxist-Leninist principles which are the foundation of them. The Party and our people will work tirelessly to turn our Homeland into an industrialized country, with an agriculture at the highest world level, as quickly as possible, to create ever better conditions for technical and scientific progress, and for the most advanced and widespread culture for the masses.

In his greeting addressed to the Albanian people

on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland, Comrade Enver expressed his unshakeable belief in the socialist future of Albania which he wanted to see

*«...ever stronger, always red, like the undying flame of the hearts and ideals of communists and partisans, an Albania which will live and progress through the centuries.»\**

We shall adhere to this political testament by marching on his road and applying his teachings, by keeping Albania always free and independent as Comrade Enver desired and left it, with a reliable defence such as he wanted and built, with a sound and advanced economy, with a strong government such as he wanted, with an ideologically tempered and organizationally capable Party such as the Party he founded and educated.

**The proceedings and decisions of our Congress will be a further proof of our loyalty to the teachings of Enver Hoxha and of our determination to march on his road, on the glorious road of our revolution. They will be an expression of the unshakeable will of the Party and the people to work and struggle with new energies and creative spirit, to carry the socialist victories constantly forward, to raise the glory of our free and sovereign Homeland still higher.**

\* Enver Hoxha, *Congratulations on the Occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the Liberation of Albania*, p. 30, Eng. ed.

## **THE POLICY OF THE PARTY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY IN THE 8th FIVE-YEAR PLAN**

The years of the 7th Five-year Plan were characterized by the persistent and selfless work and efforts of the Party and the people to carry ahead the construction of socialism on all fronts.

In general, the fundamental political, economic and social objectives set by the 8th Congress were attained. Industry was further extended and developed, and its weight and role in the entire economy of the country increased. The process of the intensification of agricultural production was further deepened and the cooperativist order strengthened. The strength of the economy increased and its independence and stability in the face of any situation was consolidated. The extended socialist reproduction was ensured, the well-being of the people was guaranteed and raised to a higher level, the defence of the Homeland was further strengthened, with our own forces.

Our country has entered the new five-year plan



with a more powerful material-technical base, with greater productive and accumulating capacities and with an improved economic structure. The national wealth has increased and the effectiveness of the use of it has been enhanced. Over the five years taken together, compared with the 6th Five-year Plan, the social product increased nearly 19 per cent, financial income over 17 per cent, and the export of goods about 29 per cent.

Industry successfully preceded the all-sided development of the productive forces. Total industrial production was 27 per cent greater than in the 6th Five-year Plan. The branches of heavy industry made important advances, carrying the main burden of material production. High increases of 38 to 48 per cent were achieved in the production of gas, coal and electricity. The production of iron-nickel ore and copper wires and cables doubled, steel production increased nearly 45 per cent, and likewise with sulphuric acid, certain building materials, etc. The engineering industry coped successfully with its tasks for the maintenance of the main means in all branches of the economy and took a big stride in the production of machinery and equipment, the volume of which increased by 54 per cent.

The light and food-stuffs industry has achieved successes in the rational and thrifty use of primary materials, the extension of the range of products and the increase of production at rates exceeding the rate of increase of the population.

In the 7th Five-year Plan, too, despite the difficult weather conditions which continued for three years in succession, agriculture advanced and fulfilled its fundamental tasks. Total agricultural production for the five years taken together increased over 13 per cent. In some important products such as wheat, vegetables, industrial crops, and eggs, the increases were greater. The general trend is for stability and increases in yields. This is seen especially in wheat, cotton, tobacco and sunflower, in which very high yields have been attained over large areas.

The program of the 8th Congress of the Party for fundamental investments, which increased about 17 per cent, was carried out on a broad front. The last five-year plan saw the construction of over 300 main production and socio-cultural projects. The first and the second turbines of the «Enver Hoxha» hydro-power plant at Koman came into production ahead of schedule, and hundreds of kilometres of high tension lines were built. With the completion of the Laç-Shkodra-Han i Hotit and Fier-Vlora railways and several sidings, about 140 kilometres were added to the railway network. Ferrous metallurgy was extended further with the coming into production of plant no. 12, the second blast furnace, the continuous steel-pouring line and the plant for the production of refractory materials.

The productive forces in industry and agriculture were strengthened with the extension of several mines, the increase in the productive capacities and

reconstruction of 30 factories and plants of heavy and light industry, the building of tens of livestock-raising complexes and the increase in the irrigation capacity for 28 thousand hectares of land.

Important objects such as the Museum of National History and the «Gjergj Kastrioti-Skanderbeg» Museum of Kruja, the Palace of Congresses, and many sports and cultural palaces, stadiums, schools and hospitals were added to the existing social-cultural facilities.

The Party and the state organs devoted special care to the attainment of the objectives of the plan in the social field. The new jobs opened up corresponded to the increase in the new active forces. The fund of housing increased perceptibly and more rapidly than the population. The building and opening of new schools responded to the growing numbers of pupils and students at all levels of the educational system.

The state of health of the population has improved. The infantile death-rate fell almost by half, while the total number of deaths per thousand inhabitants is declining. For some years now, this index has been the lowest in Europe. Our legislation and state aid for mother and child were improved and social insurance, as a whole, became a more powerful factor to guarantee the livelihood of all the working people.

The fund of consumption continued to increase at rates higher than the increase of population and

there were further increases in real income in town and countryside. Rising prices on the international market and the vagaries of the weather did not affect the standard of living of the working people, because the losses which we suffered were made good with state subsidies.

The progress made during the 7th Five-year Plan, without any aid or credits from abroad, in the conditions of the general economic crisis of the imperialist-revisionist world and its influence on our country, is a victory of special importance. In this period, our experience of dynamic, independent, socio-economic development was enriched.

In these years of great battles we appreciated, more than ever before, the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist policy of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha for the building of the complex structure of the economy, for the creation of necessary reserves, for the setting up of an extensive irrigation system, for the ever more complete activization of our natural assets, for the training of cadres, for the formation of our new militant man, who is not afraid of work and sacrifices.

In this five-year plan, the vitality of the principle of self-reliance was displayed in all its strength. The working masses became more conscientious about the consistent implementation of the great orientations of the Party that we must consume only as much as we produce, spend only as much as our income, import only as much as we export, while

continuously increasing also our reserves. Our people, educated by the Party, proved themselves capable in all tasks. Major projects in industry, construction, communications, agriculture, etc., were designed and built with our own forces. New machinery and equipment were designed and produced, and very valuable innovations and rationalizations were made. People everywhere worked with the creative spirit and conviction that now we can solve difficult technical and scientific problems with our own forces. This unshakeable principle of the Party inspired the communists and the broad masses of working people to discover new forces, possibilities and reserves for the dynamic socio-economic development of the country, for the consolidation of the political and economic independence of the Homeland.

The achievements of this five-year plan would have been greater still if certain shortcomings and weaknesses in the organization and management of work had not hampered it and; especially, if certain objective internal difficulties and the negative influences of the economic crisis of the outside world had not been in operation. During these years we had to eliminate the consequences of the hostile activity of Mehmet Shehu and his associates. Great damage was inflicted on the economy for several years on end by the very protracted drought and by the exceptionally heavy falls of snow and rain, which had very grave consequences, especially, for agriculture and the production of electric energy.

The fluctuations of prices on the world market and the lack of the experience needed to know the foreign markets with their international complications increased the difficulties for the development of our economy.

The operation of all these negative factors brought about that the targets of the plan were not fully accomplished in particular branches of the economy, such as the oil industry, in some agricultural and livestock products, in financial income and in exports. As a consequence, some imbalance was created in the economy. There were shortcomings, also, in supplying goods for the people as the plan envisaged.

In face of the difficulties which we encountered, the strength of the monolithic unity of the people around the Party and the unprecedented mobilization of the working people to accomplish tasks emerged with rare clarity. The working class, the cooperativist peasantry, the people's intelligentsia, old and young, with the communists in the lead, did the impossible in order to minimize their consequences.

The Party and the state organs took all-sided measures to ensure that the economic development was not stopped and the well-being of the people did not suffer. They responded to the judgement and political consciousness of the masses, to their initiative and spirit of actions, to the creative potential of the people, with a more flexible method and style

at work, with more fruitful organization and management, with the strengthening of order and discipline. Their ability to manoeuvre as the situation required, to co-ordinate the work, to concentrate the forces and means on the most sensitive points of the economy increased. In this way, the Party and the organs of the state and the economy together with the working masses found possibilities and reserves to ensure that the tasks of production were fulfilled satisfactorily, using less energy, primary and auxiliary materials.

This whole practice showed once again what results are achieved and what great problems can be solved when the initiative and action of the masses are combined correctly with qualified organization and management. It is a great school from which all of us must learn how to cope with the difficulties and tasks, how to use initiative and internal forces in order to solve the problems that emerge, how to exploit the productive capacities and great reserves in enterprises and cooperatives, how to strengthen our confidence in the possibilities and capacities which exist in the working collectives. These lessons should serve us in the future, too, so that we always think and work with a high sense of responsibility, revolutionary courage and a spirit of sacrifice.

The experience gained helped the Central Committee of the Party to do more profound work for the recognition and defining of the prospects of

development of the economy and culture. The draft-directives for the 8th Five-year Plan (1986-1990), which are presented to this Congress for examination and endorsement, have been prepared on this basis.

The long-term strategy of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings and orientations for the construction and the uninterrupted advance of our socialist society find their expression in these directives. They have been extensively discussed in the working collectives, therefore, they bear the clear brand of the creative thinking of the masses, have their approval and energetic support.

**The new five-year plan represents a great and bold program of work. Its aim is to ensure the uninterrupted, consistent development of the economy and culture at high rates, relying entirely on our own forces; to consolidate and further improve the multi-branched structure of the economy, always preserving the priority of industry and developing agriculture at rapid rates; to increase the effectiveness of production and accumulation through more complete utilization of the material resources and other possibilities of our society, the existing productive capacities and those which will be added or modernized; to ensure correct ratios for the development of extended socialist reproduction; to carry further forward and improve the socialist relations of production; to raise the material well-being and the cultural level of the working masses further and increase the defence capacity of the Homeland.**

In this five-year plan, the development of industry at high rates remains a task of first priority. More than 10 billion leks, or 42 per cent of the total volume of investments, will be used to this end. On the basis of more complete utilization of productive capacities, through their extension and reconstruction, and with the building of new projects, the volume of total industrial production in 1990, as against 1985, will increase 29-31 per cent. While continuing to give priority to increasing the production of means of production, the rate of increase of consumer goods will be stepped up. Industry will be placed more effectively in the service of agriculture and the fulfilment of the needs of the people, and will increase the export capacity of the country.

In the 8th Five-year Plan, the Party aims to further enhance the role of agriculture in the independent development of the country, in raising the people's well-being and narrowing the socio-economic distinctions between town and countryside. Investments in this branch will be about 7 thousand 700 million leks, equal to nearly one third of the total volume of investments. The number of working people engaged in agriculture will increase considerably and the role of science in the service of agriculture will be enhanced. Over the five-year period, total agricultural production will increase 35-37 per cent.

The economic strength of the country enables us to make fundamental investments in the 8th Five-

year Plan, amounting to 24 thousand 450 million leks, or 2 thousand 800 million leks more than in the 7th Five-year Plan. Many thorough studies have been done on the distribution of investments, in order to support the necessary priorities in production and other sectors, to include in the plan the indispensable and most profitable projects, to raise the technical and technological level of the main means in industry, agriculture and elsewhere, and to ensure the continuity of the development of the productive forces in the future.

During the five-year plan, work will be done on the construction of 420 important production and socio-cultural projects, more than 370 of which will come into use within 1990. Among the new objects, the hydro-energetic complex of Banja and the urea plant, the Milot-Rrëshen-Klos railway and the Bulqiza tunnel, the ferro-chrome and the steel wires plants, mines and enrichment factories, as well as hundreds of irrigation works, are some of the more important.

This five-year plan will see the completion and full commissioning of the «Enver Hoxha» hydro-power plant at Koman, the nickel-cobalt plant and that of lubricating oils, and a series of other smaller objects. Considerable investments will be made for the extension and reconstruction of many works of first-rate importance, in mining and metallurgy, in the chemical and engineering industries, in the building materials industry and light industry, such

as the wires and cables plant in Shkodra, the chemical enterprise in Durrës, the superphosphate plant at Laç, the ferro-chrome plant, the textile combines, and 15 engineering plants and workshops. Many of them will have more advanced equipment and technology and can be considered new in the full meaning of the word. Factories and production lines, roads and schools, reservoirs and livestock complexes, health and cultural institutions, will be built all over the Homeland.

The thorough utilization of productive capacities and technical-scientific progress will enable us to raise the productivity of labour and the efficiency of production. On this basis, the well-being of the people in town and countryside will mark further improvement. Over 220 thousand new workers will enter employment for the first time. There will be further development, during the five-year plan, in education, culture and the health service. The strengthening of the defence capacity of the Homeland will be in the centre of attention of the Party and the state.

The majestic objectives envisaged for the 8th Five-year Plan have given fresh inspiration to the communists and the entire people. They have increased the working people's confidence in the line of the Party and the immortal teachings of Comrade Enver, have strengthened their confidence about the future and their courage to undertake and accomplish ever greater tasks.

Comrade Adil Çarçani will speak in detail about the objectives and tasks of the new five-year plan. Therefore, allow me to dwell on some main problems of the policy of the Party which have to do with the economic and social development of the country in the coming five years.

### 1. About the Rates and Priorities of the Development of the Economy

In the draft-directives it is envisaged that in 1990, as against 1985, the total social product will increase by 31-33 per cent, national income 35-37 per cent and total financial income 37-39 per cent.

As emerges from the above-mentioned indices, the average annual rates of development of the economy are 5-7 per cent, or 2-3 times as high as those of the increase of population. In setting high rates for the development of the economy, the Party proceeds not only from the needs, but also from the growing possibilities of our society to fulfil these needs, from the human, material-technical, scientific and organizational potential which we have.

Achievement of these rates is an indispensable condition in order to increase consumption per head of population and ensure the accumulation necessary for the extended socialist reproduction. Only rapid development will enable us to fulfil these two fundamental requirements of the economic policy of the



Party and, at the same time, to balance some disproportions which have been created.

The high rates will give us the possibility to develop the whole economy harmoniously and in correct proportions. The national income and the social product, production and consumption, the productivity of labour and real income, the product for society and that for oneself, the supply of consumer goods and purchasing power, exports and imports, will advance with the necessary priorities and in a balanced manner. The realization of these laws and relations of socialist reproduction will strengthen the stability of the economy and increase the ability of our society to cope with still greater and more difficult tasks in the future.

The targets envisaged for production, income and investments must be considered by the organs of the Party, the state and the economy, by the communists and the working people as minimum levels, attainment of which is indispensable. Therefore, it is necessary to utilize the productive capacities and the work force with efficiency, to struggle persistently for increased productivity, to use the natural assets in a rational manner and to insist on measures for technical and technological progress, fruitful organization and making savings everywhere.

The fulfilment of the complex economic and social tasks of the 8th Five-year Plan is based on some important structural improvements. The pre-

sent structure of the economy, especially that of heavy industry, the greater possibilities to manoeuvre in the distribution of investments and resources of labour and in the use of other resources, permit us to make additions in some branches and activities, to set higher rates and priorities of development for particular sectors and products. These priorities do not violate the main lines of the structure of the economy and do not impede the fulfilment of priorities of a principled character.

In this five-year plan, **the geological service and mining will concentrate on the discovery and extraction of rich chromite, iron-nickel and copper ores.** The Party bases this orientation on the considerable geological and industrial reserves discovered and the technical and technological level of our non-ferrous metallurgy. Through a more favourable structure of minerals we aim to attain increased effectiveness of our whole mineral processing industry, higher levels of metal recovery, reduced costs in transport and smelting, and greater export income. Meanwhile, the working people and the specialists of non-ferrous metallurgy are required to conduct studies on more advanced technologies of enrichment and smelting, in order to extend the possibilities to use even low-grade mineral ores with high effectiveness in the future. These ores must be evaluated correctly as a great asset for the coming generations.

In this five-year plan the branches of the light and food-stuffs industry will also be developed with

**priority.** The investments allocated for the processing of agricultural and livestock products, the increase and improvement of the quality of industrial consumer goods, and the extension of the range and kinds of food-stuffs are more than 54 per cent greater than in the 7th Five-year Plan. In the light and food-stuffs industry more than 90 plants, factories and production lines will be built or extended, 70 of them completely new.

With these investments the light and food-stuffs industry will be brought closer to the sources of primary materials or the consumers. The working people of this branch are required to process all the products offered by agriculture and animal husbandry, to extract the maximum production from the primary products, to increase their care for the rational use of all technological residues, to use functional and attractive packaging and to make more extensive use of synthetic raw materials and other less costly substitute materials.

**In agricultural production, the most notable increase is being made in livestock-farming. This sector is being especially encouraged,** because its part in total agricultural production is still low and it has great reserves still unutilized. We have reached such a stage that agriculture itself cannot advance without the rapid development of livestock-farming. A rapid increase in livestock products is dictated by the need to increase the norms of consumption per head of population, to improve the structure of the

people's diet in favour of livestock products, and to increase the profitability of this branch as a whole. These tasks will be accomplished through increasing the numbers of all types of livestock and through increasing their productivity. It is envisaged that the number of cows will grow by over 90 thousand head, and sheep and goats by 1 million 400 thousand during this five-year plan. One third of the increase in animal products will be secured from increased yields.

The objectives envisaged for the development of livestock-farming cannot be achieved unless we struggle and work with all our might and on scientific foundations everywhere, on the plains, in the hills and mountains, on the state farms and agricultural cooperatives, in the modern livestock complexes and the concentrated herds, down to the small herds of the brigades, to ensure the necessary fodder base, especially through increasing the production of forage crops, in which the yields at present are very low.

It must be admitted that there has been backwardness in livestock-farming in recent years, and this has affected the supplies of meat and other animal products available to the people. The lack of a thorough understanding and errors in the application of the Party's directive on the formation of joint flocks of sheep and goats and herds of cattle from the cooperativists' household livestock, in the early years of the past five-year plan, caused great damage, and led to the indiscriminate slaughter of a great

number of animals. In many instances, the formation of joint flocks was understood in a grossly oversimplified way, as an action which had to do merely with gathering together the cooperativists' household livestock and not with the increase of production, which is its fundamental aim.

The rapid development of livestock-farming has been hampered, also, by certain other erroneous concepts and practices such as overestimation of the modern livestock complexes and large concentrations, which led to the removal of animals from the village, of production from the consumer, of the manure from the land, to underestimation of the great reserves which can be exploited for the traditional extensive method of livestock-farming.

The Party has taken measures to correct these practices. It has stressed and stresses again that because of the natural conditions and possibilities of our country for the development of agriculture, especially of livestock-raising, two roads, intensive and extensive, must be followed. Livestock production should be increased not only in the complexes and big concentrations, but also through the traditional increase in the number of animals.

The Central Committee supported the initiative of the peasantry to keep small flocks and herds in the brigades. This important action, which is being applied rapidly all over the country, leads to the further strengthening of the property of the group, to the efficient exploitation of the

possibilities for the extensive development of livestock-farming and, what is more important, to increased livestock products, especially for the cooperativist peasantry. The aim that must be achieved in the next two or three years is to ensure that the cooperativist peasantry fulfils all its own needs for milk with the production from the animals of their small flocks. This will also improve the supply of livestock products available to the towns from the main herds of the agricultural cooperatives.

The high rates of development of the economy **make an appreciable increase in the volume of exports with priority possible and essential.** During this five-year plan exports will increase 44-46 per cent. In order to have a more solid and guaranteed export trade, its weight will be distributed over more groups of goods which are in demand on foreign markets. Chromite and tobacco will occupy the first two places and have the greatest weight in earning income. In 1990 the extraction of chromite will increase about 36 per cent over 1985 and the production of tobacco will be almost doubled. The benefit of these changes is already being seen clearly this year. Had measures not been taken to increase our exports of certain important commodities, the sudden drastic fall in prices for energy products on the foreign market, from which we lost 40-45 million dollars, would have caused us even heavier damage.

A greater commitment of the whole economy

of the country can ensure the increase in exports. The workers of the mining and energy industries, from which the overwhelming bulk of our exports are secured, as well as the workers of agriculture and the light and food-stuffs industry have great and responsible tasks. They must not only fulfil the targets of the plan at all costs but must also over-fulfil them. Any failure to realize export production targets has negative consequences. Our economy needs many imported goods which cannot be obtained without fulfilling the export targets.

The quality of goods which we export is a major problem. It plays a decisive role in selling the commodities and in realizing their value. Today one can compete successfully on the foreign markets only with top quality.

The Party has pointed out that the balance of foreign currency is becoming ever more active through the increase of exports and the relative reduction of imports, but also by means of the sparing use of goods which can be exported, as well as through the replacement of goods which are brought in from abroad today with our own products. More creative thinking and insistence in this direction is required from those who run the economy, who frequently find it easier to turn their eyes towards imports rather than organize the work for the application of this important orientation of the Party.

In foreign trade various difficulties which depend and do not depend on us emerge. But these must

be overcome through solutions which open the way to increasing exports, reducing the cost and improving the quality of goods, and not through mechanical actions, by reducing imports of raw materials and machinery, which restrict the possibilities for development and create problems for the advance of production and consumption.

The organs of foreign trade should do more persistent work, should see sales and purchases in unity, should move more swiftly and flexibly, should strengthen the co-ordination of work throughout their whole system and be in close contact with the institutions of planning, finance and the bank in order to encourage production everywhere. They should distinguish themselves for their correctness in the performance of contracts with their trading partners, for their seriousness and their competence in commercial activities.

**Certain other priorities have been envisaged in the 8th Five-year Plan.** In the use of the fund of accumulation it is envisaged that the funds for the productive sphere and for reserves will be increased to larger proportions. Reduction of the costs for building and installation in favour of investments for machinery and equipment will be aimed at. Transport on internal waters will be encouraged to take the place that belongs to it. Employment will increase most in material production, and especially, in agriculture.

These priority developments are necessary oper-

ations which should lead to effective results in production, to increased incomes and improvement of the people's living conditions from this five-year period on.

## 2. The Resources of the Country's Natural Wealth Must Be Extended and the Effectiveness of their Use Increased

The dynamic development of the economy, the stage reached in the industrialization of the country, make possible the discovery and use on an ever wider scale of underground assets. During the five-year plan the industrial reserves will be increased by about 90 million tons, while more than 45 million tons of various minerals and fuels will be extracted and processed, as against 34 million tons which were exploited during the past five years. Now the un-renewable natural assets which are being exploited have emerged in first place over the renewable assets. This is an important qualitative leap. Our mining and metallurgical industries are fully capable of coping with this burden.

Because of the main place which it occupies in the energy balance, as an asset with many uses and very profitable even in the most unfavourable circumstances of the foreign market, because of its decisive role in our whole economic development, today and in the future, **the Party has always con-**

**sidered the oil industry as a key branch of the economy.** The state and society have not spared and will not spare any means for the development of this branch. In recent years, however, the increase in production has not been fully proportional to the increase in the potential of the material and technical base in this branch. Apart from the sabotage activity of enemies now uncovered, the weaknesses in the organization of the work and the planning of production targets, the superficiality of some studies and of the interpretation of prospecting data and discoveries, also, have inhibited the results in the oil industry.

The Party and the people have the right to expect more from the working people of the system of the oil industry. In the 8th Five-year Plan, about one third of the investments which will be made in industry, will be used in this sector. The plan for oil extraction is very cautious and the increase in production, from 33-35 per cent, is a fully realizable target. In this five-year plan, the oil sector must become an advanced sector of the economy. The extraction of oil will be accomplished mainly from the known fields, through their intensive rational exploitation, by intensifying the network of wells, extending the contours further, and applying secondary methods on a wide scale.

In the oil industry the work processes must be mastered better and its many enterprises should function as a single system. Economic accounting of the expenditure must be strengthened and the

spirit of the working class and advanced technical-scientific thinking must prevail everywhere.

**Natural and associated gas is playing an ever greater role** in the energy balance and as a technological material. During this five-year plan extraction of it will be increased about 2.6 fold. To achieve this the opening of new wells must be speeded up, the number of passive wells must be restricted to the minimum and the gas-fields must be increased.

The tasks of this five-year plan, and especially, the long-term development of the oil and gas industry dictate the need to extend and speed up prospect drilling for the discovery of new fields. The objectives demand intensive work, because by 1990, the newly discovered reserves must be increased about 4 fold over those of the past five-year plan. The main thing is that studies must result in firmer recommendations and achieve a higher level of certainty of success for each well drilled. It is necessary to raise the level of studies, to strengthen the co-ordination of various scientific disciplines and to gain more from the contemporary achievements in the use of new means and methods.

