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**COMRADE ENVER HOXHA GREETING
THE DELEGATES TO THE 8th CONGRESS**

The delegates to the 8th Congress of the PLA attentively follow its proceedings.



This issue of the magazine «ALBANIA TODAY» is dedicated to the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, held from the 1st to 7th of November 1981 in Tirana. It includes:

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

- **The Closing Speech of the Congress by Comrade ENVER HOXHA**

- **In the framework of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Party of Labour of Albania and its 8th Congress**

A GREAT HISTORIC EVENT FOR THE PARTY OF LABOUR AND THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE

In an atmosphere of revolutionary enthusiasm and of the unbreakable unity of the Albanian people around the PLA, its Central Committee with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania held its proceedings from the 1st to the 7th of November 1981 in Tirana, the capital of the PSR of Albania. This Congress was a great historic event not only for the communists, but also for the entire Albanian people.

The people of Tirana, where Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head of a handful of communists founded the Communist Party of Albania (today the PLA) 40 years ago, greeted the delegates to the Congress with love and joy, and a feeling of legitimate pride.

A whole people, linked like flesh to bone with the PLA, were with their hearts and minds in the hall where the 8th Congress of the PLA held its proceedings.

Eight hundred fourteen delegates who represent 122,600 communists participate in the Congress. Among the delegates there are communists of the first hour who on the eve of the 8th Congress and on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the PLA were honoured with the lofty decoration of the «40th Anniversary of the PLA», communists who are in the lead in the work of enterprises and factories, of the major projects of the five-year plans, of agricultural cooperatives, institutions and military detachments all over the country. Among them there are builders of the «Steel of the Party» metallurgical combine, of the «Light of the Party» hydro-power station at Fierza, oil-workers, miners, geologists, cooperativists who have distinguished themselves in achieving high crop yields, armymen who have achieved high indices in political and military training, workers of science, art and culture, of state and economic organs, of mass organizations. Among them there are also young men and women, the newest members of the Party who come from the most difficult fronts of work and production, determined to remain always loyal to the PLA and the Albanian people, to carry the relay baton of the revolution further ahead.

Many delegations from the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties also take part in the proceedings of the Congress on invitation of the CC of the PLA.

Amid prolonged cheers the 8th Congress of the PLA was declared open by the Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC of the PLA, Comrade Ramiz Alia, who said:

DEAR COMRADES,

Today, the day of the opening of the 8th Congress of the Party, is a happy occasion for all, for all the Albanian communists and the entire Albanian people.

Every Congress of our Party of Labour has been a landmark in the life of our country. Every one of them has opened broad horizons to the all-round socialist development of the country.

The 8th Congress will take a special place in the history of our Party as the Congress of the rapid construction of socialism by relying completely on our forces and on the achievements of science and technology.

Its importance assumes special significance due to the fact that this Congress will lay down higher objectives for the development of the economy and culture, and the increase of the well-being of the people, at a time when the world of capital and revisionism continues to suffer the consequences of a grave economic, political and mo-

ral crisis, living in the insecurity of the present and the fear of the future.

Our Party comes to its 8th Congress proud of the accomplishment with honour of the tasks set by the 7th Congress. It comes to its Congress stronger than ever, with a steel unity of its ranks, united as one around the CC and our beloved leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha. It comes to its Congress resolved to march always ahead under the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

Our Congress is holding its proceedings on the eve of the great jubilee of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Party. This is a happy and very significant coincidence which stands out as a symbol of the continuity of our present struggle and its link with the entire revolutionary and militant road which was initiated on the 8th of November 1941, when Comrade Enver Hoxha and the Albanian communists founded our glorious Party. They are 40 years of struggle for the freedom and

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independence of the country, for the construction of socialism, 40 years of struggle against internal and external enemies, against imperialism and revisionism.

Our people have been looking forward with great interest to our Congress, to the development of its proceedings, in the confidence that with the decisions it will take it will open new perspectives to the progress of our socialist society. Allow me to express, on your behalf, the confidence that the delegates to this Congress will fully justify the great trust which the Party and the people have placed in them and will make all their contribution to ensure that the proceedings of our 8th Congress will be carried out with complete success.

Comrades,

With all the elected delegates being present, I declare the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania opened.

Comrades,

Attending the Congress as guests there are communists of 1941, as well as other comrades from the party organizations, from the organs of the people's state power, from the mass organizations, from cultural and scientific institutions, from the organs of the press, etc.

Many delegations of the sister Marxist-Leninist parties are attending our Congress on the invitation of the CC of the Party. We are honoured by their participation and appreciate it as an expression of internationalist solidarity and friendship. Our Congress is attended by:

1. — The delegation of the **Communist Party of Vietnam**, headed by Comrade **Song Hao**, Secretary of the Central Committee.

2. — The delegation of the **Communist Party of Brazil**, headed by Comrade **Joao Amazonas**, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party.

3. — The delegation of the **Communist Party of Germany**, headed by Comrade **Ernst Aust**, Chairman of the Party.

4. — The delegation of the **Communist Party of Spain (M-L)**, headed by Comrade **Raul Marco**, Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee.

5. — The delegation of the **Peruvian Communist Party (M-L)**, headed by Comrade **Antonio Fernandez**, General Secretary of the Party.