**The coal industry is stabilized and has great prospects.** With the investments envisaged coal extraction will be intensified and extended, both in the existing mines and in the new ones. Coal production in this five-year plan will be increased by about 1 million tons. The interests of the economy require that we work to find new fields for the use of this

great asset: as fuel in industry and elsewhere, as a source of energy in place of oil and gas, as a technological material for coke production and in other fields, for heating in town and countryside, as well as for export. The geological service must increase its studies and prospecting for high caloric and coking coals and for new coalfields close to large users. The increase in the fruitfulness of the production and use of coal requires reduction of impoverishment and losses, extension of enrichment and bricketing, as well as a necessary improvement in the distribution of this voluminous product.

With the coming into full production of the Koman hydro-power station and a number of small hydro-power stations, **the production of electric energy will increase 80 per cent, or 2.5 times more rapidly than the social product**, while with the other investments which will be made in the future, such as at Banja and elsewhere, the rich hydro-power resources of the country will be utilized in a more complex way. Greater efforts must be made for profitable exports, but the primary task, both now and in the future, is the effective use of electric energy within the country, in industry, agriculture and transport, as well as for communal and family needs.

We have rich resources of energy and we will increase them. But it remains an important task that we work in all directions to reduce the consumption of energy per unit of the social product. Fuels and electric energy are powerful means which condition



the pace of our all-round development in many directions. Therefore, we must always use them efficiently and frugally.

**The main place in the search for and extraction of solid minerals will be occupied by chromium, copper and iron-nickel ores,** for which the long-term prospects are guaranteed, and we have built and are strengthening a whole industry which is advancing steadily towards complete production cycles. Production of them will be increased from 30-40 per cent. Considerable acceleration of the use of these assets is planned. Whereas for oil and gas the interests of the future generations require that we proceed with accurate calculations and guarantee adequate reserves, for chromium, copper and some other minerals which are destined mainly for export, these same interests require that we put them into economic circulation as quickly as possible. It is better that we leave these natural assets to future generations in the form of factories, plants and combines, as means of production, as functional assets, rather than simply as potential resources in the bosom of nature.

The natural assets which are being exploited will not only be increased in quantity and improved in structure, but will also be extended in variety **through the discovery of new minerals** such as magnesite, refractory clays, fluorite, olivinite, bauxite, barite, kaoline, coastal sands and rare minerals. Mines, enrichment factories and the necessary plants

to handle these minerals have been and will be built. In this five-year plan many of these assets must find use in industry and the export trade, and the effectiveness of the expenditure and investments made, which have still not been returned to the economy, must be ensured.

During this five-year plan greater demands will be made, also, on the work for the utilization of renewable assets of nature such as the waters, forests, pastures, the flora and fauna. Our fundamental task is to exploit these assets according to the plan, in intensive and extensive ways, but we must also protect them carefully and, without fail, must renew them in greater quantitative and qualitative proportions.

**Our country is rich in forests, but the balance between cutting and the annual growth of exploitable forest timber remains a permanent preoccupation.** Beginning from this five-year plan on, there are two fundamental tasks: absolute reduction of the volume of timber cut and the speeding up of all-round measures for the increase and cultivation of forests on a scientific basis. Through the joint efforts of workers of the forest enterprises and all consumers of timber, the technological remnants must be reduced to a minimum, aiming to increase the coefficient of the use of timber by 5-10 per cent. New technologies must be used to place all the remnants in circulation. The over-mature forests must be exploited first, by making more extensive use of tran-

sport by aerial cable. Greater efforts must be made to replace timber with other materials on the railways, in the mines, in furniture production, in building, in packaging, in the communal system and for domestic needs. The Party calls on all the working people, but especially the younger generation, to increase their contribution to the planting of new forests through actions and in other ways. It is recommended to the agricultural cooperatives, too, that according to their possibilities, they should make investments for the forests.

During the years of socialism the waters have been turned into a national asset of exceptional value in the full meaning of the term. The gigantic hydropower stations and the complex irrigation system have given a powerful impulse to the economic and social development of the country. But, in regard to fishing, the possibilities of our internal waters which now, without the lakes, amount to about 15 thousand hectares, have not been exploited. Fishing has every possibility to become a powerful support for feeding the people. The fishing enterprises and economies must work with perspective and extend fish-farming with types suitable to our conditions, relying on the internal resources of food for them. They must place all the work they do on more scientific foundations, especially to increase the fish-raising capacity in lakes and reservoirs and to fish at greater depths in the sea, because the results hitherto speak of rule-of-thumb work based on chance, in many aspects.

The turning of renewable and unrenovable potential natural resources into active assets is a fundamental problem on the correct solution of which the increase of the productive capacity of our society is greatly dependent. The policy of the Party for the activization of these assets has been and is always well-studied and balanced; it is based on the harmonization of the present needs and possibilities of the country with the interests of future generations. The intensification of the exploitation of nature requires rigorous control by society to ensure rational harvesting of its wealth and a sound ecological education.

### 3. The Existing Productive Capacities Will Be the Base for the Increase of the Social Product

About 74 per cent of the increase of production in industry will be ensured through the use in greater depth of productive capacities which we have built, reconstructions and extensions, and only one quarter of it from the new projects which will come into production. In field crops, more than 95 per cent of the additional production is forecast to come from the fund of the land we have, through increased yields. This shows that, in conformity with the policy of the Party, our economy will proceed with sure steps on the road of more thorough intensification.

Our economy is capable of producing much more

than it is producing today with the material-technical base that we have built. Most of our industrial projects, especially in metallurgy, the engineering industry, etc., are new and, in a number of cases, the productive capacities have not yet been fully mastered. Because of weaknesses in the organization of work, lack of the necessary technical culture and other reasons, considerable productive capacities are not utilized with satisfactory technical-economic indices. The deficits in agriculture and in exports are reflected, also, in the level of the use of possibilities to increase production in a number of factories and lines.

The policy of the Party has been and is that our industries should be based mainly on the raw materials of the country, which today make up about 90 per cent of their total annual consumption. But both the extension of industry and the use of a greater quantity and variety of underground assets continually give rise to new problems in the field of technology. The main thing is that the way must be opened to the extensive use of our own minerals in ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, the chemical industry and elsewhere. Today an urgent task for many branches and sectors of the economy is that the technologies of production must be adapted to the properties and qualities of our minerals.

This problem is especially acute in **black metallurgy**. Although we have and use large quantities of our iron-nickel ore with a satisfactory content of the

useful components and have set up an enrichment industry of considerable capacity, the eyes of some specialists are still fixed on imports. Therefore, the working people of black metallurgy should continue with greater persistence the work begun to produce different types of iron and steel for the needs of our industry, using the local mineral as their raw material.

The Party is confident that the pledges of the workers of the «Steel of the Party» metallurgical combine to produce types of steel with properties suitable to the needs of the engineering industry, to increase the level of recovery of the metal, to ensure a higher profitability in the whole of this powerful complex and also in each plant, factory and line within it, will be made a reality. Our black metallurgy already has all the conditions to ensure greater accumulation for the economy by increasing production and lowering costs. This will extend our possibilities to speed up the completion of the production cycle of the iron and steel industry through the building of plants for the production of steel plate and pipes.

**The engineering industry plays a decisive role to ensure the normal functioning of all the productive apparatus of the economy.** It is a great success that today it fulfills more than 90 per cent of the country's requirements for spare parts and about 40 per cent of the machinery and equipment used for new projects. In this branch, however, the

possibilities exist that, simply through the intensive utilization of the existing productive capacities and with some minor addition to them, to get about 20 per cent more production than we get today. In the course of time these reserves will be exploited, but it is in the interests of the economy that they should be used to a greater extent during this five-year plan. This objective, as well as the radical improvement of the quality of products and maintenance services constitute the main tasks for all the workers of the engineering industry.

During this five-year plan designing work must be strengthened and, in particular, technological designing must be speeded up and completed. The engineering industry must open the way to the use of our steels and raise the coefficient of the use of metals. There must be struggle for real and high profitability in all engineering plants and bases. In regard to concentrations we should proceed cautiously and on the basis of thorough studies, while cooperation must be strengthened, especially, within districts.

The strengthening and extension of the engineering industry have given rise to the need for improvement of its management as a branch. The Central Committee has recommended to the state organs that they should study the forms and possibilities of the creation of a central organism with full departmental functions, which will gradually take over control of the main engineering plants and

bases of the country. This would extend the possibilities for more advanced specialization, for effective cooperation, for a more rapid technical and technological progress and, in general, for a more intensive utilization of the engineering base which we have already built.

As we have said, in this five-year plan, the main way for the increase of productive capacities is that of reconstructions or extensions of the existing ones. This is a major work, not only constructive, but also creative. The overwhelming bulk of these reconstructions and extensions will be designed and carried out with our own forces. This presents difficult tasks for the technical-scientific forces, beginning from the enterprises, the study and design institutes, and up to the higher schools. These forces must be seriously engaged to find the best technical, technological and economic solutions.

In all branches of production and services, in industry and agriculture, in building, transport, and elsewhere, a very great reserve for the utilization of the existing productive capacities is **the struggle for a marked improvement in the quality of work and the extension of the range of products.** Harmful attitudes, both in concept and application, can be seen in regard to quality. It is not yet thoroughly understood by everybody that quality is quantity, durability, saving, efficiency, and an essential condition for fulfilling the requirements of the economy and the people. However, the solution of this problem is

not simply a question of consciousness, it cannot be achieved through education alone. The requirements with regard to quality must be clearly defined in the plan, in the standards and technical conditions, in the contracts and agreements. Rigorous control of quality must be exercised, and just as production of poor quality must be subject to financial penalties, so good quality production must be stimulated. External and internal trade, all the users of products and commodities, must increase their demands for quality, and give up mutual concessions and liberal stands.

The placing in circulation of large quantities of the assets of the country, the extension of economic links in production and consumption, the increased movement of people, **have faced transport with major tasks and new requirements.** With the aim that communication should keep pace with the rate of the development of the economy, it is considered that, from this five-year plan on, investments for the extension and strengthening of kinds of transport should be increased, while gradually proceeding on the road of the replacement and renewal of its means. Nevertheless, the task of raising the volume of goods transport by 30 per cent by 1990 is based, first of all, on the full utilization of the transport capacities we have today. This makes it essential that the workers of this sector speed up the work for the more complete utilization of bulk transport, especially railway transport. Road transport should go deeper into the

country, and place itself in the service of agriculture better. Internal water transport should be equipped with more vessels, suitable for our conditions, and extend its activity to the whole coastal zone, as well as to the internal waters.

Bulk transport dictates the need for the use without hesitation of new technologies and mechanisms for loading and unloading at ports, railway stations and large centres of production and consumption. The government departments must improve the planning of the distribution of raw materials and the circulation of goods as a whole, avoiding unnecessary movements. Internal transport in enterprises and cooperatives should undertake more work and respond to the needs of production better. Maintenance of the means of transport and raising the coefficient of their useful employment remains a primary task for all our transport.

While proceeding ceaselessly on the course of the intensive utilization of productive capacities, in particular branches and sectors, **there are great possibilities for extensive development now and in the future.** Indeed, we are making investments to extend them, for the exploitation of natural assets, in general, for the opening up of new land, and the improvement of pastures, for increasing livestock numbers, and increasing production of industrial goods and food-stuffs with simple methods.

Despite the tendency for greater intensification of the economy, more than half the increase of the

social product during the whole five-year period will come from the increase of workers in the productive sphere. Although more slowly than the increase in the social product, the material expenditure in industry and elsewhere will rise about 20 thousand million leks. In livestock-farming, about two thirds of the increase of production, and in fruit-growing about three quarters of it, are forecast to come from the increase in the numbers of livestock and fruit-trees in production.

Simultaneous and harmonious use of both ways of the development of production is not a sign of backwardness, and does not leave us behind in technique and technology. Our order gives us this advantage. It stems from the very aim of social production. The interests of the people require that every possibility for production should be turned into reality, with the spirit of initiative and creativeness, irrespective of whether the course which is followed is called intensive or extensive, modern or artisan.

#### **4. Development and Progress of Agriculture Has Been and Still Is a Problem of the Whole Society**

The people's food and securing the raw materials needed for the light and food-stuffs industry depend on this branch. Agriculture is the basis of the livelihood of the peasantry and a source of large accumu-

lations and considerable exports. Our society has the possibilities to raise agriculture and livestock-farming to advanced levels. Just as we are exploiting our underground wealth effectively and for the benefit of the people, so, too, should we utilize the favourable social and natural conditions to take more and more production from the agricultural land.

A success of historic importance is that for a whole decade we have been ensuring the **people's bread** within the country. This achievement is one of the pillars of the economic independence of the country. Today, however, the task presents itself that even the most mountainous districts should ensure their bread grain from their own production, that we should fulfil all the needs of livestock-farming with concentrates, and guarantee the normal essential reserves of grain.

We have reserves and possibilities to increase the production of grain in wheat, but even more so in maize. In recent years, the average yield achieved in this crop has been only 4-5 quintals per hectare more than that achieved in wheat. At the same time, however, over thousands of hectares the yield of maize has been double that of wheat. This, and the good results of this year, in particular, strengthen our conviction that the task set that the average yield of maize should be increased by about 20 quintals per hectare by 1990 is fully attainable. The organizations of the Party and the organs of the state and the economy must take measures to ensure that the advanced



experience gained over a number of years in the districts of Shkodra, Saranda and elsewhere in the growing of maize is mastered as quickly as possible, at least over the whole coastal zone. With the outstanding scientific achievements in the Maize and Rice Institute at Shkodra the ways have been opened to the growers to achieve a rapid increase in the production of maize.

**The industrial crops**, cotton, sugar-beet, tobacco, and sunflower will occupy an average of 90 thousand hectares of land, equal to about one sixth of the whole area planted to field crops. From this area of land we must get more production and income. This is the way to import less, to ensure normal work in the light and food-stuffs industry, and to increase the amount of goods in the shops. The processing industry and the purchasing organs should increase their attention and contribution to these crops in all the phases of their cultivation, should estimate the quantity and quality of products yielded realistically and practice advanced forms of drawing them directly from the field.

**Vegetables, beans and potatoes** account for a great proportion of the people's food. In recent years appreciable deficits have been created in the production of them. This has come about mainly from a distorted understanding and excesses in the application of the Party's orientation about the concentration and specialization of production. Through ill-considered planning the Ministry of Agriculture and the

State Planning Commission opened the way to the practice that many districts did not produce these products for themselves, but expected to get them from others, burdening the economy with unnecessary transport and creating difficulties for the market. Through the intervention of the Central Committee of the Party this practice has now been corrected.

In the conditions of our country, with a growing rural population spread over the whole territory and in rugged terrain, both production and distribution of a series of agricultural and livestock products must be as close as possible to the consumers. Therefore, the Central Committee has demanded and still demands that each district, each agricultural economy, and indeed, each village, should fulfil the needs of the population for vegetables, beans, potatoes and for milk and its by-products with their own production.

**Fruit-growing** is a sector with very low productivity and profitability. Although fruit-trees, olive-trees and vineyards occupy more than 17 per cent of the total arable land, only 7 per cent of the income from total agricultural production comes from them.

The investments and other measures for the development of fruit-growing must be directed, first of all, to completing the number of trees per hectare, to the intensification of services in existing plantations, to increasing their yields and reducing fluctuations in yields, especially in olive production. The processing industry should set up special units, especially for partial processing, as close to the production

of fruit and grapes as possible. Greater attention must be paid to increasing the production and consumption of fruit by-products.

The policy of the Party, based on the teachings of Comrade Enver and the experience gained, is aimed, as hitherto, at a harmonious development of all the districts of the country, **while proceeding towards the narrowing of distinctions between the lowland zone and the hilly and mountainous zones.** The acceleration of the intensification on the plains will be accompanied with greater material support for agricultural production in the hills and mountains, especially in the northeastern zone. Lessons should be drawn from the negative consequences brought about by the great dislevels in production between the lowland zone and the hilly and mountainous zones in many districts. The organs of the state and the economy and the Agricultural Bank must respond to the needs of these zones with investments and credits for the extension of irrigation and for chemical fertilizers, for the increase of the arable land, for the consolidation and increase in the number of cooperatives with a livestock-raising direction, and for profitable improvements in the structure of production. They must struggle to ensure, also, that the favourable economic and financial measures for the hilly and mountainous zones are applied with high effectiveness.

The major tasks which we are presenting for increasing agricultural and livestock production in the new five-year plan will be accompanied with the

investments necessary **to strengthen the material-technical base.** The chemical industry will advance at high rates, mainly in the service of agriculture. With the building of new projects and the extension of the existing ones fertilizer production will reach over 500 thousand tons, or more than 55 per cent higher than that of 1985, while pesticide production will increase over 44 per cent.

To increase the irrigation capacity, besides the Banja basin and the complex irrigation system connected with it, more than 105 irrigation works will be built, extended or reconstructed all over the country. Sixty thousand hectares of land will be placed under irrigation for the first time and irrigation in extensive areas will be improved. An agriculture with chemical fertilizers and intensive irrigation requires more organic manure, which must be ensured in large quantities in every possible way.

In our conditions we must fulfil the growing needs of working people for agricultural and livestock products from an ever more limited area of land per head of population. Therefore, **the protection and extension of the agricultural land and the raising of its fertility is a permanent problem.** The complex of measures which are connected with this extensive process must be applied with sound criteria, in conformity with the natural and climatic conditions, the structure of production, and the yield rates which must be achieved.

The organs of the state and the scientific insti-

tutions must take measures to accelerate the bringing in of saline and acid lands, which include large areas, and increase their productivity. They must block the way to the wasteful use of arable land for buildings. The Ministry of Agriculture and the state organs in the districts must rigorously define appropriate measures to stop erosion, for the resystemization and terracing of land, especially in the hilly and mountainous zones, and exercise firm control over the opening up of new land.

The Party has instructed and worked continually to ensure that **the state farms become vanguard enterprises of agriculture**, not only in the field of production, but also in the fields of organization, management and the consciousness of the working people. There has been progress in this field, and there are not a few state farms which lead the development of our agriculture with their example. At the same time, however, there are still many of them which do not play this role, indeed, some of them are below the level of cooperatives with approximately equal conditions. There is no excuse for certain state farms which continue to come out with losses, although they have good land and suitable productive structures, and more means and specialized cadres are placed at their disposal. This state of affairs must be overcome as quickly as possible.

During this five-year period **the cooperativist order will be further strengthened and improved**. The number of higher-type cooperatives will be in-

creased both within the zone of priority intensification and outside it. In them, the original process of the combination of relations which are characteristic of the property of the group with those of state property will be deepened. The further transformation of this intermediary form of socialist property of our agriculture into property of the whole people will be done in natural ways and without haste. The property of the group will not exhaust its possibilities for development and progress for a long time.

The key to the combination of state-cooperative relations will be the participation of the society with non-returnable funds for investments and means of circulation, proceeding step by step towards increasing the proportion of means of the state in the whole of the productive funds which the higher-type cooperatives employ. The Party is studying the possibilities for the cooperatives, with their own forces, to experiment and apply, step by step, new ways and forms of distribution, which will extend the characteristics of state property to the higher-type cooperatives and to the zone of priority intensification.

**The second phase of the program of priority intensification will be applied** to the lowland zone as a whole. This will be achieved through the wider extension of the cooperative-state relations which are applied in the higher-type cooperatives, as well as through the increase and more rational use of the material-technical base.

## 5. We Must Struggle for Guaranteed Well-being and Its Continuous Improvement

The development of the economy in the 8th Five-year Plan creates possibilities to ensure a greater fund of accumulation, as well as to increase the consumption of the people. The norm of accumulation is envisaged to reach about 28 per cent and the fund of consumption will grow nearly twice as fast as the increase of population. In conformity with the rising purchasing power of the people, the circulation of retail goods will increase 25 per cent. The norms of consumption of the main food and industrial products will rise in town and countryside. Real income per head of population is forecast to be 9 per cent higher than in 1985. In the countryside it will rise over twice as fast as in the city.

It is essential that all-round measures be taken for a radical solution of the question of supplying the people with agricultural and livestock products. We have every possibility to achieve this objective within this five-year plan. For this it is necessary that all ways are used well and effectively to increase the production of meat, milk, eggs, beans, potatoes and vegetables; to encourage the interest and initiative of the cooperatives and the peasantry, to make better use of the technical-scientific achievements and advanced experience, to improve breeds of livestock and selected seeds, etc.

We can and must achieve, also, an appreciable

improvement in supplying the market with industrial goods of wide use. This requires better utilization of the existing production capacities, not only within the branches of the light and food-stuffs industry but also in the other branches of industry. Everyone should think and work with imagination and creativeness in order to increase production, to improve quality, to extend the range of food-stuffs and clothing, household equipment and furniture, building materials, etc. Every reserve must be utilized frugally, including technical residues and off-cuts, for the production of small and very small articles.

The trade service plays a special role in improving the life of the people. The organs of trade at the centre and the base should be closely acquainted with the requirements of the people and their trends, should act quickly for the distribution of supplies of goods and the collection of products from the countryside, should improve the forms of trade and enhance their professional culture. The system of trade should turn its face more fully to the countryside and also take measures to increase production with its own forces, reviving the fine traditions we have had. The work of the trading enterprises should be assessed not only by the realization of the turnover plan, but in the first place, by the degree to which it fulfils the needs of the people and the level of services to the people.

In this five-year plan special attention will be devoted to the development of education, culture and

sports, as well as to the expansion of the health service. The development of these sectors will be supported with new investments. Work will be done to build a series of important projects such as the «Enver Hoxha» Museum and new buildings for the National Library, for the post and telecommunications service and for the press. Besides this, 9 big hospitals and 8 maternity homes, about 100 secondary and primary schools, 3 holiday hostels for the workers, 12 sports halls and hundreds of smaller objects will be built.

Over 71 per cent of the pupils who complete the 8-year schools will be drawn into secondary schooling, as against nearly 57 per cent in 1985. About 21 thousand others will be added to the army of specialists and cadres with higher schooling. Publications, cinematography and television will assume new developments in quantity and quality. The number of TV-sets and telephones will be increased. All television programs will be transmitted in colour and our television broadcast will cover the entire territory of the country. In the field of the health service the task has been set to strengthen the prophylactic work, to carry out mass health examinations and diagnostic work among the population and to raise the quality of the treatment and services.

**The people have increasing needs for many kinds of services and repair work.** During the five-year plan, these will increase overall 43-45 per cent, while in the countryside they will be more than

doubled. The communal enterprises are service enterprises, therefore, the harmful trend towards new products at the expense of repairs should be avoided. The weakest link in the system of the communal economy is the low quality and the lack of correctness in the performance of services for the citizens. The organizations of the Party and the organs of the state in the districts should have a correct appreciation of the communal services and do more organized work for the qualification and education of the workers of this sector.

The Central Committee of the Party has taken the decision that by 1990 through an action on a national scale to ensure ample supplies of drinking water for all the villages and inhabited centres of the country. Following the production of the whole of the people's bread and the electrification of the entire country, after the building of schools in all parts of the Homeland and the linking of the overwhelming majority of the inhabited centres with motor roads and telephone lines, the securing of drinking water will be another victory for the Party and the people's state power. This great project will improve the living conditions, will carry new elements of culture and urban life to the countryside and will serve as a factor with direct results for prophylaxis and hygiene.

The Central Committee of the Party expresses its conviction that the working class and the cooperative peasantry, with united forces, the spirit of class solidarity and voluntary actions which charac-

terize them, will successfully complete this major action ahead of schedule.

Our patriotic and industrious peasantry, which is distinguished for its militant spirit and patriotic traditions, for its outstanding contribution in the struggle for liberation and in the socialist construction, and its high level of political and ideological consciousness, fully deserves this special care of the Party and the people's state power.

The stability of the development of the economy, the employment of all the new active forces in useful social work, the stability of the prices of goods and services, the system of social security, the improvement of the conditions of housing, work and holidays for the working people and public order, are those social and economic factors which make the life of our people prosperous and secure. These achievements will be reinforced with the appreciable increase in the fund of social consumption, with the building of 85 thousand apartments and houses and with the consolidation of the pensions system, especially in the countryside, etc. Only through the guaranteed services provided free, each family will use an average of about 3000 leks per year from the social funds.

Socialism adds to and enriches people's requirements. Through its policy, the Party aims to increase the possibilities for fulfilling them. Our line has been and is: to achieve normal fulfilment of the real needs of the people and not petty-bourgeois whims, to

spend for the well-being of all and not for luxury and excesses, to respond with priority to the most important needs of the masses, to see the present in unity with the future and with the interests of all classes and social groups. We shall pursue this course consistently in the future, too.

## **6. Improvement of the Management of the Economy and the Relations of Production Constitutes a Need of the Time**

At the present stage, the management of the economy must be raised to a higher level, in conformity with the requirements of the technique and technology, of science and its achievements. The principles of management are the same everywhere, but they must be applied in conformity with the concrete conditions of each district, enterprise or small unit, and in accord with the dynamics of their transformation. The work has increased and the problems have become more complex. This requires that everyone should master his own job, that the barriers of narrow local, departmental or sector interests should be smashed and individual interests be harmonized to a high degree with the general interests everywhere. The time has passed for management by empirical or artisan methods.

Knowledge of laws of the economy, of science and technique is an essential requirement for mo-

dern organization and management. Now the possibilities exist for the means of information, computers and data banks to be used extensively to draw analytical and synthesized data in the service of the work of management.

Organization and management must be raised to a higher level in all instances, but especially in the major systems of production. The efficiency of management is verified and enriched by practice. The progress of production, the rational use of the resources of the country, and technical and technological progress are greatly dependent on it.

Our economy is managed on the basis of the principle of **democratic centralism**, which combines the centralized management of the state from above with the initiative of the base and the masses from below. The safeguarding and consistent application of requirements which have to do with democratic centralism is an issue of principle. Nevertheless, in practice we encounter some cases of incorrect application of them. The Party has criticized certain harmful manifestations which have been noticed, the tendencies to centralize even the smallest things, to take the competences from lower organs and to transform the base into simple appliers.

These manifestations are especially unsuitable in relations with the agricultural cooperatives. They must have more initiative and competences to decide their own affairs, to find for themselves, in conformity with the concrete conditions they have, the most

rational ways to increase their production and incomes.

Certain unjustified concentrations and specializations in production, also, are excesses. There is no reason why the production of furniture, household equipment, soft drinks or small articles which the whole country needs, should be concentrated in just two or three districts. This increases the costs of production and leads to difficulties in supplying the people, not to speak of the uniformization of tastes. As has already been said, such difficulties have been brought about, also, through the concentration of the production of vegetables, milk, or eggs, in large units, on the scale of the cooperative. The further intensification of the economy will certainly require concentration, specialization and cooperation on a wide scale, just as the utilization of the internal reserves by extensive methods will require greater extension, both in the field of production and in that of supplying the people.

The improvement of the management of the economy requires **the strengthening of control** throughout the whole pyramid of state and economic organs. The forms of organization of the control must be studied and chosen better in the basic units of production, in the brigade, sector, workshop, factory, etc., where the management of affairs and efficiency, discipline and order begin. Particular importance must be given, especially, to internal control, as the basic control which follows the process

of production, which does not permit the creation of faulty products, the damaging of quality or excessive costs, which establishes rigorous order over the issuing and delivery of raw materials, auxiliary materials, finished products and remnants which must all be documented.

An urgent requirement at present is further improvement and increased effectiveness of the control by specialized organs of the plan, finance and the bank, which are important organs for the application of the economic policy of the Party and the state. These organs are required to exercise control more forcefully to prevent negative manifestations. They must exert an active influence on all the work in order to increase production and income. In particular, the specialized organs of control must check up on the distribution and effective use of the accumulation. They must struggle to ensure that there is always unity between production and consumption, to preserve correct proportions in the plan and the accomplishment of it, to close all paths to the increase of purchasing power without increases in production and the productivity of labour, without ensuring the necessary economic effectiveness.

In order to strengthen the specialized state control, the Central Committee has instructed that measures should be studied and applied to ensure that the organisms of this control are constructed and function in the most efficient way. In this context it has been envisaged that a state control com-

mission be created as an organism with ministerial attributes and full executive competences.

The rapid and vigorous development of the economy and the whole society continually gives rise to great and complicated problems which require more complete and more rational solutions. Therefore, it is essential that the power of **economic thinking and logic** to make recommendations and act should be strengthened, in order to find the best solutions possible, the most rational ways to use the potential of the country and to make the prospects clear. More studies and proposals must be made about where investments are more profitable, which structural changes in the economy ought to be stimulated first, what manoeuvres must be made in foreign trade to realize increased income, etc.

Strong economic logic must pervade all the activity of planning, designing and execution in the field of **investments and building**, where major savings can and must be made. Work must be done to find solutions which lead to increasing productive capacities with the minimum expenditure, reducing the cost of projects which are built and shortening the time of bringing them into production. The action for building the Milot-Rrëshen-Klos railway is demonstrating the effectiveness of attacking with concentrated forces of national proportions and with advanced organization. With its work the youth has exerted pressure on the planning and designing organs to shorten the time for building projects in



the study phase. The Central Committee congratulates our marvellous youth on its militant spirit, on the inspiring example which it is setting in its work and actions, on its creative activity and the devotion to socialist ideals which characterize it. The Party has unwavering confidence that the younger generation, as always, will exert its physical and mental strength to carry out the tasks which the 8th Five-year Plan presents and will carry the glorious traditions of our youth further forward.

Management and economic thinking must always focus their attention on **the effectiveness of expenditure**, increasing the profitability of production, reducing the cost of products and increasing the sources of accumulation. The accomplishment of all plans in production and everywhere else is the decisive condition in order to achieve the objectives of the 8th Five-year Plan for increasing the sources of accumulation.

A financial accumulation of nearly 2 thousand 400 million leks is foreseen simply from the reduction of costs in production, construction and services. This is one of the most pressing tasks of this five-year plan. To accomplish it, a continuous struggle must be waged in the plants, factories, fields and every other sector to reduce losses, faulty products, waste and damage. Technical norms must be established and applied in the use of raw and auxiliary materials, expenditure in workshops and enterprises must be reduced, while insisting on increasing the

range of products, the scale of recovery of useful minerals and reducing their impoverishment.

Special attention must be paid to increasing the productivity of labour, from which the plan envisages that 45 per cent of the increase in the social product will be secured. To achieve this, it is essential to raise the level of mechanization of production and the technical-professional qualification of the working people, to improve organization, to extend technical norms everywhere, to strengthen discipline and order, and raise the effectiveness of the use of working time.

Our Party has always been careful to ensure that the quantitative and qualitative development of productive forces is accompanied with improvement of various aspects of **the relations of production**. As a whole, they have been and still are built on sound Marxist-Leninist bases and play an encouraging and mobilizing role. However, the new developments dictate the need to improve some particular aspects of them which, true enough, are partial and may seem of minor importance, but they open the way and give dynamism to the development of the productive forces and the increase of economic efficiency.

In essence the relations of production are relations of interests between society, the collective and the individual. Socialism harmonizes these interests correctly. Nevertheless, life shows that, in the process of development, there exists the possibility of

the emergence of temporary disharmonies, to which attention must be paid so as to eliminate them as quickly as possible. While giving priority to the general interests as always, the interests of the collective and the individual must be appreciated correctly, too, so that all will be directly interested in increasing production, raising productivity, reducing costs and making technical and technological improvements.

Applying the decisions of the 8th Congress of the Party, certain measures have been taken to link wages more fully with the achievement of the quantitative and qualitative indices of the plan. In these fields, however, there are still problems which require study, experiment and application in practice. The differentiated rewards for overfulfilment of the targets of the plan in the branches of oil and chromium extraction, which have given good results, must be generalized and extended to other branches of the economy as well. Work with high quality, productivity and saving must be encouraged and valued higher, not only morally but also materially.

In regard to incentives, the policy of the Party must be interpreted and implemented correctly. While giving priority to moral incentives, material incentives must not be neglected, either. This must be borne in mind especially in regard to those collectives and individuals that overfulfil the targets of the plan, and even more, in regard to those who

make inventions and rationalizations, who achieve substantial benefits for the economy.

Prices represent a powerful lever in the field of production. They stimulate or inhibit it. In this field there are many problems that must be studied. But improvements must be made immediately in the prices paid by the state for the purchase of agricultural and livestock products, in order to even up the levels of profitability between different products, to encourage the overfulfilment of production plans, high quality and early crops, to provide a stimulus for the slaughter of animals at higher weights and for livestock products as a whole, and to raise the level of drawing differential rent from the economies of the lowland zone in favour of other zones.

Comrades,

Assessing the complex economic and social development hitherto, as well as the objectives at which we aim, **we can arrive at the conclusion that in the new five-year plan Albania is taking a big and important stride towards its transformation into an industrial-agricultural country**, which represents a more advanced stage in the construction of the material-technical base of socialism. The Party and the people have aspired to this objective, have striven and made sacrifices to attain it for decades on end.

In 1990 it is envisaged that industry will realize about 57 per cent of the social product and 64 per cent of industrial and agricultural production taken together. Means of production will account for about 65 per cent of the industrial product and heavy industry will provide over 50 per cent of it. In 1990, industry, construction and transport are envisaged to create 52 per cent of the total national income, agriculture 42 per cent and the other branches of the economy about 6 per cent of it.

The approach to this strategic objective will certainly inspire the working class, the working peasantry, the intelligentsia and our whole people, under the leadership of the Party and according to the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, to carry forward the construction of socialism, to increase the prosperity of the country and to raise higher the prestige of our beloved Homeland.

## II

## **STRENGTHENING THE PARTY AND ENHANCING ITS ROLE AT THE LEVEL OF THE TASKS OF THE TIME**

The Party has been and still is the decisive factor, the reliable guarantee in order to advance on the brilliant road of socialism. At the head of the people, united around it, it has fulfilled and is fulfilling its historic mission successfully.

We have a strong, revolutionary and militant Party, politically and ideologically elevated, tempered in many stern class struggles, with proven abilities as a leader and organizer. Its strength and vitality have been confirmed throughout its whole existence and the 45 years of its activity.

With such a Party at the head, our people will advance continuously in the future, too, will cope with every situation and will defend and guarantee the freedom and independence of the Homeland and the cause of the revolution and socialism in Albania.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out that the greater the tasks of the economic and social development of the country, the more difficult and complex the questions which we have to solve, the more

decisive becomes the leading role of the Party. Today our society has entered a phase of dynamic development. The objectives set in the new five-year plan are evidence of this. The upsurge of the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses, their high level of mobilization, determination and readiness to work better and harder, are another important feature which characterizes the life of our country today. From this emerges the need that the whole **work of the Party, and more specifically, its activity in the field of organization and management, must be raised to a higher qualitative level.**

### **1. The Good Organization and Management of Affairs Enhances the Leading Role of the Party Even Further**

What is required now is more concrete and effective work, work which should serve ever better the enhancement of the leading role of the organizations of the Party, the mobilization of the masses and the solution of problems. Dynamic and effective leadership is needed at all links and levels of the Party. Mere talk and general observations, leadership through stereotyped orders and instructions, hinder the progress of the work and do not help to overcome weaknesses which are noticed in particular sectors of the activity of the Party. The fact that for several years the tasks have not been fulfilled

in many sectors of the economy in the district of Dibra, that the production of bread grain and, especially, the development of livestock-farming have not gone well in Kruja, that the plan of production of oil and gas was not fulfilled in the districts of Fier, Vlora and Berat, can be explained with the shortcomings of the leadership provided by the organizations of the Party.

The purpose of the activity of the organs and organizations of the Party is to ensure the accomplishment of targets in all fields. This is also the best indication of the quality of their work. Therefore, the role of the work of the Party must be felt more strongly, especially where the difficulties are greatest and things are not proceeding at the rates required. There the Party must intervene, there the communists must set the example to correct the situation. The organization of the work, the mobilization of the people, and the most effective use of their energies have particular importance, especially at the present time. This is decisive, especially in the field of the economy, in the solution of its problems, where it is essential that many forces, the state and economic organs, and all the levers of the Party should be set in motion there on those concrete and specific tasks which pertain to them.

The successful fulfilment of the tasks of the time, the solution of problems which emerge from life, require even more intensive struggle against manifestations of formalism in the work of the

Party, against rigid schemes and outdated stereotypes. The organizations of the Party and the communists must respond, there and then, to the enthusiasm of the masses and the dynamism of life, must act skilfully and with initiative. They must never remain merely at the stage of observations. Procrastination and waiting gravely damage the work of the Party.

Obvious improvements are required in enhancing the abilities of the basic organizations of the Party in organizational work and leadership. It is they which are directly responsible for the fulfilment of the tasks in the sectors which they cover, which make matters clear to the people and mobilize them, which demand accounting from everybody and exercise check-up on everything. But there are not a few basic organizations which are not up to the level required and which do not play the role that belongs to them well. There can be no talk of effective work by those Party organizations in livestock-raising in the districts of Gjirokastra and Saranda, with the heavy losses in sheep they had in the last winter, or by some party organizations of the agricultural cooperatives of the district of Mat, where the production plans are not fulfilled and the value of the workday is low. The Party organizations and the communists must put their shoulders to the wheel, must always stand in the forefront, boldly overcome the difficulties and accomplish their tasks on all fronts.

In particular, the role of the party organizations must be enhanced and strengthened in the state administrations, especially in the central departments and institutions. Time after time, criticisms have been made about various weaknesses and shortcomings in the work of some departments, about manifestations of bureaucracy, technocracy and narrow departmentalism. It is the duty of the organizations of the Party to make all the working people and communists in the departments conscious that the solution of many present and future problems on a national scale depends on their work, that their method and style of work has a direct influence on the work of the subordinate organs, on the executive committees of districts, the state farms and agricultural cooperatives.

The Party requires that a high sense of responsibility for the implementation of its directives and orientations should characterize the basic organizations. In the first place, they themselves must strive to get a thorough understanding of the ideological content and the various social and economic aspects of these directives and orientations. The clearest possible understanding of their importance and the necessity for them is a basic requirement for applying them correctly in practice. The conditions in which each party organization operates are not identical, the problems which demand solution and the tasks which must be accomplished have their peculiarities. Therefore, the directives and the

orientations of the Party cannot be applied in a uniform way and through the same measures. In doing their work creatively, the organizations of the Party must guard against falling into formalism and mechanical application. It is necessary that the party committees in the districts, also, do more qualified work with the directives, that they analyse them in detail and specifically and thus give effective aid to the basic organizations.

In every district there are many basic organizations of the Party which have gained rich experience in their work, which operate with initiative, which follow the problems well, and accomplish their tasks successfully. In them there is vigorous debate, with healthy criticism and self-criticism, and there is check-up and demanding of account on the carrying out of decisions. Many committees, bureaus and organizations of the Party have gained good experience in this direction, especially since the 13th and 14th Plenums of the Central Committee of the Party.

This experience should be studied carefully by the party committees, so that the role of the basic organizations is enhanced and improved everywhere, and these achievements and qualities of theirs are consolidated and carried forward. Through more qualified work, the party committees can help the basic organizations better and avoid any manifestation of tutelage and dictate which inhibits their initiative and self-action. While maintaining direct contact with the basic organizations, they must not leave

their care, assistance and control in the hands of the party bureaus of enterprises, cooperatives and institutions alone. It must be understood, once and for all, that without raising each basic organization to the level of present-day requirements no task can be accomplished. Both the setting up of these organizations and the distribution of the forces of the Party must respond to this aim.

The correct line of the Party, its Marxist-Leninist ideology, and the example of its members have always inspired, encouraged and mobilized the working people for great revolutionary actions and deeds. The members of our Party are in the vanguard of the socialist construction, are distinguished in their work and in life, and militate as true revolutionaries. Nevertheless, there are also some communists who are not outstanding in this way, who think that their role is simply to accomplish their work as workers, cooperativists or officials. In reality, the scope of the communist's work is very wide. It is his duty to be outstanding as a leader of the masses, as a political and social activist, as a fighter for the application of the line of the Party in work and outside it, in all directions and in all fields of life.

**The qualities of the member of the Party, which are essential to fulfilling his vanguard role, have been summed up in the Constitution of the Party.** These qualities are in ceaseless evolution, they develop and are perfected. At all times and in every situation, the communists are required to distinguish

themselves as talented leaders and organizers of the masses, as innovators and initiators of the new and the progressive. The Party and the people want to see the communists always as courageous fighters for the implementation and defence of the line of the Party, who always stand in the forefront of the masses for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland. They want the communists to be people of sacrifice, devoted and loyal to the cause of communism, to be modest and friendly with the people, but stern towards enemies, resolute opponents of opportunism and sectarianism, of bureaucracy and instances of unpleasant behaviour in social life. The people want to see the communists among them as often as possible, to talk and consult with them. They want the communists to be outstanding social activists and exemplary citizens.

Manifestations of indifference and of seeking personal ease, tendencies to dodge difficult jobs, attempts to gain benefits from being in the ranks of the Party, or from the position held in it, damage the pure figure of the members of the Party. The organizations and committees of the Party cannot reconcile themselves to any such phenomena, or to tolerant attitudes towards them from the first moments they appear in any communist.

The Party does a great deal of work for the tempering of communists through all the different forms and means of education and propaganda. The results achieved are very positive. But improve-

ments are necessary in this field, too. The propaganda and educational work must provide the communists with more political and ideological knowledge, strengthen their revolutionary spirit and character, help them to understand and interpret the phenomena of the time correctly, and develop in them creative thinking, the dialectical way of thinking.

The life of the organization of the Party itself is a great school for the tempering of the communists. A feeble, inert life is a bad education. The vigorous and active life of the basic organization of the Party makes the communists real revolutionary fighters.

The major tasks which lie ahead of us require that check-up and the demanding of account are strengthened everywhere and by everybody. Check-up, the demanding of account and discipline must be strengthened, first of all, within the ranks of the Party. Every communist, every party organization and committee, must work persistently to ensure that the directives, orientations and norms of the Party, the tasks which are set and the decisions which are taken are carried out. Without this the Party cannot play its mobilizing, organizing and leading role, and its work does not give results. The correctness from every standpoint, and the example of the communists, cadres and basic organizations in the performance of tasks, in the application of the directives, orientations and norms of the Party make the check-up of the Party inspiring and acceptable to all. Without these essential conditions, no one

will listen to you, you cannot arouse the minds, hearts and energies of people to achieve the objectives in production or in any other field.

Check-up on the carrying out of the directives and decisions of the Party is secured through the vigorous activity of all communists, through their close links with the masses, through the extensive activization of the peasant and worker control, the control of social organizations, and the direct control of the working masses themselves. In our social system, effective control is the control by the working class and the masses. It has been one of the main factors which has kept the country advancing on the right road. The Party requires that the direct control by the working class and the masses should be raised to a higher level and exercised continuously everywhere and on everybody. The Party has always upheld the great principle that the construction of socialism is the deed of the working masses led by the Party. Therefore, it is the full right and a lofty duty of the masses to exercise control over the whole life of the country. The check-up, opinions and criticisms of the masses comprise one of the most powerful levers to carry the work forward in all sectors.

**The increase of the ranks of the Party with devoted revolutionary elements is a great and vital problem for the ceaseless strengthening of the Party and its leading role.** Today nearly 147 thousand communists are militating in its ranks. In the period

since the 8th Congress, an average of about 6 thousand candidates for party membership have been admitted each year. Nearly 80 per cent of them are from the sectors of production, more than 70 per cent of them are young, and 40 per cent women. This has brought about a further improvement of the social composition of the ranks of the Party. In the effective of the Party, worker communists now make up 39.2 per cent, cooperativists 29.5 per cent, and office workers 31.3 per cent, or 1.4 per cent less than at the previous Congress. Women comrades make up 32.2 per cent of the members, or 2.5 per cent more than at the previous Congress.

The Central Committee of the Party is of the opinion that for the future, too, the rate of new admissions and their social composition should be approximately as in the past five years, giving priority to admission of communists from production, from the most important sectors and main fronts of production.

The party committees and the basic organizations must pay special attention to increasing the ranks of the Party. This matter should be pursued and carried out seriously, in a creative way, and on a scientific basis, avoiding any bureaucratic or liberal treatment, any formalism or superficiality.

As always, the fundamental requirement for the admission of new candidates remains their high quality and worth. The Party needs loyal, honest, courageous people, but also people with broad



cultural horizons, resolute fighters for the new, of strong character, who enjoy the love and respect of the masses, people devoted to the cause of communism, revolutionary and ready to make any sacrifice, and determined to march on the road of Marxism-Leninism. The Party needs the freshness and new thinking which come from the admission of young people. The dynamism of young people, together with the experience of the older communists, makes the Party strong and keeps its organism vigorous and always active.

Naturally, in order to admit a person to the Party, the political past and present of the family of the candidate, his social origin, professional abilities and results at work, have great importance. But no less decisive are his personal character, political maturity and formation, moral figure, social personality and his behaviour as a citizen.

The candidate's period of probation must serve to cultivate and implant these qualities ever better. The probation period is a serious test for the verification of the qualities of the future communist and a filter to keep the ranks of the Party always pure.

In regard to admissions to the Party, the possibilities exist to work more openly, to further increase the direct interest of the masses in those who seek to join the Party, to organize better the active consultation of the opinion of the workers about each admission. The masses are very interested to ensure that the best people come in the

ranks of the Party, so that the Party always remains strong, pure and young. More careful work should be done with the organizations of the masses, especially the youth organization, so that they understand and carry out better the rights and duties which they have to propose the most outstanding people from their ranks for admission to the Party.

## 2. We Must Strengthen the Links of the Party with the Masses and Apply the Line of the Masses Everywhere

The successful fulfilment of the major tasks we are setting requires the ceaseless strengthening of the links of the Party with the masses. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us,

*«The problems of the Party are problems which concern the masses. Therefore, we must seek and find them among the masses, discuss and solve them together with the masses; because it is precisely the broad masses who are creating, building and transforming the world, society... The line of the masses helps to strengthen the Party a hundredfold, further deepens the democracy in its internal life and strengthens the links of the Party with the people.»\**

\* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, p. 191.

The direct links with the masses bring about and ensure that natural and sincere communication which the Party seeks and which the masses want. The Party must know the real opinions and the worries which the people have, because from them it draws conclusions and sets tasks, and verifies the correctness of its directives and orientations. The cordial communication of communists and cadres with the people, the sincere discussion of problems in plain language, is an effective way to know the state of affairs and to strengthen the links of the Party with the people.

The social organizations, the Democratic Front, the Trade Unions, the Youth Union, the Women's Union, and so on, play an irreplaceable role in the application of the line of the masses and in strengthening the links of the Party with the people. They unite the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, the people's intelligentsia and the women, the youth and the pioneers, the veterans and the pensioners, in a single ideal and will. Therefore, the organs and organizations of the Party must further improve their work with the organizations of the masses, to open broad horizons of work to them and involve them concretely in the solution of the problems which emerge for the Party so that they increase their mobilizing and activating force. Above all, the role and activity of the communists who militate in these organizations must be stepped up and any manifestation of underestimation of them must be

firmly eliminated. It is necessary that the committees and basic organizations of the Party should have a broader concept about the role and work of each organization of the masses. The leadership of the Party should be strengthened, not only in the forums of these organizations, but especially at the base. Certain standard forms of party leadership in these organizations, such as globalism and levelling out their individual features, are harmful. The leadership by the Party must be continuous, but in no way must it be confounded with tutelage which inhibits and weakens the initiative and self-action of the organizations of the masses.

From the working class the Party requires that it should stand, as always, in the forefront of the work and struggle for the construction of socialism, express its own opinion forcefully about everything, be militant and irreconcilable with any stand or manifestation which runs contrary to the interests of our society. The **Trade Unions** must strengthen their work of education and mobilization, further invigorate the socialist emulation, and develop the creative, innovative thinking of the working class and all the working people. It is the duty of the Trade Unions, also, to pay continuous and special attention to the living and working conditions of the working people.

Our **youth** has been and still is the most vigorous and active force of our society, that which will take over and carry forward the banner of revolution

and socialism in Albania. It is the duty of its organization, the Labour Youth Union, under the leadership of the Party, to work vigorously, with enthusiasm and creativeness, to ensure that our younger generation is tempered politically and ideologically, and grows up morally sound and physically strong. Tireless work must be done to ensure that our youth know and assimilate the revolutionary, political, freedom-loving, social traditions of our people, and are armed with the Marxist-Leninist ideology of the Party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Just as they have done hitherto, the youth and its organization must always stand in the forefront of the struggle and be on the offensive against remnants of backward old customs, as well as against the corrupting and degenerating influences of the capitalist and revisionist world, and must militate ardently for the new and progressive in work, in life, in society and everywhere.

The Party is confident that, as always, our youth will be characterized by their ever increasing thirst for culture, knowledge and science, the will to study and learn, persistence in gaining technical and professional mastery, and ever greater qualification in order to serve devotedly wherever the Homeland needs them.

**Women** have a great and ever increasing role in the whole life of the country. In our country, women are active and present in all fields of life, in production, school, political and social activity,

and everywhere. Notwithstanding the great and unprecedented emancipation they have achieved, more still must be done to raise the cultural, and especially technical-professional level of the women higher, for the continuous democratization of family relations, for the socialization of domestic tasks, for the sound upbringing and education of children, etc. Here the Women's Union must play a greater role, to make the women more conscious of the tasks that emerge for them.

The **Democratic Front**, this organization with great authority among the people, has a wide field of activity for the political and patriotic education of the masses. It has the lofty and noble mission to work to strengthen the unity of the people, and their unity around the Party, and to safeguard and consolidate the people's state power. The Front, as a bearer of the freedom-loving, democratic and revolutionary traditions of our people, has the duty to develop these qualities and implant them deeply in the masses. It is necessary that social problems, which have to do with relations between people, with their way of life, with the struggle against backward customs and other alien manifestations, should occupy a greater place in the work of the organizations of the Front. The Party has a high appreciation, also, of the contribution of the war and labour veterans to the patriotic and communist education of the masses.

The leading organs of the organizations of the

masses are required to display greater initiative and more creative spirit in order to invigorate the internal life of the respective organizations, to generalize their good experience in work and to increase the effectiveness of their activity. These organs should work better to preserve the physiognomy of the respective organizations, devoting more attention to concrete problems specific to them. They should always bear in mind the special features of different social strata, the development and evolution they undergo, and the specific demands which they have. In this way they will fulfil their function better as levers of the Party which carry its line to the masses, and as tribunes of the voice of the masses.

### **3. The Ideo-Political and Professional Uplift of Cadres — a Fundamental Condition for the Progress of the Country**

During the past five-year period, the balance of the work of the Party for the selection and promotion of cadres, for their general and professional education and schooling, is rich. Compared with the situation at the end of 1980, in 1985 our country had 53 per cent more people with secondary and higher schooling. Another success of the policy of the Party is that now about 35 per cent of the cadres are the children of workers or have been

workers themselves, and 42 per cent are women or girls. This great army of cadres with schooling, educated by the Party, has played a major role in all the successes and advances we have achieved. The task is that these qualified forces should be employed ever better and with higher productivity.

The effectiveness of the work of political, economic and social organisms, of all working collectives, is linked closely with the abilities of those who lead them. Therefore, the appointment and promotion of cadres requires special care. Now, for each sector, for each job, suitable, energetic people, capable of carrying the work forward, are needed. Therefore, it must be thoroughly understood that life, the development of the country, and the problems which await solution, demand from the cadres greater knowledge and ability, culture and dynamism. Today any field of activity can be led successfully only with qualified work based on scientific methods.

Political guarantees and the purity of his moral figure remain unalterable requirements for the selection and promotion of the cadre. But besides these, the cadre's professional abilities, his cultural and scientific level, the correct stand he takes towards the new, and his ability to move swiftly and skilfully, which assume special importance in the conditions of the rapid development of the economic and social life of the country, are essential for a competent management of affairs.

By learning and accumulating experience, by

affirming himself with the achievements of his work, by gaining the trust and respect of people, the leading cadre will advance and be gradually promoted. His promotion must be natural and justified. Sentimentalism and subjectivism in the appointment and promotion of cadres are harmful.

It is absolutely necessary to make high demands on the cadres. This is a condition to increase their sense of responsibility and enhance their capacity. Our socialist society cannot allow incompetent and lazy people to remain at the head of affairs, because they retard its development and progress. The new times and the new tasks require new forces and new minds, people who live with the all-round development and progress of the economy, science, culture and the life of the country.

Therefore, the organizations of the Party and the various organs of the state should give greater support to young cadres, to talents which emerge continually in the bosom of our society. It is a very positive fact that about 70 per cent of our cadres today are up to 40 years of age, while the cadres of over 51 years of age make up only about 8 per cent of the total.

The promotion of young cadres is a necessity which is dictated both by the dynamic development of life and by the need to secure a normal continuity of generations. Now people enter life much better prepared, with broader educational, cultural, ideological and professional horizons. They inherit the

experience of older generations and the base from which they set out is much more advanced. Therefore, we should have a better appreciation of the young cadres, should have more confidence in them and should not hesitate to entrust them with tasks and responsibilities, combating any conservative or inhibiting stand.

In our country, a whole system for the training of cadres of all the profiles that we need has already been built up. With the rates with which we expect to proceed, in general, we also satisfactorily fulfil our future needs, and the structure of the training of cadres is correct. Certain improvements which must be made in certain profiles will be carried out, as hitherto, on the basic trunk of the respective branches as well as by creating some new branches and profiles.

The important thing is that the all-round level of the training of cadres should be raised higher. Our cadres must learn continuously from books and from life, from advanced experience and from one another. The Party fights the self-satisfaction which exists in some cadres who not only do little study, but even imagine that they can work and perform their duties without learning and extending their horizons.

The situation we are going through requires increased care for the revolutionization of cadres. The Party has worked and is working persistently for the ideological and political education and tempering of cadres, to strengthen and implant in them

the lofty qualities and virtues which characterize our Party and people. The consistent application of the policy of the Party on the circulation of cadres, on rendering account before the masses and their direct participation in various forms of productive labour, serves this end. Our cadre is inspired by and draws lessons from the determination and creative initiative of the masses, from the fighting spirit with which the masses cope with difficulties and overcome obstacles.

A revolutionary cadre is he who sees far ahead, who penetrates into the prospect of the development of the country, the district, the enterprise, or the institution in which he works, who can see over the «wall» of temporary obstacles and difficulties, beyond the present achievements.

Having a clear concept about the tasks of the future, our cadre has possibilities to organize the work better, to open horizons to the working people and to mobilize them to carry out the directives of the Party and the plans of the state successfully.

#### **4. We Must Ceaselessly Strengthen the People's State Power and Increase the Defence Potential of the Homeland**

During the period on which we are reporting, notable improvements have been made in the activity of all links of the organs of state power. The

work of the organs of state power and the whole state administration has been more effective. The ability of the people's councils and their executive organs to perform their tasks competently and responsibly has advanced, too. The work for the education and qualification of councillors, to increase the activity of all the elected members and of the people's councils themselves has been further improved.

The continuous strengthening of the organs of state power must be in the centre of the attention of the Party, as always. It has seen to it that the organs of power, in all their links, perform their activity on the basis of the Constitution and the laws which derive from it, and that they fully apply the respective competences which have been given to them. Those instances when the higher councils take the competences from the lower councils must be eliminated and, what is more, the executive organs or the other organs of the state and the economy must not be permitted to take over the competences of the people's councils. Every organ, organism, military command, enterprise or cooperative is obliged to recognize the authority of the people's council and must not carry out any activity without first receiving its authorization and approval when such a thing is required by the laws and regulations in force.

In particular, it is essential to strengthen the power of the people's council of the village so that the competences given to it by law are not taken

over or violated by the united council. The village has numerous problems. They have to do not only with production but also with supplying the population, the health service, the school, culture, the postal service and communication, with questions of building houses, electric power, drinking water, hygiene, and the other daily needs which people have. It is not beneficial to the work that nearly all the matters which belong to the village council should be concentrated in the hands of the united council, the bureau of the Party and the management committee of the cooperative.

These are major problems in the countryside for the Party, too. But it must be admitted that the basic organizations of the Party do not give them the attention they deserve. The basic organizations concentrate mainly on questions of production and do not guide the whole life of the village.

In our socialist order the relations between citizens and the state have been defined in the Constitution and other fundamental laws which guarantee the citizens all the conditions and means necessary to be equal before the law and to exercise the rights that belong to them. The correct application of our laws, rigorous respect for the interests of the state and the rights of citizens, the active participation of the masses in governing the country, safeguard and further develop our socialist democracy.

The organs of the state attorney's office, the

court, the investigation service and Internal Affairs have important duties for the application of the law. They must bear thoroughly in mind that they are organs of the people's state power, therefore, they should rigorously apply the laws and defined norms, operate with justice but also with severity, defending both the interests of the state and society and the rights, the lives and the property of citizens.

The activity of these organs has not only a coercive, but also an educational character. Therefore, there is room for a great deal of preventive work, co-ordinating this with the work done by the organs of the Party and the state, the organizations of the masses and the organs of the economy.

The laws, regulations and orders are applied properly when the line of the Party is known thoroughly, when every problem is judged profoundly from the political and ideological standpoint, when check-up and demanding of account is strengthened.

**The activity of the organs of internal affairs also should be raised to a higher level** in all types of the respective services and detachments, especially those of the border and the police. The consequences of the hostile activity of Mehmet Shehu, Kadri Hazbiu and others in the work of these organs have been overcome successfully. But in the conditions when the class struggle continues inside and outside the country, it is essential that the organs of internal affairs cope better with the tasks with

which they have been charged by the Party, that they further sharpen their vigilance and act quickly and intelligently for the discovery and prevention of the activities of enemies and evil-doers.

The strength of the organs of internal affairs, the state security, the border detachments and the people's police lies in their links with the people. The extension and strengthening of these links constitutes one of the main tasks of the work of the Party and the commands of these organs.

Great care must be shown for the ideological education, the technical-professional, military and physical training of the effectives of the organs and detachments of the Ministry of Internal Affairs so that they can perform their duties successfully. It is essential that the leadership and control of the Party over these organs should be strengthened and improved continuously.

**The Party and the people's state power, following the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, have ensured an unbreakable defence for our country.** Our army has become truly a people's army, educated politically and trained militarily, equipped with a high level of consciousness and discipline and armed with the necessary fighting means. It has always remained loyal to the Party and the people and, despite the efforts of enemies, has not deviated from its lofty mission of defending the Homeland and the victories of the revolution.

Bearing in mind the situation which is developing in the world and around us, the Party will devote all the necessary care to the ceaseless strengthening of the defence capacity of the Homeland.

The defence of the Homeland requires an army with a high level of training in all directions, political and military, moral and psychological, technical and physical, consistently applying the requirements of our Military Art of People's War. The commands and staffs of the units and detachments of all structures must carry out intensive training of high quality, keep the military readiness at the level which the situation demands and strengthen their vigilance. The strengthening of the conscious steel discipline, the precise application of all regulations, raise the fighting readiness of the army and the defence capacity of the Homeland.

The leadership of the Party has been and remains the decisive factor to safeguard the people's character of the Army and for its strengthening and modernization. The committees and organizations of the Party in the army are required to work even better for the political and ideological education of the troops, for the preservation and development of the traditions of the National Liberation Army, to perfect the political and moral figure of the army-men, to strengthen the relations between cadres and soldiers and between the people and the army.



## III

**WE MUST RAISE THE IDEOLOGICAL WORK OF  
THE PARTY AND THE SPIRIT OF  
REVOLUTIONARY MILITANCY  
TO A HIGHER LEVEL**

During the years which have passed since the 8th Congress, the ideological and cultural revolution has developed in depth uninterruptedly, people's political consciousness has been raised to a new level, the militant unity of the people around the Party has been further steeled and the convictions of the masses about the superiority and vitality of the socialist order have been further strengthened.

Our socialist society has continued to advance unceasingly on the road of its all-round emancipation and civilization. While we rightly consider our advances in the economy beyond any comparison with the past, the transformations in the political and ideological convictions of the people, in their psychology and mentality, in their way of life and in social relations are unparalleled.

The Party and the Albanian people, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, have waged a long,

but glorious and triumphant struggle. Just as they fought with determination and courage for the freedom and independence of the Homeland, so they fought also for a radical overturning of the social injustices and the abolition of class privileges of the past regimes, for the creation of the new man, liberated from any social, economic and spiritual bondage, master of his own labour and the destiny of the country.

**1. Sound Political and Ideological Convictions  
— a Guarantee for the Progress of Our  
Socialist Society**

Socialism has enriched and ennobled the life of the people, just as it has liberated them from a series of chains which kept them locked in their internal world. It multiplied, strengthened and filled with new content every valuable thing the Albanians inherited, their patriotism and spirit of resistance, their moral purity and unyielding character, their thirst for progress and knowledge and their democratic sentiments. Vendetta and blood feuds were ended, because socialism created a stable unity of interests and aspirations among the people. The religious divisions which split them and made them enemies died out. Closer links were established between the regions of the country and this strengthened the unity of the people and the nation.

Through all-sided ideological struggle and work our socialist society created a new, advanced morality, now deeply implanted, especially in the younger generation. It was no light matter to overthrow, within a few decades, the psychology of the private property, handed down from one generation to another for thousands of years, and in place of it, to form a new outlook about the common property and the socialist attitude towards it. It was no light matter to emancipate half the population, the Albanian women, discriminated against under the Canon and backward customs. It was no light matter to reform the Albanian family in which conservatism and patriarchy reigned all-powerful.

Socialism has opened to all the way to live with dignity, through their own toil, while guaranteeing work for everybody and ensuring the ceaseless rise of the well-being. Our man is untroubled, because he is not exploited by anyone, is not afraid that prices and taxes might be increased, that he might lose his job, or be unable to get medical treatment or schooling. The guarantee for all this is the socialist economy which we have built, the new industry which is being developed and intensified uninterruptedly, our ever more productive agriculture, and our socialist national culture which is advancing unceasingly.

With the establishment of socialism, for the first time Albania created its modern state, with an effective administration of the national wealth, and

a sound organization of social life. For the first time our country is enjoying a free and independent national life and has its own voice in the international arena. At no other time have our people been so confident of their present and their future.

In no other society are the obligations of the individual to the community and those of the community to the individual regulated so harmoniously as in our socialist society. It guarantees by law and realizes in practice, at a truly high level, all the democratic freedoms and human rights, without discrimination on account of sex, nationality, zone, region, or social position.

Our duty as communists, as citizens of the new Albania, is to defend, consolidate and carry continually forward these historic victories of socialism. Above all, it is necessary to consolidate and further strengthen the sound political and ideological convictions about the justice of the socialist system, about its superiorities, and about its unlimited possibilities for the all-round development of the society and the individual.

These convictions are kept alive and made unshakeable by the **Marxist-Leninist doctrine**, which constitutes the theoretical base on which socialism is built, develops and triumphs. Profound theoretical convictions are what make the work and struggle for the triumph of socialism conscious, help the people to understand life, the social processes and their trends of development correctly. They are the

basis and powerful weapons to defend the victories achieved, to remain unwavering in face of the pressures which the bourgeoisie, reaction and modern revisionism exert on socialism.

The triumphant doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and the brilliant teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha have remained the basis of the line of the Party and all its activity. They have enabled the Party to find its bearings unerringly in any situation and to correctly solve the numerous problems to which time has given rise. The vitality of Marxism-Leninism, its capacity to be enriched and developed and to be always the most coherent, contemporary world outlook are continually confirmed in the practice of our life.

The attitude towards Marxism-Leninism is a capital issue for a communist party and the socialist state. Loyalty to its principles and their correct application determines the fate of the revolution and the successful construction of the new society. In today's conditions, when communism has been betrayed in many countries of the world, and when the bourgeoisie, reaction and the revisionists in a united front have hurled themselves against it in fury, for our Party, defence of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and its application in a creative way is a very great task of national and international importance.

Our Party and people have had the great good fortune that for decades on end they had at their head an outstanding Marxist-Leninist who was able

not only to ardently defend the doctrine of Marx and Lenin, but also to apply it in a creative way in the conditions of Albania and to make a special contribution of great value to the development and enrichment of it. The theoretical thinking and teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the revolutionary experience of our Party, are an inexhaustible treasure, a compass which always gives us correct guidance and leadership in our internal and external policy, in the implementation of the program for the socialist construction of our country.

Our Party has already created a whole system for the Marxist-Leninist education of the communists and the masses. An extensive, all-sided political and ideological literature has been placed in their hands. Now we have nearly all the works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin in the Albanian language. In particular, our working people have in their hands the great treasury of Comrade Enver Hoxha's works, in which a profound scientific generalization has been made of the experience of the revolution and our socialist construction, of the struggle against imperialism and revisionism, and in which analyses have been made and major conclusions drawn about the history of Albania, about its socialist construction, as well as about the development of world processes today.

But what the Party requires now is that in the whole system of the Marxist-Leninist education, from the secondary schools to the University, in the Party

School and in the extensive network of education within the Party, in the numerous means of propaganda, in the press and publications, we should raise the level of the work for the propagation and assimilation of Marxism. The task of these organisms is not merely to acquaint people with the basic principles of this theory, but also to form their Marxist opinion, to give them the methods of the Marxist judgement and handling of phenomena and problems. All these organisms must think and work in order to find more effective, flexible and lively forms to achieve this aim. Formalism, scholasticism, mechanical learning by heart, hinder a profound and real assimilation of Marxism, turn it into a dry, moralizing, illuminist doctrine, and not into a transforming weapon, in the way Marx said.

The Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies, the other institutions for studies of social sciences, and the chairs of the higher schools have special tasks in this direction. It is up to them to make more profound analyses of the new phenomena and the Marxist interpretation of them, to sum up historical experience relating it to the present, and to refute with arguments the distortions which are made of Marxism-Leninism. The level of the propaganda of the Party is dependent on the profundity of studies, the scientific level of research work, sound logic and the force of argument.

Our people need Marxism not as an ornament, but as an effective weapon, in order to interpret

correctly and solve the numerous problems which emerge in the process of the socialist construction of the country. It is known that the growth of the economy, the development of education and culture, the ever changing interaction between the productive forces and the relations of production, the social changes which occur in the different strata of the population, and the new spiritual requirements of the people, give rise to new, more complicated and complex problems and tasks. Only profound mastery and knowledge of the Marxist-Leninist theory and the ability to link it with life and our revolutionary practice enable us to cope with these problems successfully and to solve them creatively.

Our Party has always acted in this way. It has never sought ready-made solutions, neither has it applied the principles of Marxism-Leninism and experience of the past in mechanical ways. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us this. One of the great aspects of the heritage he has left us, one of his most valuable teachings, is that every problem that emerges, whether economic, political, ideological, or cultural, must be dealt with with revolutionary courage, in a creative spirit and in a dialectical way. He instructed and taught the Party, the communists, and the cadres that they should fight continuously for the new, for the advanced, and must never remain slaves to formulations, practices, forms and methods which have become outdated.

With this spirit the Party must face up to the

problems of the present and the future, conscious that life does not stand still, that it is in a continuous process of development, transformation and perfection. On this course, through our ideo-political work, we will bring about that the revolutionary enthusiasm and the spirit of militancy of the communists and the working masses is ceaselessly enhanced, that the creative thinking, technical and organizational abilities, the knowledge and culture of vanguard workers, cadres and specialists will be set in motion and used in the most effective ways to boost the progress of the country.

By building up the spirit of initiative and revolutionary courage to find and propose the best solutions to the problems which emerge, by replacing one form of organization with another, more advanced, more rational, and more appropriate to the existing conditions, the Party must fight both the indifference which is nurtured by the idea that «certain appointed organisms, the top leadership of the Party and state, think about such matters,» and the tendency to make a fetish of set rules, decisions and instructions, which are taken as suitable today and for ever. From the theoretical stand-point these views are metaphysical and anti-dialectical, while from the political stand-point they lead to conservatism. In practice, they prevent any advance and also create a social type who merely carries out orders mechanically and does not think, who repeats and transmits

things which are already known, who brings nothing new to work, science or culture.

The Party cannot reconcile itself to such views characteristic of bureaucrats and laggards, of those who are stuck in a fixed method of work and do not want to weary their brains or their muscles. The Party requires that everywhere, in the governmental departments, the Party committees, the organs of state power and the economy, in the scientific institutions and higher schools, the creative thinking and initiative of the masses should be simmering, that people should express their opinions openly and without hesitation, should make proposals and suggestions so that the work goes well, make analyses and draw scientific conclusions, participate in discussions and confrontations for the benefit of the socialist construction.

A very important direction of the ideo-political activity of the Party is the work for **the uninterrupted strengthening of the political and moral unity of the people**. The Party and the broad working masses in our country have undertaken major tasks for the development of industry, for the modernization of agriculture, for the advance of culture, for the strengthening of our defence, etc. We will do all these things relying on our own forces. Therefore, we must unite all the efforts and energies of the people in a single current, so that we can work in harmony and in the spirit of solidarity, with a lofty spirit of collectivism, always help one another and stand

together, in good times and bad, in sincere friendship and affection. Only by being united can we overcome any difficulty and achieve every objective. **The strength of Albania lies in its people, and the strength of the people in their unity around the Party.**

Our country is not big and our population is small. In order to withstand the dangers which threaten their freedom and independence and their socialist life from enemies who are bigger and more powerful, our people must always be firmly united in unity of thought and action, must rise above narrow petty interests, and always be vigilant and ready to act. This unity of the people, their steel links with the Party, have been and remain one of the pillars of the people's state power and socialism in Albania.

The unity of our people is a marvellous living reality. Socialism has provided all the necessary economic, political, ideological and moral bases for an unprecedented unity of the working people. Nevertheless, we must never think there is no need to work in order to safeguard and strengthen this unity. Not only do the external and internal enemies try to violate it, but manifestations of bureaucracy, liberalism and sectarianism, disregard for the voice of the masses and underestimation of the interests of various strata of the population, any unjust act which creates discontent among our people, damage it, too.

The duty of the Party is to work tirelessly to strengthen the unity of the people everywhere, in town and countryside, in every working collective,

right down to every family. To this end, attention must be paid not only to major problems of a political and ideological character, but also to questions which have to do with people's daily life, such as the communal services, trade, the education and health services, communications, housing, employment, etc.

The time has come when we must enrich the content of our socialist life more and more with new elements which come from the rapid development of the country and the creative work of the people, must continually improve the relations of production, in order to open broad roads to the inexhaustible physical and mental energies of the working people, must struggle all the time for an ever higher civilization, based on unshakeable moral standards and on a broad and profound culture, must further strengthen the people's state power and carry forward our socialist democracy and make the international position of Albania even stronger.

Today **true socialist patriotism** is expressed in these efforts. Our patriotism all through the ages has been characterized by a lofty spirit of sacrifice in the interests of the people and the country, by the democratic and progressive spirit, and by devoted service to the Homeland. History has made this one of the fundamental features which has distinguished the Albanians, which has given them strength to withstand the tempests of history, and which has

built up their confidence in the strength of the people and in the future of the country.

At specific stages patriotism assumes a specific content linked with the tasks which face the country. Whereas during the National Liberation War every patriot was required to fight arms in hand for the liberation of the Homeland, or later, to fight for the great socio-economic transformations, today patriotism is expressed through the contribution each individual makes to carry forward production, technique, science and culture, to strengthen our defence, to affirm the new norms of behaviour and mode of living, and to strengthen the unity of the people.

The sentiment of patriotism never becomes outdated or rusty. It has always been and remains a great motive force of our society, a reliable shield, not only against the direct threats of enemies to the freedom and independence of the Homeland, but also against the ideological and cultural aggression of imperialism, a powerful weapon to fight the poisonous ideas of cosmopolitanism and the political apathy which it seeks to impose on the peoples.

Genuine socialist patriotism has nothing in common with bourgeois nationalism. It is linked closely with proletarian internationalism. Socialist man, liberated from national oppression and social exploitation, who believes with full conviction in the ideals of communism and the liberation of all mankind from the chains of capitalism, cannot but want the good of all the other peoples and cannot but support all

those who fight for freedom and independence, social justice and democracy.

Throughout its existence our Party has adhered consistently to **the principle of the class struggle** and has waged it on all fronts, in all stages of the socialist construction. It has proceeded from the principle that the class struggle continues uninterrupted, with its own specific features, in socialism, too. This struggle is conditioned by objective factors such as the remnants of the old society, the bourgeois and imperialist pressure from abroad and the emergence on these bases of elements who degenerate and turn into anti-socialists and enemies. Our Party has always considered the class struggle as a main motive force of our society which carries the revolution and the socialist construction forward, which strengthens the unity of the people, purges their consciousness, and tempers them as revolutionaries.

Our socialist life is in perpetual development. Numerous revolutionary changes have occurred and are occurring in the social and material fields, in the field of traditions and customs, tastes, behaviour, and so on. The old, the backward, the alien, is eliminated and, instead, something new, progressive, socialist, emerges and becomes affirmed. Experience shows that this process does not always develop smoothly and in a straight line. There are not a few individuals who do not march in step with the whole of society, who cling to the old, to remnants of the past, just as

there are others, too, who fall prey to influences of the bourgeois-revisionist world. This is an important front of the ideological struggle which calls for firm resolve as much as it requires clarity and maturity, prudence and tact, because it is a struggle which is waged, first and foremost, among us, in the ranks of the people, indeed, even within the ranks of the Party.

Within a relatively very short time, socialism has created its own type of man, revolutionary, creative, and determined to forge ahead overcoming every obstacle and difficulty. But notwithstanding the successes achieved in the communist education of the people, we still encounter some negative manifestations against which a determined struggle must be waged by all, by the Party, the state power, the organizations of the masses, and the whole of our social opinion.

The cases of the damage and misuse of the common property by consciousless or ill-intentioned individuals, the breaches of discipline at work, the tendencies to give the minimum to society and take the maximum from it, are completely irreconcilable with our socialist ideology and morality and the fine traditions of our people.

If these phenomena are not restrained and eliminated, they turn into a great evil which erodes the economic base of our society, the foundations of our people's state power, and encourages harmful, anti-socialist tendencies. Therefore, we shall wage a res-

olute, consistent and stern struggle against them.

The attitude towards work and property has been and will always be a fundamental criterion by means of which the socialist consciousness and ideological level of each individual can be assessed. This has been and will be, also, one of the main directions of all the educational work of the Party.

We must not forget that the petty-bourgeois psychology, which is the main source of alien manifestations in the attitude towards work and the property, of the concept of putting personal interests above the interests of society, a psychology which has had strong roots amongst us, has not been eliminated yet. On the other hand, the ever greater tasks which the Party puts forward for the development of the country require a great and continuous mobilization of the working people, strict, all-embracing discipline at work, and ceaseless strengthening of the common property.

The struggle against alien manifestations in the attitude towards work, and especially towards property, is waged on a broad front and with all-sided educational and administrative, economic and organizational measures. The attention of the Party and all its levers must be concentrated especially on those who damage the common property and those consciousless people who appropriate the labour of others by taking the socialist wealth for themselves, even in quite small quantities. These actions are the reflection in such people of their low ideological



level, their lack of education and culture, and their infection with petty-bourgeois, selfish interests. All the possibilities exist to block the way to these manifestations through persistent work.

It is a different matter with people who deliberately steal and damage the common property or that of citizens, created with so much toil and sacrifice. They act as class enemies. Therefore, a stern stand must be taken against them and the laws of the dictatorship of the proletariat must be applied with no laxity.

In the struggle to strengthen the socialist attitude at work and in the protection of property, apart from the work of persuasion, the taking of effective measures to protect property and ensure its good administration, strict control of the amount of work and payment, have particular importance. What is required, above all, is to enhance the role of the influence of social opinion, to create a general atmosphere of objection and opposition to these phenomena.

A radical turn has been made in the field of customs, traditions and conduct, which are linked with the way of life, with family relations, with the attitude towards women, with the struggle against religious beliefs and superstitions, etc. On all these problems there is progress towards the creation of unified concepts, which are becoming more and more consolidated and perfected. This process, however, cannot be left to spontaneity and outside the atten-

tion and the work of the Party. We must not forget that the remnants of the past in people's minds are longer lasting, especially in the fields mentioned above, and, if they are not combated, they revive and spread.

These phenomena weigh more heavily on women and the youth, shrivel their lives and hinder their progress and emancipation. That is why the women and youth must always be on the offensive against patriarchal and petty-bourgeois concepts, remnants of clan relations, etc., and must defend and consolidate the new socialist norms.

The Party has stressed and stresses again that we must be vigilant and must never interrupt the struggle against decadent and degenerating influences of the bourgeois-revisionist world which encircles us. In particular, we must not reconcile ourselves to, but must resolutely reject the dissolute behaviour and extravagant tastes, which create an empty, useless, aimless life. It should be borne in mind that those who become the bearers of these influences set out on wrong roads with harmful consequences, both to themselves and to society.

If we encounter alien manifestations and anti-social actions, this comes about not only because there are still people who behave and act in anti-socialist ways, but also because there are communists and workers who are not always vigilant, who show themselves liberal and tolerant, and do not react energetically towards them.

Our man cannot and must not remain indifferent and passive in the face of lack of order and discipline, towards nepotism and favoritism, towards demands for privileges and unjust claims, towards violations of the laws and regulations of the state, or towards behaviour and stands which are not in conformity with the norms of our morality.

Any attempt to excuse these alien manifestations with difficulties of this or that nature means to accept and justify them, means to accept them as inevitable. These phenomena do not result from the nature of our order, hence, our society has every possibility and the necessary forces to restrain and prevent them. Any underestimation or retreat in the face of these alien manifestations, any weakening of our struggle, leads to the spread and deepening of them, and increases the danger which they present to socialism.

All these important ideological problems, which are linked with the tempering of our new man, are continuously the object of the educational work of our Party, the task of which is to penetrate into every environment and every family, to influence every working person of town and countryside.

The present time and the situations we are going through require resolute, militant, revolutionary people. As a Party and a state we have a great historical responsibility to safeguard and strengthen the freedom and independence of the Homeland, and to build and enrich the new socialist life in Albania.

The burdens which we have undertaken are heavy ones, but we have borne them and will bear them with our own forces, encircled by an external environment which is not all friendly.

Today a militant is he who works and struggles with great devotion for the line of the Party, who defends the interests of the state and the people, and who contributes actively to the advance of the national economy and culture. A militant is he who, wherever he works and lives, fights for the new, for progress, he who is advanced at work, in his family and in society. A militant is he who rejects those old mentalities which hold him back, he who is irreconcilable with the influences of the bourgeois-revisionist world.

It is precisely this revolutionary, militant, fighting spirit which the enemies try to weaken and extinguish. They want the bourgeois liberalization of our life, of the Party and the people's state power, of the class struggle and of our ideology and policy. Liberalism is one of the main weapons in the strategy of imperialism and revisionism to undermine and overthrow socialism.

The task of the Party is to make the communists, the cadres and all the working people aware of the great danger which liberalism represents, to work to strengthen their militant spirit against any stand of passivity or indifference in the face of alien manifestations, and to make them indomitable fight-

ers against all ideological pressures which come from abroad.

Not only the manifestations of liberalism, but also narrow sectarian judgements and attitudes, prejudice the cause of socialism. Sectarianism is harmful as a concept, because it clings to the old, does not see the evolution which is taking place, the transformations which are occurring, the changes in material conditions and social relations, especially in the spiritual life of the society. Being unable to understand the dialectics of life, it slips into conservatism and dogmatism.

The roots of sectarianism are linked, among other things, with the markedly petty-bourgeois composition of our country in the not-distant past. And it is well known that, unlike the genuine proletarian, the petty-bourgeois has a tendency to sectarian judgements and actions. He does not see the ideological struggle as persistent, educational and, indeed, preventive work, as a complicated process of the re-education of people, of winning them to the cause of socialism. Sectarian attitudes make people cold and discontented, lead to the imposition of orders, the use of coercion outside the Marxist-Leninist principles, which damage the links between the people and the Party. Comrade Enver Hoxha instructed that «the Party must fight on both flanks, against opportunism as well as against sectarianism». He considered this struggle very important to the successful construc-

tion of socialism, to the safeguarding of the unity and cohesion of our people and nation.

As a rule, the manifestations of sectarianism and petty-bourgeois spirit find nutriment in the difficulties of growth, in the contradictions which emerge during our ceaseless march forward on the road of socialism. Sectarian attitudes do not allow you to see the great and rapid developments which are occurring every day in our life as they really are, in all their majesty and beauty, with revolutionary optimism, or to see the difficulties of growth with which they are accompanied. The sectarian and petty bourgeois is revolted at certain negative manifestations which can still be observed in our life. But their revolt is not revolutionary. While being expressed through wailing and complaining, it serves as an impulse to hasty attitudes and actions, to capitulation in the face of difficulties. Our task, on the other hand, is to face up to all the problems, difficulties and contradictions which life brings forth. And we must face up to them boldly, with unshakeable confidence that they can be solved and overcome. We must face up to them not only by defending ourselves, but also by attacking and counter-attacking with our revolutionary militancy, enlightened by our Marxist-Leninist theory and basing ourselves firmly on the great superiorities and vitality of our socialist order.

**The struggle against bureaucracy** is an important task for the ideological work of the Party. Our Party has the great merit that it has correctly appreciated

the danger of bureaucracy and has waged a resolute struggle against all manifestations of it. It has not allowed our apparatuses to become bureaucratic and rusty, to become sclerotic and divorced from the masses, as has occurred in the former socialist countries. The great program for the revolutionization of the whole life of the country has served to strengthen the links of the Party and the state power with the masses, to safeguard and strengthen the democratic and popular character of our order.

But the struggle against bureaucracy is a long one, because bureaucracy has deep roots. Bureaucracy is linked with the existence of the state itself and with its administrations, with the cultural level of the masses, with old traditions which die hard, and so on. It must always be borne in mind that at different phases of the development of society particular aspects of bureaucracy emerge and become dangerous.

The Party has drawn attention to the fact that the organs and organizations of the Party, the state power and the economy must respond to the ever increasing initiative and the revolutionary vigour of the masses, to the rapid and dynamic development of the country, with better organization and management of affairs. This is essential in order to provide timely and effective solutions to the problems which emerge from life.

The worst of the bureaucrat is that he does not readily break with the old, but remains a slave to

outdated methods and styles and practices whose value has been exhausted. These narrow concepts prevent him from understanding the new situations which are created and the new phenomena which emerge, hinder him from finding his bearings quickly and acting swiftly. On the other hand, the bureaucrat dodges problems, does not want his tranquility upset, or to be burdened with work. From this stem those bureaucratic procrastinations which we see on no few occasions in the work of different administrations and that lack of initiative and courage to find ways to solve problems.

Bureaucratic concepts and practices not only violate the democratic and popular character of our organs, apparatuses and administrations, but also harm the people who work in them. They cultivate officiousness and conceit, the feeling of superiority over others, which derives from the idea that one's position, grade or rank give one authority and respect. The Party, however, has always struggled to ensure that those working in our administrations are characterized by modesty and always consider themselves servants of the people and not commanders of the people, understand that they are working not to bring themselves into prominence, but to serve the Party and the people. Real authority is that which is earned through work, through knowledge and culture, through services rendered to the country.

Our cadres are political people who live close to the masses, who know the problems and listen to

the voice of the masses. This is not an individual question, but a major Party question. It has to do with the implementation of the line of the masses, which is also the main way to fight and overcome bureaucracy. In no instance can it be permitted that the Marxist-Leninist principle about the decisive role of the masses becomes transformed into an abstract, general slogan. One must talk with the masses in a comradely and friendly fashion, in wide and narrow circles, not only to present tasks and demand that they are carried out, but also to exchange opinions about politics and culture, about major and minor problems, and in order to reply to different questions which people have. Such communication is very valuable because it enables one to know the state of affairs, the opinions and desires of the masses.

One of the main characteristics of our Party ever since the time of the National Liberation War is its communication with the people, consultation with them, informing the working people about everything. At the Moscow Meeting in November 1960, when Comrade Enver Hoxha delivered his historic speech in which he openly and publicly denounced Soviet revisionism, he had not only the communists, but the whole Albanian people behind him. The Party had talked over the question of the Khrushchevite betrayal previously with the workers, peasants and intellectuals. It had informed the masses about everything, about every move the Soviet revisionists made,

about the theses they launched and the anti-Marxist views they expressed. And the people supported the Party and Comrade Enver unreservedly.

The Party has acted in this way on other occasions, too, whenever there has been any difficulty or shortage, whenever some sacrifice has had to be made and night turned into day. We must always bear this tradition in mind and carry it forward. We must always speak openly to the people, both about their complaints and about difficulties and shortcomings. We have no reason to dodge the problems which emerge, whatever their nature. They can be coped with by explaining the causes which give rise to them and showing the ways to solve them.

It must be clearly understood that the better informed the masses are about the situations, about the difficulties which emerge and the tasks with which they are faced, the more conscious they become about the role which it is up to them to play. Regular, systematic, and open information about everything that occurs in the life of the country increases the creative initiative and active participation of the masses in running the country and extends our socialist democracy. This is an important duty for all the organs of the Party and state and the organizations of the masses, a duty which must be performed ever better by employing the numerous means which exist. Any bureaucratic reluctance and tendency to work behind closed doors must be boldly eradicated.

## 2. Education, Culture and Science — Powerful Weapons for the Education of the People and the Development of the Country

Now let us dwell on some problems of education, culture and science. Just as in the other sectors of our life, major successes have been achieved in these fields, too.

Already a complete educational system, with all the necessary levels and categories of schools, has been created and consolidated. The party directives for the revolutionization of the school, for making the Marxist-Leninist ideology the basis of it, for the combination of lessons with productive labour and physical and military education, for improving the whole complex of methods and forms of teaching and education, have been accomplished, in general, with success. This process has been reflected and crystallized in all the educational structures, in the teaching plans and programs, in the school textbooks, in the teaching methods, etc. For many years now all the children of the country have been included within the compulsory 8-year schooling. Ever greater masses of the population are getting secondary schooling. Now our country trains all the higher specialists of all profiles which it needs in its own schools.

The extension of schooling at all levels will continue in the future. Secondary schooling, in particular, will be expanded and developed more rapidly. Now the need has arisen for a more harmonious

development of different types of secondary schooling, especially in the countryside, in order to avoid any excessive one-sidedness which, if it were to continue, might hinder the securing of local cadres and specialists for the rural zones, and have an unhelpful influence on the question of overcoming the distinctions between town and countryside in cultural development. Therefore, besides agricultural secondary schools we must also extend the network of general secondary schools further.

Already the development of our socialist production presents differentiated requirements for each job, and this will be even more the case in the future. The need for qualified technical-professional management of production is increasing more and more. Therefore, the ways must be studied to train technicians with the necessary theoretical culture, and at the same time, with developed habits of application.

The system of post-graduate qualification and specialization, with both full-time and part-time courses, has been set up in recent years. This new system will be strengthened and further consolidated by assuming the form of regular schooling. Work of special quality must be done there. It would be unnecessary and time lost if the knowledge received in the higher school were repeated. Post-graduates need the most up-to-date knowledge, should be acquainted with the latest achievements of science and

technique, with new methods and techniques and the literature of the time.

Besides the extension and completion of the educational system, the most acute problem facing our school at present is to enhance the quality of the whole teaching and educational process, to raise it to the level of the requirements of the time. This task was forcefully stressed at the 8th Congress of the Party and it has begun to be carried out in practice. This proposal is dictated by the situation and the conditions in which we live, by the prospective development of the country and by the advances in the economy, culture, technique and science.

Now the development of schooling itself has created possibilities to put more emphasis on quality. Progress has been made in this direction and there is plenty of good experience. Nevertheless, our school must give the pupils and students up-to-date knowledge which is well assimilated and consolidated, give them a sound theoretical formation, and at the same time, the habits of applied labour. This can be achieved by cultivating in them the passion for permanent reading and study, by developing their independent creative thinking, the spirit of research and scientific argument, logical thinking, the active practical spirit, technical and scientific intuition, while combating passive, mechanical learning by rote.

High quality cannot be achieved without making increasing demands on pupils and teachers, without

establishing rigorous, organized control on the assimilation of the knowledge. It cannot be achieved without combating both the tendencies of some pupils and students to find the easy way and liberal concessions from certain teachers and pedagogues. Our school cannot tolerate various pressures and intervention for undeserved marks and promotion. Undoubtedly, all sound social opinion, especially the organizations of the Party and of the masses, will assist the school in this matter.

More work must be done to discover, encourage and educate new talents in which our society is very interested. The levelling out of individualities in school is very harmful, just as it is in life. People are not all of the one nature, do not advance at the same pace, and have different inclinations and interests. The school should not try to level them out. It has the duty to work on scientific and pedagogic bases, with a graded system of exercises and tasks, frequently adapted for different individuals, in order to open the way to talents and enhance them.

Our school is working in the spirit of the instructions of the Party for an intensive scientific-pedagogic modernization of the lessons. A contemporary program of mathematics is being applied experimentally with success. It is intended to make improvements, also, in the teaching of the mother tongue on the basis of the principles of modern linguistics and didactics, as well as of the standard written Albanian language today. Improvements of this na-

ture are being made in the teaching of other subjects, too. But here there are instances of disproportion and backwardness. Thus, the level of teaching foreign languages, which is spread over a considerable time in the teaching plans and programs, is not satisfactory. In order to overcome this state of affairs as quickly as possible, the Ministry of Education and Culture must study this problem attentively and take the appropriate measures.

The present time and especially the rapid development of education, place new and very important tasks before the great army of teachers and pedagogues. The increase in the information and knowledge which has to be transmitted to pupils and students requires of the teachers a more extensive and solid cultural, scientific and pedagogic formation and its ceaseless enrichment. The teachers and pedagogues must be distinguished by their will to study, to expand their cultural and professional horizons, to keep up with the level of knowledge and achievements of the time. This is useful not only for the individual himself, but also for the entire work of the school. This is also the way to struggle against low requirements and being satisfied with little, against accepting mediocrity and inability, the spirit of procrastination and laziness. Hence, the qualification of teachers and pedagogues is a matter of great importance which cannot be left to spontaneity. In the first place, it is necessary to form a sound opinion that there is no progress without

qualification. Likewise, a broad concept and effective organization is required, so that the whole body of teachers is included in the qualification. It is essential that the qualification should be uninterrupted and well-programmed and carried out with strict discipline. However, this problem still remains a weak point of the work of our organs of education. There is a great deal of formalism and work with intermittent campaigns in the qualification of teachers and pedagogues.

The all-round improvement of the quality of the teaching-educational process is linked closely with the leadership of it at all levels. More vigorous struggle should be waged against the solving of the problems of the school with hasty improvisations, especially against the mechanical application of the administrative style and methods in the work of running the school, methods in which bureaucratic instructions and demands, and excessive and unnecessary meetings which rob teachers of a great deal of fruitful time predominate. It should be thoroughly understood that these things seriously damage the work of the school, that they are utterly inappropriate to the teaching-educational process and the active, creative character of the work of teachers and pedagogues.

While struggling to strengthen the quality of schooling and to raise the level of teaching, the Party, as always, will give special attention to the problems of the communist education of the younger



generation which is attending schools, through which all the future workers of our society pass. The school and the teachers are required to face up better and in more qualified ways to the numerous and complex problems of education, so that we form and educate schooled, cultured and civilized people, people with scientific and technical knowledge, but also with a sound revolutionary and civic formation. This task is accomplished correctly and well when fruitful collaboration is established between the school, the family and society. It is the duty of all of us to care for the younger generation, therefore, we must all have unified concepts about its education.

**Literature and the arts** play a great and irreplaceable role in the education of our people, in their ideological and cultural uplift, in the enrichment of their spiritual world and in ennobling them. During the past period, literature and art have made advances, have penetrated more deeply among the masses and extended their influence more widely. The artistic creativeness has been sound. It has been guided by the communist ideals, been distinguished for its lofty party spirit and been pervaded by the democratic and popular spirit. We have had a series of works of value, which have made a new contribution to the uplift and progress of our socialist culture.

Artistic production and cultural activities have been greatly expanded. There is no field or genre of art which is not cultivated. Through the care of the Party and the people's state power, there has been a

great increase in the number of creative artists who live and work in all districts of the country, including even the smallest centres. The necessary conditions have been provided for them to do fruitful work. In the future these conditions will be even better.

What is demanded even more strongly from literature and the arts now is the raising of their quality, the deepening of their content and the perfecting of their artistic form. The cultural level and tastes of the masses have risen greatly. They demand from the writers and artists ever better works which exert a powerful influence on their minds and feelings.

It is known that only an art of high quality can enter people's hearts, carry its ideas to the masses, be transformed into a means of struggle for the construction of the new life. Only such an art can express the true spirit and aspirations of the people, only such an art can become the bearer of the lofty ideals of the time.

The Party has rightly called the writers and artists its active assistants. This name can be earned and this mission fulfilled only with powerful, beautiful, militant works. But in certain circles of creators a tendency has been noticed to content themselves merely with the quantity of works and artistic activities and with a mediocre level of creativeness. Of course, within an extensive creative work there cannot but be mediocre or even poor works. The evil is when you reconcile yourself to them, and even worse, when you artificially inflate the value of

them. The levelling out of artistic values and creative individualities leads to stagnation, the lowering of demands and the ruining of tastes.

The Party does not and cannot, in any way, leave the development of artistic creativeness to spontaneity. It helps the creators to avoid reconciling themselves to mediocrity and unsatisfactory quality, to try to discover the causes of them and to struggle to overcome them. The main thing here is to step up demands on oneself, collectively and individually, and, at the same time, to appreciably raise the demands of creative circles, institutions and publishing organs, and the whole social opinion of readers, on this creativeness. This increase of requirements must be accompanied with wide-ranging work for a more thorough Marxist-Leninist ideological and aesthetic formation of workers of literature and art, for the expansion of the cultural horizons of the writers and artists, for a more profound knowledge of life on their part, as well as for better professional training of them.

High quality is achieved by creators who have many-sided interests and great passions. What must be apparent and clearly expressed in any work is the idea and the philosophical message. Without this, works become boring, without this, no form or stylistic device can save them.

Great art is created by those artists who fight for great ideals, those who know and understand the aspirations and desires, the feelings, character and

virtues of the people. The life of the people is reflected properly and realistically not by him who sees it as an observer, but by him who is completely involved in it, who takes part actively in the daily struggles, and functions as a militant and social activist.

It is up to the publishing houses, the editorial boards of the organs of the press, the cultural and artistic institutions, the Radio-television, cinematography, etc., to exert a great influence to raise the quality of literature and art. They must do more careful work of selection in order to give the readers and viewers truly dignified works. The requirements which are put forward for artistic creativeness apply no less to these institutions and organizations. What creativeness we will appreciate, prefer and encourage depends greatly on their work, and especially in the direction of profound, principled, professional criticism. Hence, they must not submit to pressures of any kind and must place the interests of art above sentimentality and anything else that threatens it.

A heavy burden devolves on the League of Writers and Artists which must concentrate its attention more on analysis of artistic phenomena, must make generalizations about the ideo-artistic problems which emerge, and work to create a healthy atmosphere of creative discussion and debate.

The problems of art and literature, of culture in general, require special attention and greater involvement on the part of Party committees and state or-

gans. The sphere of culture has been greatly extended and has become very complex. Today our country has an extensive network of cultural institutions, which extends to all districts; with theatres and cinemas, houses and hearths of culture, museums and art galleries, various musical ensembles, etc., which carry on a large amount of varied cultural, artistic and educational activities.

The interest of the masses in these activities is ever increasing. Therefore, the Party committees, the state organs and the directors of the cultural institutions must properly appreciate the value of this work, and organize and guide it competently. They must devote more thought and effort to increasing the participation of the masses in this activity, to its quality and effectiveness and to the full engagement of the creative and performing forces, both professional and amateur. Today each district has possibilities to make its own cultural life, in town and countryside, more active, just as there are possibilities for a greater circulation of artistic and cultural values among districts. Here we must guard against the mania for inflated things, against the desire for large ensembles, choirs and orchestras, sensational tours, and inclinations to spend large amounts on scenery, costumes, etc. Now, we have adequate possibilities to organize beautiful and varied cultural activities everywhere, with reasonable forces and expenditure.

Special attention must be paid, also, to the phys-

ical education and tempering of our people, especially the younger generation. The existing conditions to raise the general level of physical culture everywhere, in the schools, military detachments, work centres and villages, could be exploited more fully and effectively. This also constitutes a sound basis for the development of sports and improving the quality of them. It is a requirement of the time that the Party committees and state organs should give the warranted attention to organization and guidance of the physical culture and sports movement, in regard both to mass participation and to quality, as well as to the struggle for the creation of a healthy atmosphere for the development and growth of sports, while avoiding any manifestations of the unhealthy enthusiasm of sports fans which is harmful to sport itself.

It is the duty of the Ministry of Education and Culture to organize and guide all this work with qualified thinking and clear perspectives. It must do better work for the training and qualification of cultural workers and for the progress and effectiveness of cultural-artistic institutions.

The press, radio and television are powerful weapons in the hands of the Party for propagating its line and for the education and mobilization of the working people. As such, the tasks facing them are large ones. They are required to provide the masses, day by day, with the most extensive and complete political, economic and cultural information from home and abroad. The newspapers, magazines, radio

and television must explain the directives and orientations of the Party and back them up better with arguments. As tribunes of the voice of the masses, they must broadly reflect their opinions and experience.

Despite the successes achieved, it is essential that these organs struggle with greater persistence against manifestations of stereotypism, against the superficial treatment of problems and phenomena, against empty phrases and slowness in reflecting events. The editors and journalists are required to make greater efforts to raise their ideological and professional level and to make greater demands on themselves and their collaborators.

**Our new science** has become a powerful support for all the economic and social development of the country. Thanks to the care of the Party, a large number of study and research institutions which cover virtually all branches of the economy, technique and culture have been set up. The greatest success is that now we solve all the problems that emerge in the development of the country with our own scientific forces. This is evidence of the creation of a new potential which is added to our Homeland, of the great progress which our people have made within a very short time, and of the broad horizons which the socialist order opens up.

In the existing conditions of the socialist construction and the development of the technical-scientific revolution, when the question of raising the

social productivity of labour, the rapid development of the productive forces and increasing economic efficiency is on the order of the day, a major task for our people is to master the natural and technical sciences, to gain thorough knowledge of the objective laws of the development of the economy and the latest developments and achievements in technique and technology, and to work to put these in the service of the country.

Today, our society needs people who master their professions thoroughly, are passionately devoted to the specialties which they have chosen, and are fully capable in the fields in which they carry out their activities. It is the duty of the Party, our school, the means of propaganda and the whole of our scientific and social opinion to properly appreciate and to further enhance the authority of the applied sciences, and their contribution to the construction of the country.

The problem is that the necessary conditions must be created and the youth must be encouraged to aspire to become constructors of machinery, designers and builders of major works, geologists, breeders of selected plants and livestock. The appropriate priorities and preferences, the necessary moral and material backing must be given to these fields and specialties which must be powerfully stimulated and supported, so that they become predominant.

We would like to have pure theoretical studies and make new discoveries in the contemporary na-

tural and technical sciences. But the fundamental thing for us is knowledge, assimilation and application of the numerous discoveries made in the world. The application of scientific achievements in the fields of technique and technology is not a simple process of mechanical transplantation, but a truly creative work. It requires imagination, strong logic and professional competence. To design and build hydro-power stations, railways and ports, to open mines and to enrich and smelt minerals, to increase the biological productive capacities of plants and animals, to build and work according to new technologies, to find and apply effective forms of organization and management of the economy, is not simply work, but genuine scientific activity. The aim of our efforts is to ensure that the technical and technological solutions are based on the material and technical foundations that we have, on the raw materials of the country, and as little as possible on imports.

The problems which emerge in the different fields of the economy are complicated and interconnected. This makes it necessary that our scientific research, also, should be complex, so that it assumes an ever increasing inter-disciplinary character in which various fields and methods of technical, natural and economic sciences are combined. The more specialization develops in depth and scientific research extends, the more essential becomes the cooperation and collaboration of different branches of science. Today the scientific result is not the product

of the work of individual persons, however capable and enthusiastic, but the product of whole scientific collectives.

In our time, science has become very closely linked with production and has been transformed into a direct productive force. Hence, the value of any science is measured with the advantage it brings to production, the increase in the efficiency of production, the lightening of human labour and the increase in its productivity. Just as efficiency, discipline, and work with high productivity are required everywhere, so these things are required even more from the scientific workers.

Our socialist reality, the new social relations which have been created, and the great prospects which they have opened up to the country, open broad fields of work and study for the social sciences, too. Their role in the communist education and in the solution of the ideological problems which emerge in our society has increased. But the time has come when the work of generalization and synthesis, the drawing of profound scientific conclusions, should occupy the main place in them, avoiding the descriptive character which is still noticed in many studies.

Even more is required from the historical, linguistic, ethnographic, folklore and other such sciences, because they have been cultivated for a long time and have a greater tradition. They must throw even clearer light on the history of our people and their patriotic and revolutionary traditions, defend and

affirm our national identity and bring out the struggle of our people for freedom, independence, culture and social progress.

The priority which the technical and natural sciences have today does not in any way overshadow the importance or eliminate the role of social sciences, especially of the economic, philosophical, sociological, juridical, pedagogical and other sciences, which are closely linked with the great current problems of socialist construction and the present-day ideological struggle. These sciences must be linked ever more closely with the actual situation, because this is the field of our people's battle. They need interpretations of this actual situation. They require the aid of science to solve the new questions which life brings forth. Our society needs people who make profound studies, who know how to observe the phenomena of life and to grasp the changes which it brings and the problems which emerge. The Party expects from those who study social sciences works of a high ideoscientific level, which sum up the original experience of the revolution and the socialist construction in Albania and which develop and carry forward its Marxist-Leninist thinking.

Increasing the demands on scientific work and its achievements ensures vigorous and fruitful activity. Genuine scientific debate, struggle against self-satisfaction, procrastination, and monopolizing tendencies, against the formalism which transforms works for scientific degrees into an aim in itself, the

struggle against hesitation to draw in and promote young people in scientific activity, are essential for science and its development.

The research and study institutions must become the most advanced centres of scientific and technical thinking, organs which the broad masses of specialists of production can consult, disseminators of up-to-date knowledge. It is their duty to impel and encourage creative and innovative thinking, to activate and guide the widest possible circles of collaborators.

With the proportions which science has assumed and the role which it plays, it, too, requires more qualified guidance by all the organisms charged with this work. Greater initiative and thinking about the directions of the development of sciences is required from the Academy of Sciences, just as better planning, a clearer definition of priorities, and more effective organization and co-ordination of forces and means is required from the Committee of Sciences and Technique. The University and higher schools must engage more seriously in theoretical studies in the service of their teaching, and with studies which can be applied in the service of production. The ministries which have numerous scientific institutions and centres under their control should orientate them correctly in the themes which they study, take care to avoid turning them into administrative apparatuses, and must appreciate and treat them as a powerful lever to impel successful progress in the work of the sectors which they manage.

## IV

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

The construction of socialism in Albania is not being done in isolation from present-day world developments, from the events which are occurring and the struggles which are going on in the world today. Therefore, the Party and our people follow the situations which are created with attention, draw the respective conclusions and decide their stands and actions.

The present world processes once again confirm Comrade Enver's profound scientific analysis about our epoch and its fundamental contradictions, about the features of imperialism and its strategy, about the ideological struggle on the international level, about the general crisis of capitalism and about the world revolutionary movement and modern revisionism. The present situation and developments confirm his conclusion that imperialism as a system is in decline and decay, that all the contradictions have become very acute and, as a result, the peoples' war

and revolution remain on the order of the day as the only road to liberation from capitalist oppression and the imperialist yoke.

These teachings of Comrade Enver constitute for our Party a great wealth of ideas, a powerful aid to find our bearings correctly in the complicated situations which exist in the world, to maintain, as hitherto, principled stands which respond to the defence of the freedom and independence of our Homeland and our socialist victories, to successfully accomplish our internationalist duties, to stand, as always, shoulder to shoulder with the world proletariat and all forces which are fighting for national and social liberation, for the progress of mankind.

#### 1. The Evils and Dangers Threatening the Peoples Come from the Capitalist System and the Imperialist Policy

The world we are living in today is complicated and troubled, a world filled with great conflicts and problems, where the threats to the freedom and independence of peoples have grown, where the capitalist-imperialist oppression and exploitation have been extended and intensified, where the danger of war has increased even more.

The source of all the evils from which the world is suffering today, of all the dangers which are threatening the peoples, is the capitalist system and

the imperialist policy, is the aggressive course of the two superpowers. Eroded by many contradictions, weakened by class struggles, by revolutionary and liberation struggles, and being unable to face up to the challenges of the time, imperialism seeks a way out through war, through oppression and plunder, through intimidation and terror.

Its great thirst for hegemony and domination over the whole world, its attempts to draw the maximum profits from the oppression and exploitation of peoples, represent the main factor for the destabilization of international relations today, for the outbreak of different conflicts and the growing insecurity.

These tendencies have been greatly reinforced also as a result of **the grave economic crisis in which the capitalist world has long been languishing.** The entire system of the bourgeois and revisionist economy has got into such an impasse that no remedy can save or revive it. The temporary improvements are not signs of recovery but symptoms of its chronic illness. The measures applied to get out of the crisis have not altered and cannot alter the spontaneous flow of capitalist economic processes. Consumption, especially parasitic consumption, precedes production. The growth of budget deficits, reduction of investments, and the increase in debts are not ceasing. The rise in prices neutralizes and outstrips the rise in workers' incomes. Prices, interest rates and exchange rates are fluctuating so greatly that now no control measures are capable of stabilizing them.

Another factor in the destabilization and crises of the world economy is the policy of closed economic blocs and superprotectionism, which the big industrialized countries are applying. The situation has become especially grave for those countries which have entered political-economic integration with the metropolises, which have opened their doors to the multinational companies and other neo-colonialist organisms. It is such international organisms as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank for Development and others of this category which, in practice, decide for many countries the lines of the economic and financial policies which they must follow, the levels of production and consumption which they must establish, which branches of their economies they should develop and which they should sacrifice, right down to the smallest details.

Now even those big countries which are integrated into the supra-state organisms of the Common Market or Comecon cannot escape the rule and dictate of the more powerful. The economic independence of those countries is being more and more restricted, just as the oppression and exploitation of the masses by the local monopolies and the monopolies of the so-called communities, is becoming even more ferocious.

The economic crisis has greatly aggravated the contradictions between the big imperialist powers and groupings, the United States of America, Japan, the European Common Market and Comecon. A fierce



struggle is going on between them over protectionist measures, interest rates, exchange rates, markets, etc.

The question of debts has become one of the most acute and disturbing problems of international life today. Now it constitutes one of the main factors in the disturbance of the economic and political relations in the present-day world. Many states are on the verge of bankruptcy and have no prospect of emerging from the grave situation which has been created.

The present debts are direct consequences of neo-colonialism, of the all-powerful rule of the multinational companies. They are the outcome of the latest strategy of imperialism to keep the countries which have been liberated from colonial bondage in its clutches and to include even those that had escaped its domination.

Now, however, the debts are proving a grave burden not only for those countries but also for the lender countries, which are seeing their markets for sales being narrowed and a large part of their industry, set up entirely for export, left idle, creating unforeseen social and political problems for those countries themselves.

The failure of the economic strategy of the development of imperialism and the political and structural crises which are linked with this, the internal social conflicts and the exacerbation of international relations which they caused, also determined a new, much more aggressive and irresponsible stand

towards the freedom and independence of the peoples of the world, peace and security in general.

Never before have the cult of military power and the philosophy of aggression been transformed into a totally dominant ideology, into a concrete policy in foreign relations as they are in the big imperialist states today. Never before has mankind been threatened with extermination on such a scale as it is today from the atomic war with which the superpowers are threatening the world.

If we examine the internal and external political lines of the United States of America and the Soviet Union today, they are characterized by emphasis of their militarist aspect, by the creation of a political and ideological concept according to which the internal problems can be solved by means of militarization and the problems of international relations by means of military violence. This concept, or better to say, this strategy, has emerged more clearly and has become predominant in the United States of America since the advent to power of Reagan who is the representative of big armaments industries, and in the Soviet Union, with the advent of the new leadership which represents the specific views and interests of the Soviet military caste. The truth is that in the United States and the Soviet Union, the economy, policy and ideology have now been subordinated completely to plans for the preparation of world war and local wars.

**Today American imperialism represents the**

greatest political, economic and military capitalist power, and also the most aggressive power of our time, the main shield of the bourgeois system, the world centre of international reaction. It is the most ferocious enemy of the revolution, socialism, and communism. Violation of the sovereign rights of peoples, unrestrained aggressiveness and brutality, strampling underfoot the norms and principles of international law, and disregard for public opinion, constitute the fundamental features of its foreign policy. In the years of the Reagan administration, its adventurism knows no bounds.

The unprecedented increase of the military budget throughout these years and the modernization of its arsenal of strategic weapons, the strengthening of NATO and other economic and military blocs, the deployment of missiles in Western Europe, the expansion of its bases and military presence to all oceans and continents, as well as the aim to extend this presence even to outer space — all these things are expressions of the acceleration of its military course and efforts to establish American hegemony everywhere in the world.

The export of capital, the multimillion debts and the high rates of bank interest, the elevation of the dollar to an almost monopoly position for international transactions, have proceeded parallel with the extension of military bases. In practice, the American economic relations with foreign countries have been turned into means for the plunder

and exploitation of various sovereign peoples and countries, for their economic and political enslavement.

The United States of America is pursuing a policy which is aimed openly at increasing international tension and, especially, at inciting regional conflicts between different countries. It wants to profit from the situation in order to induce the beligerent countries, those which are threatened, etc., to turn to America for weapons, for credits and political support and, finally, to come under its subjection.

The military aggression against Grenada, the open intervention with marines in the Middle East; the organization of coups d'état and terrorist gangs in various countries, the economic blockades and military interventions in Libya, Nicaragua and elsewhere testify to the great danger which the American policy represents to peace and the freedom of the peoples.

This policy of the United States of America could not but lead to the exacerbation of contradictions even with its own partners. What is demanded from the later now is not merely collaboration for the accomplishment of American expansionist plans, but also a greater subordination to the new political, economic and military strategy of Washington.

**The hegemonic course of the Soviet social-imperialists, also, has been further intensified.** The Soviet foreign policy is assuming an ever more pro-

nounced aggressive and war-mongering direction, which is expressed in the strengthening of the military machine and the use of force to fulfil its expansionist ambitions. Like the American imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists, too, have come out openly with an international platform which embodies their ambitions and pretensions to domination and hegemony on a world scale.

The Reagan policy helps them to justify themselves before the internal Soviet opinion for the militarization of the economy and, at the same time, to impose on its allies the extension of the Soviet military presence in their countries. The Soviet social-imperialists, who aspire to rule the world, cannot accept the upsetting of the equilibrium with America, the more so because they, too, have always aimed at creating their military superiority over the others. Hence, in the Soviet Union, too, an extension and intensification of the war industry has been carried out to the detriment of civilian industries and the standard of living of the people. On the other hand, the Soviet policy has taken a course of military occupations abroad, as in the case of Afghanistan, which is also a preliminary operation for further expansion in this zone. The Soviet Union, also, has become a major trafficker in arms, which is competing with the United States and does not lag behind it in inciting conflicts and creating an atmosphere of threats in the world.

Today the Soviet-American confrontation consti-

tutes one of the most powerful expressions of inter-imperialist contradictions. It is turning the world into a battlefield in which each superpower is trying with all its might to ensure its political hegemony and economic domination over all continents. Now there is no country which is not threatened to some degree by this confrontation, there is no people whose freedom, independence and sovereignty are not endangered by it. Few indeed are those lines of present-day relations which do not bear the brand of this confrontation and do not suffer from its consequences. It is not only the cause of most of the tensions and conflicts which exist in the world today, but is also the main factor endangering the peace and undermining general security.

The peoples cannot and must not allow their countries to be turned into objects of this rivalry or into battlefields on which the two superpowers clash.

The interests of the freedom and independence of the peoples, avoiding war and ensuring peace, the achievement of revolutionary and democratic ideals, require from all clear and determined opposition to imperialism all the time, and condemnation of the aggressive policy and enslaving plans of the superpowers.

Historical experience has shown and the practice of our time confirms that both retreating in the face of the pressures of imperialists and illusions about the possibility of correcting their policy have caused

great damage to the peoples' freedom, sovereignty and international security.

## 2. The Contradictions of Capitalist Society Lead Towards the Revolution and Socialism

Present-day capitalism, like the earlier capitalism, has proved that it is incapable of healing any of its wounds. The capitalist mode of production and distribution, the thirst for maximum profits and the ideology of the exploitation of the working man to the limit have led to a further degeneration of bourgeois society and its political and social institutions, to an even greater decline in human relations.

The technological-scientific revolution, which characterizes the present time and which has led to a great increase in production and material goods, has had no influence on easing the internal and external contradictions of capitalism, but on the contrary, has further intensified and exacerbated them. New, grave, degrading and degenerating phenomena have emerged, which are leading to the corruption of the nature and activity of man.

There has always been permanent unemployment to this or that extent in the capitalist countries. Today, however, it includes a good part of the labour force, which can be compared in numbers only with the periods of the greatest economic crises. Now there are tens or hundreds of thousands of people

who are born and die without ever having a chance to get a job. Millions of others live on the hand-outs and crumbs which are left from the superexploitation of their fellows.

A new social stratum has been created from the so-called social outcasts, which includes the underworld of criminals, drug-addicts, the maimed, prostitutes, and so on. This is something which has been spawned by the capitalist system and which, with its increasing weight, exerts its influence on the further degeneration of the society.

Ordinary crime has spread to include all social activities in its net. Mafia-type gangsterism is already deeply implanted in the state and financial apparatus, in the political parties, and in all the instances which have the fate of the country in their hands. Organized terror has been transformed into a supplementary mechanism to oppress and plunder the people, to divert their attention from the daily struggle for democratic rights, and to avoid lawful revolts against the capitalist system.

The bourgeoisie is deliberately spreading the spirit of fatalism towards these phenomena and of powerlessness to cope with and overcome them. It wants to create the feeling of fear and insecurity amongst the working masses and to channel their anger and struggle, not against the social system which has given rise to these phenomena, but against its victims. These evils are not a consequence of civilization, as the bourgeoisie claims, but a

weapon which the bourgeoisie is using to hinder and undermine civilization.

The gulf between the working class and the bourgeoisie is becoming ever deeper. The contradictions between labour and capital have become more acute. Capitalist oppression and exploitation have been extended to the overwhelming majority of the population. The efforts of the bourgeoisie to saddle the working people with the whole burden of the economic crisis have made the workers even more desperate. All these things have led to the upsurge of revolt of great masses of working people in all the capitalist countries. The economic strikes and political demonstrations of oppressed classes and social strata, who protest against unemployment, the increasing cost of living and inflation, and demand the protection of their jobs and the standard of living they have achieved, the increase in social funds for education, health, pensions etc., have mounted. They are fighting against the attack of the bourgeoisie and its state in order to defend their freedom and the democratic rights they have won, against the domination of multinational companies and supranational organizations which violate their national independence and sovereignty, against the arms race and the threat of war.

In these class battles, the working class is growing and being tempered, its political consciousness and revolutionary organization are being strengthened. In the course of this struggle the working

class is recognizing even more clearly who are its enemies, and who is hindering and sabotaging its efforts, who is fragmenting and dividing it. It is understanding even better that scabby role of the bourgeois parties of the working class, the social-democrats, the revisionists and other opportunists, seeing how the trade-unions which are run by these parties want to lull it to sleep, to blunt the edge of its revolt and extinguish its revolutionary enthusiasm.

But the efforts which the bourgeoisie and its lackeys make are incapable of keeping the working class and the other working masses deceived, bound, and oppressed for ever. The objective laws of development of human society cannot be altered either with violence or with propaganda. History has charged the working class with the mission of becoming the grave-digger of capitalism, of leading the revolution and building the new socialist society. All the contradictions of capitalist society lead towards the revolution and socialism. Only the revolution can resolve these contradictions, it alone can save the working class and the whole of mankind from the capitalist system of oppression and exploitation, violence and terror, war and extermination.

In the course of its development human society has waged a great struggle in order to pass from the state of savagery and fatalism to that of civilization and conscious activity, from that of violence and

oppression to that of freedom and democracy. Capitalism, in which there is nothing left from the progressive impulses of its beginnings, wants to take human society backwards.

Today we are witnessing a general offensive against democratic rights and individual freedoms, a real aggression of the bourgeois ideology and propaganda in order to destroy the fine traditions, the progressive culture, the spiritual world of people and to turn them into simple producing robots.

**Terrorism, which has become a very worrying phenomenon, has become widespread throughout the world.** Everybody is talking about it, but in particular, American imperialism and those who sing in harmony with it are shouting and screaming most.

Terrorism arouses fear, panic, insecurity and fatalism among the broad masses of ordinary people. But it has also aroused great anger and revolt. The question which presents itself is to know who is inciting and who is responsible for the present-day terrorism, and against whom the anger and revolt of the peoples should be directed.

As a social phenomenon, terrorism is the offspring of the crisis and degeneration of bourgeois society, of the decadence and moral corruption of an ever larger number of people who are living in poverty and despair. As a political action and ideological concept, terrorism is the result of the blind desperation and utter disillusionment of particular individuals who lose their sense of perspective in the

face of the grave capitalist oppression and imperialist violence.

In the period of the grave crisis of the capitalist system and the mounting revolt of the masses, it is in the interest of the bourgeoisie to identify terrorism with the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, to create the impression that the patriotic revolutionaries and genuine communists who rise against the capitalist system are terrorists and anarchists, people who murder and plunder.

Marxist-Leninists, the genuine revolutionaries and communists never have supported and never can support desperate terrorist acts, anarchist actions and the various adventures of this type, irrespective of for what ideal they are allegedly carried out, how they have been cloaked or the colour with which they have been painted. The national, democratic or proletarian revolution is not carried out on the road of terrorism. Revolutionaries are irreconcilable with terrorism in theory and practice and scornfully reject the accusations which the bourgeoisie levels at them.

The so-called fight against terrorism proclaimed by imperialism is a mask to disguise the evil face of state terrorism elevated to ideology and official policy. The aim of the bourgeoisie and reaction is clear. By branding as terrorism any revolutionary struggle against capitalist oppression and exploitation, every liberation struggle against foreign occupiers, they want to outlaw any armed insurrection to win freedom and independence, any attempt to defend

one's own national sovereignty, and want to give themselves the right to use weapons to suppress and extinguish them.

The peoples cannot and never will accept the state terrorism of imperialism, neither will they ever submit to it, just as they have never submitted to the counter-revolutionary violence of the bourgeoisie. The right to revolt against oppression and social injustices, the right to fight arms in hand for the freedom and independence of the homeland, is an undeniable right. No ideology, no policy, no trickery and deceit of imperialism and reaction can extinguish this right of the peoples.

While it incites terrorism, the bourgeoisie tries to conceal the inhuman nature of its order by undertaking a noisy campaign about so-called human rights and proclaiming itself the great champion and defender of them. But of what human rights can the bourgeoisie speak when the most ferocious and most inhuman exploitation of the overwhelming majority of the population by a minority of millionaires and multi-millionaires is the very foundation of the social relations of the capitalist order? What talk can there be of human rights when tens of thousands and millions of workers have the right to work only on paper, but in practice are unemployed and live in poverty? Of what human rights can the American and other imperialists speak when they have condemned entire peoples on the continents of Africa, Asia and Latin America and elsewhere to live in the

most extreme conditions of human misery? Can the individual have rights in a country where there is no national freedom, where colonialism or racial oppression prevail?

Imperialism and the bourgeoisie are not interested in these rights. What interests them is that the problems of democracy and freedom of man in society should be turned into a banner of their struggle against socialism and communism, into a practice allowing them to interfere in the internal affairs of free nations in order to subjugate and enslave them. Just as they are trying to transform and exploit the fight against terrorism for their own counter-revolutionary aims, for the same aims they are speculating with the so-called struggle for the defence of human rights.

Historically it has been the revolution which has raised and upheld the banner of the struggle for democratic liberties and the rights of the citizens. The French Revolution of 1789 was the first which publicly declared that it was fighting for the freedom of the individual and came out with the famous slogan «Freedom, equality, fraternity». This slogan inspired a whole series of revolutionary democrats in Europe and throughout the world during the whole 19th century. The bourgeoisie very quickly deserted this struggle and the proletariat became the most determined and consistent champion of the democratic liberties and rights of man. One of the first acts of the October Revolution and Lenin was precisely the

Declaration on the Rights of Workers and the Exploited People. Likewise, the first document approved at the first meeting of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council at Berat, in October 1944, was the Declaration on the Rights of Citizens.

The proletariat, as the most revolutionary and advanced class in capitalist society, is the only class which can carry the struggle for democratic liberties and rights through to the end. By liquidating private ownership of the means of production, by eliminating the exploitation of man by man, and by publicly proclaiming the principle of proletarian internationalism as the principle of the unification of peoples and the men of labour, the proletarian revolution has laid the basis to genuinely guarantee democratic liberties for the individuals and the collective. This has been proven in the practice of our country, too, where the revolution and socialism brought the people genuine freedom and democracy, guaranteed the rights of the working man by law and in practice, and ensured his all-round emancipation.

The monopoly bourgeoisie, which has ridden roughshod over human rights, was assisted in its struggle against the socialist system and the communist ideology by Khrushchevite revisionism which came to power after the death of Stalin. By slandering Stalin and discrediting the socialist system Khrushchev and his followers enabled the bourgeoisie to use the banner of democratic freedoms as a weapon against socialism. However, it has been

proven that anti-communism has never been a productive ideology. It has led not to the extension of democracy and to the emancipation of the people, but to restriction of them and to fascism.

### **3. The Right of the Peoples to Be Free and Independent Is an Inalienable Right**

In our time the neo-colonialist oppression and exploitation of undeveloped countries, of whole continents, by the superpowers and other developed capitalist countries have assumed unprecedented proportions.

The export of foreign monopoly capital to these zones from which fabulous profits are drawn has increased as never before. The debt system has a stranglehold on many countries, increasing their dependence and the plunder they suffer. Whereas in the mid-fifties the developing countries had debts amounting to 6 thousand million dollars, today they amount to more than one hundred thousand million dollars. The volume of debts is steadily increasing, just as the dangerous consequences they bring are increasing.

The economic relations which have been established between the developing countries and the industrialized countries are utterly unequal. The big capitalist monopolies impose low prices for raw ma-



materials which the undeveloped countries normally produce, and extremely high prices for the industrial and consumer products which they sell them. The aim of this policy is to keep those countries as producers of cheap raw materials and markets for profitable sales. The international financial and monetary system, the domination of the dollar and the other so-called strong currencies imposed and defended by big world capital greatly favour this robbery.

The capitalist monopolies and the big financial centres have insinuated their tentacles deep into many undeveloped countries and have become not only the true masters of their economies but also the dominant force in their political life. It is they which dictate, which decide who should and who should not be in office, which overthrow and set up governments, and which incite internal and external conflicts. They employ every means, including corruption and violence, the killing and buying of political leaders, up to armed intervention when necessary, in order to protect their profits.

The economic plunder and the political interference in the internal problems of those countries are associated, also, with savage ideological and cultural aggression which is intended to wipe out their national identity, to eliminate their sense of human dignity, to extinguish their age-old desires for freedom and independence and to strangle their confidence in their ability to achieve development and progress with their own forces.

The situation of the developing countries becomes even more grave, because the rivalry and confrontation of the superpowers and the other imperialist powers for spheres of influence, for markets, for strategic positions and military bases is felt more powerfully there. The numerous conflicts in these zones are direct results of this rivalry.

This general offensive of world capitalism has led to a new exacerbation of the great contradiction of our epoch, that between oppressed and dependent peoples and imperialism, which has found its clearest expression in the ever mounting resistance and struggles of peoples against neo-colonialist domination.

The strategy of hegemony and world domination pursued by the superpowers and other states with imperialist aspirations is being opposed today by the great efforts of various peoples and nations to defend their freedom and independence and national wealth, to be sovereign in their own countries, to rid themselves of the foreign yoke and decide their own course of development. The wide extension and growth of peoples' liberation and democratic movements which have now swept whole regions and zones of the world are evidence of this. The mounting discontent and protest of the masses in countries such as Haiti, the Philippines, Salvador and elsewhere led to popular revolts against reactionary regimes. The struggle of the Afghan people to drive out the Soviet occupiers and to overthrow the puppet regime has

grown and extended. For a long time the people of the West Sahara have been fighting for their rights. Despite the exceptionally difficult conditions, the Palestinian people have resolutely continued their armed struggle for their return to the homeland stolen by Israel.

The neo-colonialist domination of the super-powers and other imperialist states in Africa is becoming ever more difficult to maintain. The revolt of the African peoples against imperialist oppression and plunder and against the forces of internal reaction has assumed new developments. The people of Burkina Fasso have scored an important victory on the road of independence. The anti-racist and anti-imperialist struggle of the Azanian and Namibian peoples is part of the liberation struggle of the African peoples. The anti-racist demonstrations and bloody clashes with the army and police of the white minority in South Africa, the mass protests and armed actions of those peoples, represent an obvious stepping up of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist movement for democratic and national rights.

Despite the savage terror, the struggle of Chilean patriots and democrats against the fascist dictatorship has not been interrupted for a single moment. The struggle in Central America has assumed new developments. The Nicaraguan people, who overthrew the fascist dictatorship of Somoza, are successfully resisting the undeclared war of American imperialism

and its mercenary forces of Somoza supporters.

Various forces which aspire to free and independent development have been set in motion in many countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia against the system of neo-colonialist relations which the imperialist powers have imposed on them and which have led them to the verge of bankruptcy. They are fighting to alter the existing international economic relations and to liberate themselves from the neo-colonial plunder, from the chains of debts, from unequal exchanges and from the dictate and impositions of big industrialized powers. They want to escape from this grave situation, to smash the economic and political chains with which the big powers try to keep them bound.

The imperialists, capitalists, revisionists and others are striving to divert this struggle on to wrong roads, to weaken and blunt it. They are trying to spread illusions that the situation of the peoples can be put in order and the problems can be solved through collaboration and agreements with oppressors and exploiters, or to create a defeatist spirit that allegedly the peoples of the developing countries are incapable of advancing on their own, that their dependence on imperialism is inevitable.

But the peoples cannot be deceived by the propaganda and manoeuvres of imperialism, just as they cannot be intimidated by its threats. They are conscious that they can escape from imperialist and neo-

colonialist bondage only through courageous struggle and sacrifice. Imperialism still looks powerful. It has weapons, money and colossal means for oppression and domination. But it is eroded and decayed by its incurable contradictions and wounds. The fate of the peoples and mankind does not lie in its hands. The peoples' liberation struggle is an objective process which no force in the world can stop. It represents one of the most fundamental trends of present-day world development and one of its main motive forces.

The right of peoples to be free and independent cannot be denied. It was born together with man and human society and has been an unvarying constant through all the epochs of history. The reactionary powers of all times have tried to deny the peoples this right, have tried to subjugate and rule them. Mighty empires were created, whole continents were transformed into colonies, various peoples remained enslaved for centuries on end, but the spirit of freedom and independence has never died. It was the empires and the colonies which collapsed and disappeared.

There is nothing for which the peoples have paid more than for their freedom and independence. No human sacrifice, however great, has been spared to get rid of foreign occupiers and rulers. No one can quell the aspirations of the peoples to be free and independent and we believe with full conviction that this will be accomplished.

#### **4. The Struggle Against Bourgeois Ideology and Modern Revisionism Is a Struggle for the Triumph and Defence of the Revolution and Marxism-Leninism**

A stern ideological struggle of large dimensions is being waged between the bourgeois ideology and opportunism, on the one hand, and Marxism-Leninism, on the other hand, over the present situation in the world, the processes which are developing and the problems which emerge, with their contradictions and the ways to resolve them. The more the general crisis of capitalism deepens and the more the revolutionary and liberation movement of the peoples mounts, the more acute this struggle becomes. Its class essence remains what it has been. Capitalism is trying to justify and protect its existence, to quell the revolution and destroy socialism. Marxism-Leninism is fighting to open the way to the revolution, to overthrow the bourgeoisie and imperialism, and to build the new socialist society.

As the ideology of a society in decline and decay, which has lost its historical perspective and any progressive ideal, the bourgeois ideology has become even more aggressive, has emphasized even more its characteristics as an ideology of the apologia of capitalist exploitation and anti-communism.

It makes every effort to prettify capitalist society, to conceal its ulcers and to justify its oppression and exploitation. Ignoring the reality, abandon-

ment of objectivity, deception of the masses and misrepresentation of new social phenomena are its fundamental characteristics. The bourgeois ideology tries to create the opinion that capitalist society is irreplaceable, that its mode of production is the best and most just, that the bourgeois state power is the most perfect expression of democracy and that bourgeois civilization is the most elevated. It treats the grave ulcers of bourgeois society, its economic, political, social and spiritual crises, unemployment and the insecurity of the livelihood of millions of people, racism and terrorism as consequences not of the decline and decay of capitalism, but of its development, not as inevitable accompaniments of the system, but as temporary phenomena which can be corrected by the system itself.

The bourgeois ideologists praise to the skies that type of man deformed and alienated by capitalism, whose purpose in life is to make profits and money, who is guided in every action by selfishness and individualism, who replaces honesty with hypocrisy and humanism with cynicism.

In international relations, the apologists of capitalism want to present the imperialist oppression and exploitation of whole continents as the liberation of peoples, as their economic and cultural emancipation. They strive to present the peoples' freedom and independence, independent economic development and sovereignty as anachronisms, as obstacles to progress and civilization, etc. For them the dependence of

states and peoples on big finance capital, the monopolies, the multinational companies, and so on, is «advanced», «modern», and «objectively necessary».

The apologia of capitalism and of the so-called free world is inseparable from anti-communism. Today a great campaign is being waged to attack and denigrate Marxism-Leninism and socialism. Under the pretext that present-day capitalism is no longer that of the time of Marx and Lenin, that it has undergone major economic, social and political and other changes, the bourgeois ideologists claim that the Marxist theory has become outdated and is no longer applicable, that the socialist revolution of the proletariat has become unnecessary in the face of the progressive evolution of the bourgeois society, and that the present-day technological-scientific revolution is creating a new supra-capitalist and supra-socialist society. They deliberately identify Marxism with modern revisionism and try to present the crises and defeats of the latter as crises and defeats of Marxism-Leninism and socialism.

Anti-communism has now been raised to an ideology and an elaborated strategy, with set directions and objectives and with sophisticated methods and tactics. It seeks to exert pressure on communists, to liberalize their concepts and attitudes, to shake their belief in the communist ideals, to turn them away from the class struggle, the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, to impel them to lower their ideological vigilance, to give up their political

and ideological principles and to abandon the norms of socialist society and communist ethics.

In the ideological struggle against revolutionary, liberation and democratic movements, anti-communism tries to darken the historical perspective for them, to arouse the spirit of pessimism and fatalism, to create the feeling that they are fighting for a lost and impossible cause. It aims to create the concept that social revolutions and liberation wars lead to world conflagrations.

But the bourgeois ideology of our days is expressed not only in rightist forms, openly as an apologia of capitalism and anti-communism, but also in «leftist», «critical» forms, in the form of opportunism. Historically, opportunism has always been an expression of bourgeois ideology in the workers' revolutionary movement, a weapon of the bourgeoisie to undermine and sabotage it, to direct the revolt of the masses into channels harmless to the bourgeois rule. The preaching of class harmony, conciliation between exploited and exploiters, between oppressed peoples and their oppressors, constitutes the essence of it.

The most dangerous form of opportunism today is modern revisionism, which still misuses Marxist phrases and is in power in a number of countries which call themselves socialist.

**Our Party of Labour and Comrade Enver Hoxha, who have waged a great and lengthy struggle against modern revisionism, have thoroughly analysed the causes of its birth and spread, the counter-revol-**

utionary class essence of the revisionist line and practices and the process of its degeneration and splitting.

They have argued and proved that modern revisionism is an offspring of the counter-revolutionary strategy of imperialism, have uncovered and condemned the aim of modern revisionism, which is to save capitalism from being overthrown by the revolution and to undermine socialism wherever it has been built. The Party and Comrade Enver have torn the mask from the different trends of revisionism, Yugoslav, Soviet, Chinese and West-European, and have shown that the «real», «self-administrative», «democratic», «human», «pluralist» and other «socialisms», which they preach, are nothing but the present-day capitalist society reformed.

The struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania against modern revisionism and all its variants has been and still is a struggle of historic importance. It has been the salvation of the freedom and independence of the Homeland, of our socialist victories, a contribution of great value to the defence of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and peoples of the world.

Life is more and more proving the correctness of the struggle of our Party against revisionism, the correctness of its analyses, conclusions and predictions. Everyone can see today what Comrade Enver Hoxha was the first to see and declare publicly, that the revisionists in power would cause

the degeneration of socialism and would restore capitalism, that the other revisionist parties would fall into the social-democratic mire, that modern revisionism would be split into currents and groupings and be turned into a basket of crabs.

The present-day Soviet Union has already lost any socialist or revolutionary feature. A series of processes are being intensified there and a series of reforms are being carried out for the reconstruction of the economy and its management on a capitalist basis. The present campaign in the Soviet Union announced by Gorbachev against the backwardness and stagnation of the economy, against bureaucracy in the management of it, against the parasitism and corruption of the leading cadres, embezzlement and illicit gains, is a demagogic campaign, the purpose of which is to deceive the Soviet peoples and put them to sleep. These evils are not by any means the fruit of earlier subjective mistakes, as is claimed, but the offspring of the capitalist system restored there. They cannot be cured either with decrees or with reforms.

In the Soviet Union the transformation of the state, party, educational, cultural and other superstructures has already been completed and they have been adapted to the new capitalist economic base and placed completely in the service of the interests of the ruling bourgeoisie.

Moral values and norms which are inspired by capitalist motives have assumed superiority and are

predominant in the life of the Soviet Union. Bourgeois selfishness and individualism has increased, the upper strata are developing into an aristocracy, the feeling of political indifference and apathy has become very widespread. Seeking an easy life and any opportunity for gains has become a usual norm.

One of the fundamental aspects of Soviet revisionism is the complete domination of the ideology which extols the cult of militarism, expansionism and superpower hegemonism, the ideology which rides roughshod over the freedom and sovereignty of peoples and endangers international peace and security.

Revisionist China, likewise, is proceeding on the capitalist road. The Chinese preachings and practices about a «pluralist socialism» from the economic, political, ideological and social viewpoints, the revival of the private sector, the opening of doors to foreign capital and multinational companies, are evidence of the complete degeneration of Chinese revisionism. Consequently, Chinese revisionism, as an ideology and a practice, has been discredited to such a degree that it has lost any influence in the revolutionary and liberation movement. Among world opinion, China is recognized now as an admirer of Western monopoly capitalism.

We are witnesses to the utter bankruptcy of Yugoslav revisionism as an ideology and practice. The so-called system of self-administration, of which Comrade Enver Hoxha has made a profound, all-sided analysis in his outstanding work *Yugoslav «Self-ad-*

*ministration» — a Capitalist Theory and Practice*, has failed. Now even the Yugoslavs themselves are criticizing it from all aspects and there are many who blame it for the crises and all the evils which have gripped Yugoslavia. The national policy led to the deepening of the inequality between nations of the Yugoslav Federation, to the recrudescence of old national feuds and jealousies, and the creation of conditions to open the way to the domination of the biggest nation.

Despite all the preachings and theorizing about non-alignment either with the East or the West, Yugoslavia has linked itself more closely with them. The dependence on foreign capital and the heavy burden of debts have obliged it to accept the dictate of big imperialist powers.

That other revisionist current, Eurocommunism, degenerated very rapidly. Today it is extremely difficult to find any more or less fundamental distinction between the so-called Eurocommunism and European social-democracy. The revisionist parties in those countries have given up any idea of taking power, even in «peaceful» parliamentary ways. They declare openly, as the Communist Party of Italy does, that they see their role and mission in the contribution which they must make to ensure the successful functioning of the present-day bourgeois state and the improvement of bourgeois society, in their efforts to get it out of the crises and difficulties. Irrespective of whether they take part directly in the bourgeois

governments or remain in the role of the legal opposition, the revisionist parties have now become part and parcel of the bourgeois superstructure. The role played by the Communist Party of France is typical. Its participation in the government was necessary for the monopoly bourgeoisie, so that the Communist Party together with the socialists would administer the crisis, a thing which was bound to lead, as it did, to the discrediting of the party and to marked decline of its influence on the masses.

The incorporation of revisionist parties of the West in the bourgeois structures and the transformation of the revisionists in power into direct representatives of the new bourgeoisie could not fail to deepen their divisions and splits on the basis of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism. Now there can be no talk of a united front of modern revisionists on an international scale, or of one or several leading centres. Now the revisionists are incapable of putting up even a formal show of their «unity». They try more to emphasize the things which distinguish or divide them rather than those which bring them together and unite them.

Modern revisionism, with all its currents, like the bourgeois ideology on a whole, finds itself in crisis and serious difficulties, which are an expression of the crisis and decadence of the world capitalist and imperialist system today. However, this does not in any way mean that the struggle against it is now something that is over and done with.

We must bear in mind that revisionism still has broad masses of workers under its influence, that it continues to confuse and poison the minds of many people. Its practices are still continuing. It carries out extensive political and ideological activity to undermine the revolution and sabotage socialism. Worse still, views which identify revisionism with Marxism-Leninism and socialism are still widespread, and there are still people who have illusions and think that it can be improved.

In these conditions the struggle against modern revisionism to unmask its theories and practices, to liberate the masses from its poisonous influence, remains a primary and very important task for the genuine communists and revolutionaries. Without fighting against revisionism and opportunism the way cannot be opened to the revolution and peoples' liberation and socialism cannot be built and defended.

The Party of Labour of Albania will continue its principled struggle in the future, as it has done up till now, against all trends of modern revisionism, for the defence of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of the revolution and socialism, and will not spare its forces and efforts to carry this struggle through to the end. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said:

*«There is no force that can make our Party deviate from this fully internationalist, glorious and honourable course. There is no force which can intimidate or conquer it. Our Party*

*cannot reconcile itself to any kind of opportunism, to any kind of deviation from Marxism-Leninism, to any distortion of it.»\**

The zeal of enemies to reject Marxism-Leninism, to distort it and declare it a failure, left behind by life, and worthless for the present time, constitutes the most convincing evidence and proof that Marxism-Leninism is always alive and full of vitality. It has been embodied in the scientific doctrine of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, in the theoretical work of Comrade Enver Hoxha and in the reality of socialist Albania, in the values of the revolution and the socialist construction in the Soviet Union before the Khrushchevites came to power, in the Chinese revolution and the other revolutions which were led by the communists, but which were subsequently betrayed, and in the revolutionary experience of all genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and forces. It is a vital and permanent duty of consistent communists and revolutionaries to defend Marxism-Leninism from the anti-communist attacks and the revisionist distortions, and to fight for its creative application and enrichment in the new conditions.

It is understandable that in their struggle to carry forward the revolutionary movement, the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces encounter many difficul-

\* Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, «8 Nëntori» Publishing House, Tirana 1979, p. 457, Eng. ed.



ties and obstacles. Apart from the bourgeois violence, which in certain conditions assumes extremely harsh and bloody forms, they are subjected to all-round, continuous, ideological and political pressure from the bourgeoisie and the revisionists, as well as from the pseudo-revolutionary and petty-bourgeois «leftism», all of which have the aim of bringing about the splitting, isolation, degeneration and liquidation of the Marxist-Leninist parties.

But this situation does not intimidate them, or make them withdraw from the struggle. By faithfully adhering to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, by applying a revolutionary line and strategy as well as skillful tactics, in conformity with the concrete conditions of the country and the situation in the world, the sister Marxist-Leninist parties have achieved notable successes in their efforts to extend and deepen their links with the masses, and to increase their influence among them, to affirm themselves in political life and to extend the horizon of their revolutionary work.

In the course of the common struggle, sound links of internationalist solidarity and fraternal collaboration have been developed between the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces. The Party of Labour of Albania has given and gives the greatest attention to relations with the sister parties. It has done and is doing everything it can to strengthen the fraternal revolutionary unity between them. It has rigorously adhered to the principles of complete independence

and equality, solidarity, mutual aid and support, and internationalist collaboration.

The solidarity and sympathy which they nurture for our Party and people, the support and backing which the sister Marxist-Leninist parties, the freedom-loving peoples, democratic and progressive individuals, and the numerous friends and admirers of socialist Albania give us, inspire us and encourage us to advance boldly on the road of socialism and defence of the freedom and independence of the Homeland.

The entire line, the stands and struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania have been and are characterized by consistent application of proletarian internationalism. The Party applied it in the war for the triumph of the revolution and is applying it now in the construction of socialism in Albania, through the defence of Marxism-Leninism, through its unwavering, courageous, principled struggle and stands against imperialism and social-imperialism, against modern revisionism and international reaction, through the firm support which it has given and is giving to revolutionary struggles, freedom-loving peoples and Marxist-Leninist forces throughout the world. The peoples who fight for freedom and independence, the revolutionary, liberation, democratic and anti-fascist forces, will always have on their side the Party of Labour and socialist Albania and the sympathy and full solidarity of the Albanian people.

## 5. The Foreign Policy of the PSR of Albania — the Bearer of Freedom-Loving Revolutionary Ideals

The foreign policy of our Party and state, their stands and actions in the international arena, have been guided by the lofty and noble aims of our people and Party, for the safeguarding and consolidation of the freedom and independence of the Homeland, for securing peaceful conditions for the socialist construction of the country, and for the accomplishment of internationalist duties.

The strengthening of the international positions of socialist Albania, the respect it enjoys among the progressive peoples and countries in the world, the increase in the number of its foreign friends and admirers, testifies to the success of this policy.

The voice and stands of Albania on great and minor problems, which are preoccupying the whole of mankind today, have been correct and principled, have responded to the loftiest aspirations of peoples to live in freedom and independence, in peace and general security. Our Party and people have been on the side of those opposing the aggressive, war-mongering policy of imperialism, against national oppression and capitalist exploitation, against colonialism and racism. They have opposed and condemned the efforts of imperialist powers and reactionary forces to interfere in the internal affairs of the others, to

threaten and violate the sovereign rights which belong to the peoples, to rob them of their national assets, and to oppress and enslave them.

Our foreign policy was born from our great struggle for the liberation of our enslaved Homeland and its content has been deepened through the struggle and efforts to defend the victories achieved. Such being the case, it is the bearer of freedom-loving ideals, of aspirations for equality and mutual respect in international relations, for sincere collaboration, excluding any dictate, tutelage or imposition, between different countries.

As a socialist country, liberated from the ideologies and mentalities of the feudal-bourgeois societies of the past, as a people who for centuries have been enslaved, denied as a nation, torn apart and partitioned by foreigners, we Albanians do not suffer from the national jealousies and animosities, from the expansionist and hegemonic pretensions, so widespread not only among the great powers but also among many others, from the feelings of domination which still corrupt the minds of leading circles of many other countries. We want the good of all peoples and have publicly declared that no evil will come, either to our neighbours or to anyone else, from our country. And we not only say this but we act on it.

Albania does not take part in any military bloc or any alliance, which directly or indirectly could commit it to any hostile policy towards one or

another country, in any agreement which might damage the interests of anybody else in the slightest degree. In our country there are no foreign soldiers, installations or bases. No facilities have been granted for the stationing, resting, or movement of foreign armed forces through our country, either in peacetime or in wartime. We have no economic, moral or any other type of obligation to anyone, that could oblige us to make concessions to the detriment of our interests and the security of others.

Comrade Enver Hoxha left us such a principled and consistent foreign policy as a heritage, he taught us to maintain such resolute, revolutionary stands, he instructed us to pursue such a reliable course in international relations. Our Party will apply his teachings with courage and wisdom. It will always fight with determination to defend the freedom and the independence of the Homeland and will work tirelessly to enhance the reputation of socialist Albania in the world.

We are aware that the world around us is not as we would like it to be. It is clear to us that the defusing of conflicts and enmities in international relations, the elimination of threats to the freedom, independence and sovereignty of peoples and averting the dangers of war, does not depend on our will.

Nevertheless, we must do our duty and must never withdraw from the struggle. As communists we see the future of mankind with optimism. We are convinced that the future belongs to freedom

and not to oppression, to democracy and not to reaction, to progress and not to obscurantism, to socialism and not to capitalism. History gives us this optimism and conviction and Marxism-Leninism makes us strong and determined to defend our victories and always stand shoulder to shoulder with the freedom- and peace-loving peoples.

We know who our friends are, but we also are well aware who our enemies are. We know that there are some who do not like our socialist system, who are thinking how they can undermine Albania and how to turn it back to what it was in the past. We know also that there are some who, ignoring the present historical reality which can no longer be turned back, still dream and hope to see our country placed under the tutelage of foreigners and harnessed to their chariots. Many intrigues, plots, acts of perfidy and treachery have been committed against our country in these years since Liberation, but none of them has defeated it. And this has come about not only because the enemies have run up against the steel unity of our people, their determination to have nobody over them but themselves, but also because the Party and Enver Hoxha have taught them never to yield to pressures, and never to be deceived by blandishments. This has been and still is our stand.

While fighting to strengthen and consolidate the positions of our socialist Homeland abroad, our country has taken part actively in present-day in-

ternational life, has expressed its views on the political problems of the time, openly and without hesitation, and has maintained correct, principled stands on the issues which preoccupy mankind. We have never considered it sufficient to be all right ourselves and unconcerned about what happens to others. We are aware that the international problems today, whether local, regional or continental, affect, to a greater or lesser extent, all the countries and peoples of our planet, which has now become very small. We are aware, likewise, that the problems of peace and war are not the prerogatives of just one or two states, however big or powerful, and cannot be solved by them alone.

Proceeding from these positions, we have always opposed the attempts which the big powers, especially the superpowers, make to monopolize world affairs, to make themselves arbiters of and decide them.

The peoples of the world cannot accept the ideology or policy of neo-globalism of the USA, which seeks to create American interests even where they do not exist, and in the name of these interests to restrict the sovereign rights of other countries and justify its imperialist interventions. Neither can they accept the concept of special responsibilities which the Soviets attribute to themselves in order to justify their interventions and expansion.

A great fuss is being made about talks and contacts between the two superpowers. They are

being publicized as the only hope to avoid war and save peace. Of course, nobody can deny them the right to meet and to talk about their affairs. But what cannot be accepted or tolerated is that they should discuss the affairs of others and take decisions behind their backs. The institutionalization of meetings of the heads of the superpowers in a forum which can take decisions obligatory for others, too, is very dangerous. In practice, this means to deny the right of other countries to act freely and in a sovereign manner on their own internal and external problems. And practice, not only present-day practice, but that throughout the epoch of imperialism, has shown that the agreements between the big powers made in the name of avoiding war and strengthening peace, the establishment of order or limitation of armaments, and so on, have all resulted in cynical deals to divide territories and spheres of influence, and to operate jointly against the liberation and revolutionary movements. The ententes and détentes can change their uniforms and names, but their aims remain the same.

The armaments race, especially that of the superpowers, the feverish build-up of atomic and chemical weapons, continues to cause great concern for the whole of mankind. The danger to life on our planet which comes from these weapons is truly great. It is becoming threatening and one day might turn into a real calamity when it is known that their mechanisms can be set in motion not only delibera-

tely, but also through some human error or through some malfunction of the equipment on which the superpowers are relying more and more. A typical example is the accident to the American space shuttle, «Challenger», and that at the Soviet nuclear power station of Chernobyl.

It is this situation which has given rise to ever more numerous and persistent demands from the whole world for the prohibition and outlawing of atomic weapons. In our opinion, however, it is bad that great hopes are pinned on the will and the reason of the superpowers, that great trust is still placed in their words that allegedly they, too, desire disarmament and are considering how to bring it about. We must look the reality straight in the eye. The truth is that all the talks, meetings, conferences, proposals and counterproposals which are made about disarmament, have not yielded any results. Proof of this is the failure of the Reagan-Gorbachev summit in Iceland. The armaments race between the superpowers is being extended ever more widely, and besides the land and the seas, it is now invading the heavens, too.

Reproaches and advice will not make the superpowers retreat. Only open exposure and condemnation of the imperialist strategy of atomic war can yield results, only this can stop them from hurling the world into catastrophe.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is for putting an end to the armaments race once and

for all, for the total banning of atomic tests and weapons, for the dismantling and removal of American and Soviet missile bases from foreign countries. It is opposed to the militarization of space and all other projects which increase the dangers of atomic war and other wars.

In any country security is a task which cannot be neglected. But it cannot be achieved either through fruitless meetings, such as the Helsinki Conference, or by sheltering under the «atomic umbrellas» of the superpowers, by turning your national territory into bases for the superpowers' missiles or by filling it with foreign soldiers and weapons. This road leads, and indeed already has led, to extension of the armaments race and further subjugation to superpowers.

The alliances and friendships between states, naturally, are matters which are up to each of them to decide, just as collective security cannot be denied to those who want it. But what is unacceptable is when these alliances and friendships are directed against others, when the commitments made within them threaten the interests and security of other countries.

It is for this reason that we oppose NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, which have no sort of defensive nature, but are political and military instruments of the United States and the Soviet Union for the realization of their hegemonic and expansionist courses, weapons for pressure and aggression against others.

The disbanding of these alliances is the fundamental condition for the elimination of divisions and splits in Europe and for the reduction of tensions not only on our continent, but throughout the world. The liquidation of them will create precisely that spirit of trust and understanding which is lacking in order to establish a fruitful and equal collaboration between the peoples of Europe.

Practice proves that the blocs lead to ever greater subordination of the partners to their leaders. The illusion that by entering into blocs their defence can be strengthened and their independence ensured has cost them dear. For the sake of the co-ordination of policies and strategies, many countries have accepted major restrictions which have greatly limited their sovereignty on many capital questions, have hindered their independent activity in the international arena, and have put them in a position that they cannot freely decide their future themselves. Therefore, the break-up of blocs is linked directly with the present and the future of the freedom and independence of the member countries, with the preservation of their national sovereignty, and their individuality in the international life.

In its international relations, our socialist state has always expressed itself in favour of the preservation and strengthening of friendship and mutually beneficial collaboration with other peoples. At the same time, it has consistently pursued the policy of opposing imperialism, especially American imperial-

ism, and Soviet social-imperialism and their aggressive and war-mongering policy of oppression and exploitation. There will never be any conciliation between socialist Albania and the two superpowers. This stand results from our irreconcilable opposition to their expansionist and hegemonic policy, from the danger which they present to the freedom and independence of our country and freedom-loving peoples.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has been and is for good relations with other states, based on the well-known principles of equality, respect for sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual benefit. Our relations with many countries in the political field, in the field of commercial, cultural and technical-scientific exchanges, as well as in other fields, which have steadily extended, demonstrate this.

In our relations with other countries we do not lay down discriminatory or denigrating conditions. We do not seek to impose our way of life or our way of thinking on others. But neither can we allow others to impose theirs on us. This, we think, is a universal principle for equal, sincere and fruitful relations between free and independent states.

Respect for the internal social order and the international status freely chosen by different states and nations is an issue which cannot be a matter for discussion. For countries with different social systems, peaceful coexistence is the only alternative.

Just as the revolution cannot be exported, the counter-revolution cannot be exported, either.

Our Party and country have been and are opposed to all practices of inequality, discrimination and great-state dictate in international relations. They are for the complete democratization of these relations. The states are not equal in regard to the extent of their territory, the number of population, their economic potential and so on. But this does not give the big and powerful states the right to special privileges in international relations, to positions of domination over the others. We proceed from the principle that any international cooperation between different countries in whatever field should not lead to the restriction of their independence and sovereignty but should contribute to their economic, cultural and social development, to the strengthening of mutual friendship and the preservation of peace in the world.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is for the development of trade and economic cooperation with different countries of the world. It considers this not only as a means for reciprocal economic benefit, but also as a valuable contribution to the normal development of international relations. For this, however, it is necessary that all countries should make trade exchanges only on the basis of reciprocal benefit and should struggle to ensure that they are not used as a means of pressure to impose political concepts and stands unacceptable to the partner.

The old systems of exchange established by the big, wealthy powers with the aim of plundering the poor and the weak to the maximum, the monopolization of world markets by big capital, and the whole series of laws and practices discriminating against the small and the developing countries are a hindrance to the free and equal development of international trade today. The existence of closed markets, the application of protectionist measures, the setting up of tariff and non-tariff barriers differentiating against certain countries, the manipulation of prices and markets through the artificial raising of prices for finished products, machinery, etc., and the speculative reduction of prices for raw materials have become negative factors which are hindering a normal, balanced and equal development of international trade.

Being in favour of the normal, free development of international trade we are for the removal of all these obstacles. We never link trade with the acceptance of credits, the granting of concessions, or permitting activities of foreign companies and economic or financial institutions in our country. This has been sanctioned clearly in the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

The cultural and technical-scientific exchanges of our country with other countries have assumed notable growth and a relatively wide extension. All the possibilities exist for them to increase even more in the future. The Albanian people have always had

respect for the progressive culture of other peoples and have never suffered from narrow nationalist prejudices about their achievements in the fields of science, literature and artistic creativeness. They have assimilated and used all the good and progressive things that have been created and are created in the world. Proceeding from this, we are for mutually acceptable cultural exchanges with all the countries with which we have relations. Our view is that these exchanges help us to know one another better, help to strengthen friendship and to establish mutual understanding.

The development of relations with the neighbouring countries constitutes one of the priorities of the foreign policy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Our country has always been and is for the continuous strengthening and extension of relations with those countries on the basis of the principles of good neighbourliness. In its relations with them, our country has been guided by the desire and by the belief that mutual exchanges, such as those in the fields of trade, communications, culture, technique, science and other fields, should serve to strengthen the friendship between peoples, peace and their common security.

For some time now, the tensions in the Balkans have been increasing. Old feuds and jealousies have been revived and become exacerbated. They have greatly disturbed the situation in the Balkans and have created further premises for the interference

and increase of the influence of the superpowers in this zone. The fact is that both the United States of America and the Soviet Union have stepped up pressure on the Balkan countries in order to safeguard their old positions in this peninsula, as well as to gain new concessions to the detriment of the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the peoples.

We have declared and uphold the view that the Balkans ought to belong to the peoples of the Balkans. The idea that foreign protection constitutes the only guarantee of the defence of the country has been wrong and has had grave consequences. Participation in military blocs, the presence of bases and the facilities which are granted to the military forces of the superpowers increase dependence on the policy and interests of the imperialist states and add to the threat to security and peace in this zone.

Socialist Albania has not accepted and will not accept any action which divides the peoples of the Balkans and makes them enemies, which violates or restricts their freedom. It wants the peoples of the Balkans to be free from the tutelage and dictate of foreigners, so that they can advance on the road of their national, democratic and social emancipation.

History has mixed up the peoples of the Balkans a great deal, perhaps more than anywhere else in the world. Ethnic minorities of each people are found within the state borders of other states.



The sensitivity towards how they are treated has been and still is great. Good or bad relations between the states of our peninsula have been largely dependent on this treatment. The big powers have played on these feelings in order to stir up quarrels and set the peoples against one another, in order to interfere in their internal affairs and to influence their external affairs.

The situation in the Balkans would be greatly improved if the minorities were regarded not as a source of feuds and divisions, but as a bridge for unity and friendship between the peoples of this peninsula. Recognition and acceptance of their identity, respect for their language, culture and national traditions, and their spiritual links with their own nation would create precisely that atmosphere which the peoples of the Balkans need, the atmosphere of friendship and sincere collaboration, the strengthening of their freedom and independence, peace and their common security.

Our Party and state think that the grave problems which the present international situation presents make essential a realistic view of Balkan problems, putting aside old prejudices and the mentalities which belong to bygone epochs, and the hangovers from former feuds and animosities. If the political will and sincere desire for collaboration exist, if the obligations which come from being neighbours and the very important common interests which result from this are properly appreciated,

ways will be found which lead to overcoming the present difficulties and tensions and to the creation of that spirit of mutual trust, the strengthening of understanding and the establishment of truly good neighbourly relations, which is so necessary.

Our socialist state has not merely declared that it is for the policy of good neighbourliness, but has also undertaken concrete steps to apply it in practice. The assurance which Albania has given to the neighbouring countries that no danger will ever come to them from its territory is clear evidence of this. We have made and will make efforts to develop fruitful collaboration in various fields, such as those of trade, communications, culture, technique, science, etc. We think that the expansion and extension of this co-operation to other fields, too, where there is mutual interest, serves to strengthen the friendship between peoples and to bring them closer together, helps to develop understanding between individuals and strengthen the peace and security of our zone.

Through bilateral efforts the traditional friendship of the Albanian people with the Greek people has been enriched with further positive developments. These two autochthonous peoples, the most ancient of the Balkans, have been brought together and made friends through sharing the same historic destiny. Their common struggles in defence of their freedom, independence, culture and identity against foreign invasions, the liberation war against the German and Italian fascists, have created strong

bonds of friendship which have stood the test of all times and situations. Here, too, lies the source of that respect which the Albanian people have always had for the Greek people, of our interest and sincere joy over each victory of our neighbours on the road of freedom, democracy and progress.

We note with satisfaction that the Greek people and their leaders, also, nurture the same feelings of friendship and respect for our people and their efforts to strengthen their freedom and for independent development.

The normalization of Albanian-Greek relations has been achieved through their joint contribution, and the efforts which are being made to overcome those difficulties which still remain have created conditions for these relations to become a good example and a lasting factor for peace, security and progress in the Balkans.

The development of normal relations between Albania and Italy we have considered as an important factor which serves not only good neighbourliness between the two countries, but also peace and stability in our region and more widely. We have proceeded from these positions in the development of trade, in cultural and technical-scientific exchanges, in those of communications, tourism and other fields, where there has been common interest. Our aim and desire has been and is that these relations should advance in the future, too.

As Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, the

Albanian people have never confounded the Italian people with fascism. It has always been our desire that our two peoples should be friends, and that more and more bonds should exist between Albania and Italy, while fully respecting the principles of sovereignty and equality. This responds to the interests of both countries. Therefore, any action which, in one way or the other, might arouse suspicion and distrust, a thing which would hinder and damage the normal development of relations, should be eliminated.

The friendly relations between Albania and Turkey have been steadily strengthened. Our differing political systems have not become obstacles to the harmonious development of relations. The Albanian people and Turkish people have great respect for each other and nurture pure feelings of kindly sympathy for each other. Our numerous compatriots who have gone to Turkey during all periods have found a friendly environment, help and support to work and live in conditions of equality, to develop their talents and to make their unhindered contribution to the development and progress of Turkey. The Albanian people value the moral support which the progressive Turks, headed by Mustafa Kemal, gave the newly created first Albanian state, just as we value the sympathy of the Turkish people for the progress and the development of our country today. The traditional bonds which exist between the two peoples, their ancient friendship and mutual respect,

constitute a reliable basis for the further development of the Albanian-Turkish relations and for supplementing them with a new content, and for raising the many-sided contacts and exchanges to a higher level.

We would like to have normal friendly relations with Yugoslavia, too. The attitude of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania towards Yugoslavia has been principled and consistent. It has striven to have normal relations of friendship and good neighbourliness with the Federative Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, because this would serve both the interests of the two peoples and the stability and security in the Balkans. If the present Albanian-Yugoslav relations are not as they ought to be, Albania is not to blame. The desire and will of only one side is not sufficient to build good neighbourliness. The Yugoslav policy towards Albania continues to remain in fossilized positions. Apparently, the old nationalist passions and ideologies in Belgrade prevent them from understanding that the historical realities which exist cannot be altered, that respect for the freedom, independence, sovereignty and national identity of each people, non-interference in their internal affairs and the ways of development constitute the only basis for truly peaceful coexistence and the only condition for good neighbourliness.

We have not interfered and do not interfere in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. We do not meddle in its political, economic, national, or any other prob-

lems which it might have. These are problems of Yugoslavia, and it is up to its peoples to solve them. Likewise, we have never presented any territorial claim, or any other claim of this type, towards Yugoslavia.

It is well known that there are fundamental ideological differences between Albania and Yugoslavia. We have criticized and opposed Yugoslav self-administration which is proclaimed and publicized as a universal theory and an ideal practice of socialism. The Yugoslavs do not like our social system and oppose it, indeed, with great heat. We say to them openly: we are for peaceful coexistence, but not for ideological coexistence. As communists, we are opposed to the bourgeois capitalist system. But this, we think, should not become an obstacle to normal state relations. And, in reality, we have normal relations with 104 different countries with which we conduct trade, cultural, artistic, sports, and other exchanges, irrespective that there are fundamental differences between us in the ideological field. Like Albania, Yugoslavia, too, has ideological differences, indeed, very sharp differences, with many other countries, but its state relations with them are normal.

Hence, the fundamental cause of the continuous tensions in the Albanian-Yugoslav relations does not lie in any anti-Yugoslav predisposition of Albania, or in the ideological differences which exist between our two countries. The stands and actions of Bel-

grade towards our country and the Albanians in Yugoslavia, both in the past and now, too, have been determined by the existence of an anti-Albanian constant in the Yugoslav policy, by refusal to recognize the Albanian nation and refusal to accept the existence of its independent state. The Yugoslav rulers have been guided by a sort of feudal mentality that they ought to impose their dictate and tutelage over Albania. They are still suffering from nostalgia for Koci Xoxe.

Those already stale appeals which are made from Belgrade to abandon Enver Hoxha, to deviate from the road of Enver Hoxha, are expressions of this policy. It is not difficult to understand this «preoccupation» of theirs. The road of Enver Hoxha is not the road which leads to Belgrade. It is the road of the freedom and full independence of our Homeland, of the untrammelled national sovereignty and the socialist development of the country, the road which put an end, once and for all, to the interference of foreigners in Albania, to their hopes and dreams to subjugate and rule the Albanian people.

It is demagoguery and a bad disguise to claim that you are allegedly fighting for good neighbourliness and peace in the Balkans, to launch slogans about «Balkan collaboration», etc., and meanwhile to try, as the Serbian academics do, to falsify history in order to prove that the Albanians are not autochthonous on this peninsula, but immigrants from some

unknown place, i.e., that they are not on their own lands, in their home! Who does this platform serve? What prospects does it prepare?

We adhere to what we have said continually and have demonstrated with concrete proofs that, if they begin to think differently in Yugoslavia about Albania and the Albanians, if they want to live in friendship and peace with them, they will find us partners ready to collaborate and advance in all those directions which serve the freedom and independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of our countries, good neighbourliness and friendship between the peoples.

In Yugoslavia more than 2 million Albanians live on the lands which have been theirs for thousands of years, just as other peoples and nations live there. Various historical circumstances have united them in one state which ought to be of all and equal for all. At the present time, because of the economic, national and social policies which have been pursued, a grave situation has been created in Kosova and in the other territories inhabited by Albanians. Kosova has been gradually deprived of its autonomy, education in the mother tongue has been restricted, and its original culture and historical traditions are under threat. The Albanians are being consistently stripped of their national and democratic rights which they won through their National Liberation War and which have been sanctioned in the Constitution and other fundamental

laws of the Yugoslav Federation. Thousands and thousands of young Albanian men and women have been arrested, tortured and imprisoned on absurd pretexts. The discrimination and denigration of the Albanians, which is assuming the forms of a real inquisition, has assumed unprecedented proportions.

As Albanians and as communists, we can never reconcile ourselves to this state of affairs. Neither, we believe, can realistic and progressive people in Yugoslavia, all those who have fought sincerely and shed their blood because they believed in the unity and fraternity of its peoples, reconcile themselves to this. The peoples of Europe, for whom peoples' national and democratic rights, freedom and equality have been the inspiring and creative ideal of their civilization, cannot reconcile themselves to it, either. Nor can the peoples of the world, for whom the struggle against national, racial, colonial, and other oppression represents that great motive force which carries human society forward, reconcile themselves to it.

We have denounced and continue to denounce the injustices which are being perpetrated against Albanians in Yugoslavia. The defence of and concern for minorities is an undeniable right. These things are envisaged in the international laws and practices and have even been recognized in the Charter of UNO.

The attempts which are being made to find the culprits for the existing situation in Kosova outside

Yugoslavia are expressions of the lack of realism to look things in the eye, of the lack of the political will to solve the problems with objectivity and cool heads. Likewise, the use of force and compulsion does not improve the situation.

We do not want the situation to get worse. In no instance and in no way have we sought or do we seek the destabilization of Yugoslavia. It is not in the interest of the peoples of the Balkans, hence, nor in our interest, that it should be turned into an arena of quarrels and divisions, and a situation created which would facilitate the interference of foreign powers.

We have said and we repeat, the internal factors, the economic and political crises, the mistakes of the past and those which are being made at present in the solution of national problems, etc., are what are endangering the stability of Yugoslavia. It has always been our desire that Kosova and the other regions inhabited by Albanians should serve as bridges of friendship, affinity and collaboration between our two countries, not by denying them their democratic and national rights, but by respecting and developing them according to the Yugoslav Constitution and in the same measure that they are recognized for other peoples of the Federation.

This is our starting-point when we claim that the solution of the problems which have been accumulating in Kosova, the interests of all the peoples of Yugoslavia, Serbs, Albanians, Macedonians, Mon-

tenegrins, Bosnians, Croats, Slovenes, and others, the stability and future of Yugoslavia, require a wise, realistic and objective stand. They require that the rights which the Constitution and other fundamental laws of Yugoslavia recognize for Kosova and other Albanian regions should be defended and respected, and that their lawful demands should be solved on the basis of these laws in the spirit of equality, understanding and justice.

With the overwhelming majority of Mediterranean states, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania maintains friendly relations, among which those with the Arab states occupy a special place. Between the Albanian people and the fraternal Arab peoples there are close historical links which stem from the past and their struggles for freedom and national independence. Our peoples have always stood beside one another.

Between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the People's Democratic Algerian Republic friendly relations and close collaboration have been established for years, and recently these have been intensified appreciably, and we are confident that they will advance even more to the benefit of our two friendly countries and peoples.

Likewise, the relations of Albania with Egypt, Libya, Syria and other Arab states are developing on a friendly course. The possibilities exist to carry these relations still further forward in various fields of reciprocal interest.

The Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania have given and will continue to give consistent support to the just struggle of the martyred Palestinian people under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to regain their homeland, their territory and their own national state. Without the solution of the Palestinian problem there can be no real solution of the problems in the Middle East. Likewise, our people will support the other fraternal Arab peoples to drive the Israeli aggressors from the occupied territories and to defend their freedom and national sovereignty.

The deterioration of the situation in the Middle East and the extension of conflicts in that zone has led to a further worsening of the situation in the Mediterranean, too. This great zone of ancient civilizations, which links and unites three continents and has scores of peoples, has been turned by the superpowers and their blocs into a great arena of imperialist rivalry, into a sea packed with warships which threaten the countries around its shores with their guns, missiles, and marines.

The American military operations against Libya demonstrated that the situation in the Mediterranean has become ominous and is fraught with great dangers for all the Mediterranean countries. The fact is that the American adventure against Libya implicated a number of European and other countries which border on the Mediterranean.

In the face of these new developments, opposi-

tion to the military presence, bases and fleets of the superpowers in the Mediterranean has become even more urgent and indispensable. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania long ago declared that removal of them constitutes the first decisive condition for turning the Mediterranean into a sea of peace, communication and civilization. Neither the United States of America nor the Soviet Union should be allowed to kindle the flames of war in the Mediterranean, to threaten the peaceful life, the independence and the national sovereignty of countries on the shores of this basin.

Since Albania is a European country, our Party and people are particularly interested in everything which occurs on our continent. The situation in Europe continues to be charged with new tensions. The American-Soviet confrontation on this continent has led to the strengthening of military blocs and to the inclusion of different states in the arms race. After the deployment of the American «Pershing 2» and «Cruise» missile systems and the Soviet «SS-20» missiles, the political, economic and military pressures of Washington and Moscow have been stepped up. The so-called «European security», the programs of «collective defence», the proposals about the revival of «détente» and inter-European «collaboration» have not reduced the tensions in Europe. Time has proved and is proving more and more each day that peace and security in Europe, the free and independent development, sovereignty and territorial

integrity of its countries are not guaranteed either by the political-military blocs which the superpowers keep on their feet, or by their military bases and atomic weapons, or by the conferences which they organize and manipulate allegedly in the name of «European security». The true road to European security is the liberation of the European peoples from the superpowers' political, military and economic blocs, from their supervision and tutelage, is the pursuit of an independent policy in all fields, the exercise of unrestricted national sovereignty on all questions.

The Albanian people understand the freedom-loving, democratic, and peace-loving aspirations of the European peoples and support their efforts to realize these aspirations. Guided by the principles of equality, non-interference in internal affairs, reciprocal respect, territorial integrity and national sovereignty, our country maintains normal relations with most of the European countries and is trying to develop them in favour of the common interest.

With France, Austria, Switzerland, with Sweden and the other Nordic countries, our relations are developing in positive directions. We believe that with joint efforts ways can be found to carry our concrete collaboration further.

With Rumania, Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic and other states of Eastern Europe, as well as with the People's Republic of China, our trade exchanges have marked a gradual rise. We are for

the normal development of state relations on the basis of reciprocal benefit.

Recently diplomatic relations were established between our country and Spain. It is our desire that this act will open the way to a fruitful and friendly development for our two Mediterranean countries, that their long-standing links will be revived and strengthened.

With the Federal Republic of Germany we have had talks about the normalization of relations between our two countries and we believe that with goodwill and joint efforts this objective can be achieved. With Britain, too, we are not opposed to normalization of relations, but this requires that it faces up realistically to the return of the Albanian gold illegally held in London since the end of the Second World War.

The relations between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam have been developed and strengthened on the basis of friendly links which have existed between our two peoples for a long time. Likewise, our relations with the PDR of Korea, Laos and Cambodia, and a number of other Asian countries are developing on a friendly course.

From the 8th Congress of the Party to this day the relations of Albania with the countries of the African continent have been increasingly extended and strengthened. With Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Bourkina Fasso, Mali, etc., there is every

possibility that the existing friendly collaboration will be further strengthened to the benefit of the struggle against imperialism, neo-colonialism and racism, and that further progress will be made towards the concretization of these relations to reciprocal advantage.

The Party of Labour and the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania have given and are giving resolute support to the just struggle of the African peoples for national liberation, for the defence and strengthening of their freedom and national independence, to their struggle against racial discrimination and apartheid, and the interference of imperialist and neo-colonialist powers.

With Cuba, Mexico, Argentina, Nicaragua, Brazil, and other states of the Latin American continent our relations have developed on a friendly course on the basis of mutual respect. Our socialist state is for the continuous development of relations with the countries of Latin America.

The Albanian people and the Party of Labour are in full solidarity with the struggle that the peoples of Latin America are waging for the development of democracy and the re-establishment of their civil liberties and rights, against the ruthless imperialist plunder and the enslaving system of debts, for the strengthening of their sovereignty and their independent development.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania will consistently pursue its foreign policy of principle



which has ensured all these victories. It bases its freedom and independence neither on alliances nor on foreign tutelage, but on its own potential, on its uninterrupted independent political and economic development, on the determination and patriotism of its own people, on the lofty moral and political unity of the people around the Party, and on a strong and impregnable people's defence.

Our foreign policy, based firmly on our people and having their unanimous support, will always remain unwaveringly in the service of the lofty interests of the socialist Homeland and will militate, as always, in the internationalist spirit to make its contribution to the triumph of the cause of peoples' liberation, peace and security in the world.

Comrade delegates,

The Central Committee presented to you the important objectives which we must achieve in the next five years and the numerous tasks we must accomplish. A great deal of work awaits us, the problems that we have to solve are not small ones and we have to overcome various difficulties. But this, dear comrades, does not frighten us. Our Party has always set itself great tasks, our people have always aimed at lofty objectives. The giant strides that our Homeland has taken in its socialist construction, the colossal transformations which have occurred,

have been made through struggle, have been brought about through a great deal of self-sacrificing work, with an unrivalled mobilization and a powerful revolutionary spirit. With struggle and work we shall forge ahead in the future, too, through struggle and work we shall strengthen our country and make our socialist life prosperous.

We do not expect anyone to help us to realize the plans we have drafted. We have done and will do everything with our own forces. Through our own toil and sweat we shall carry forward the industrialization of the country and the modernization of agriculture, raise the level of the culture of the masses and the well-being of the people. The guarantee for this is the inexhaustible strength of our people, their talents and knowledge, their courage and bravery to cope with every situation and overcome any difficulty. The guarantee is the wise leadership of the Party.

Therefore, comrades, let us work with multiplied energies, with mobilization and enthusiasm to accomplish and overfulfil the new five-year plan which embodies the rates and the steps of the growth, the strengthening and the progress of our socialist Homeland. Let us continue to combine our energies to make the steel unity of the people around the Party even stronger, to make the defence of the country even more powerful, to make the leading role of the Party even more effective, to master the Marxist-Leninist science and the immortal tea-

chings of Comrade Enver Hoxha and apply them resolutely in order to make even more solid these foundations which ensure our socialist victories and our reliable future.

Forward comrades, with the banner of the Party in the forefront, to new victories on the brilliant road of our revolution, freedom and socialism!

Long live the 9th Congress of the Party!

Long live our heroic and industrious people!

Long live our triumphant Party!

Glory to the name and work of Comrade Enver Hoxha!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

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