6. — The delegation of the **Communist Party of Colombia (M-L)**, headed by the First Secretary of the Central Committee.

7. — The delegation of the **Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed)**, headed by Comrade **Jose Alves**, Political Secretary of the Central Committee.

8. — The delegation of the **Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Ecuador**, headed by Comrade **Pasqual Prado**, Secretary of the Central Committee.

9. — The delegation of the **Communist Party of Canada (M-L)**, headed by Comrade **Hardial Bains**, Chairman of the Party.

10. — The delegation of the **Communist Party of Denmark (M-L)**, headed by Comrade **Klaus Ris Klausen**, First Secretary of the Central Committee.

11. — The delegation of the **Party of Labour of Iran**, headed by Comrade **Khalil**, General Secretary of the Party.

12. — The delegation of the **Communist Workers' Party of France**, headed by Comrade **Chantal**.

13. — The delegation of the **Communist Party of Japan (Left)**, headed by Comrade **Toshio Jasudo**, Member of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Party.

14. — The delegation of the **Communist Party of Togo**, headed by Comrade **Cocou Jules**, First Secretary of the Party.

15. — The delegation of the **Communist Party of New Zealand**, headed by Comrade **Jack Locke**, member of the CC of the Party.

16. — The delegation of the **Communist Labour Party of the Dominican Republic**, headed by Comrade **Rafael Chalub Mejia**, General Secretary of the Party.

17. — The delegation of the **Revolutionary Communist Party of India**, headed by Comrade **Lal Sing**, General Secretary of the Party.

18. — The delegation of the **Revolutionary Communist Party of Britain (M-L)**, headed by Comrade **David Williams**, General Secretary of the Party.

19. — The delegation of the **Communist Party of Mexico (M-L)**, headed by Comrade **Sergio Barlos**, Member of the Central Executive Commission.

20. — The delegation of the **Communist Party of Indonesia**.

21. — The delegation of the **Communist Party of Dahomey**.

22. — The delegation of the **Organization for the Founding of the Communist Party of Sweden**, headed by Comrade **Nils Anderson**, Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee.

23. — The delegation of the **«Proletarian Action» Marxist-Leninist Movement of Chile**, headed by Comrade **Miguel Asenjo**, Member of the Central Leadership and the Political Secretariat.

Comrades,

On your behalf and on the behalf of the entire Party, allow me to express our heartfelt thanks to the representatives of the sister parties for their participation in our Congress.

Comrades,

From the 7th Congress of the Party until today a number of comrades have departed from us. Absent at the 8th Congress of the Party is one of the most glorious leaders of our Party, one of its most talented leaders, our dear Comrade Hysni Kapo. We remember with respect this loyal son of the Party whose name and work will live for ever in the hearts and minds of everyone.

We honour and remember with respect all those communists, revolutionaries and patriotic fighters, both Albanian and foreign, who have laid down their lives for the cause of the revolution and socialism, for the national and social rights of the people.

Comrades, I invite you to observe a minute of silence to their brilliant memory.

(All those present stand up and observe a minute of silence.)

Glory to their memory!

Then on behalf of the representation Comrade Ramiz Alia proposed the Presidium of the Congress and the Secretariat. Sixty-six delegates unanimously elected by the delegates to the Congress, as well as the heads of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties took place on the presidium. The Congress held its proceedings according to the following agenda:

1. The Report on the Activity of the CC of the PLA.

2. The Report on the Activity of the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the PLA.

3. The Report on the Directives of the 8th Congress of the Party for the 7th Five-year Plan of the Development of the Economy and Culture of the PSR of Albania for the years 1981-1985.

4. Elections to the central organs of the Party.

The Report on the Activity of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania was submitted by Comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the CC of the PLA, the much-loved leader of the Party and the entire Albanian people.

The report makes a profound scientific Marxist-Leninist analysis of the whole revolutionary activity of the Party, of the victories achieved from

the 7th Congress to the present Congress. It represents another document of historic, theoretical and practical importance for the PLA and the Albanian people, sets a long-term program for the further rapid construction of socialism, relying completely on our own forces and the achievements of science and technology. At the same time, the report is another confirmation of the correctness of the line followed by our Party of Labour over the forty years of its existence for the freedom and independence of the country, for the defeat of all internal and external enemies, for the overcoming of the many difficulties and obstacles, for the strengthening of the people's state power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and for the successful construction of the complete socialist society.

The report makes a thorough-going, objective, realistic and comprehensive analysis, based on scientific argument, of the present international events, forecasts their development and draws conclusions of great importance for the liberation and revolutionary struggle of the peoples against the expansionist and hegemony-seeking policy of American imperialism, Soviet and Chinese social-imperialism and the entire world reaction. Besides, it expounds again the correct, principled and courageous foreign policy of the PSR of Albania. This active and consistent policy has met with the approval of the peoples of the world and raised the international authority of socialist Albania to new heights. The report indicates the road for ensuring true peace in the world, for achieving stability in Europe and especially in our Balkan peninsula.

Then were submitted the report on the activity of the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the PLA and the report on the directives of the 8th Congress of the Party for the 7th Five-year Plan of the development of the economy and culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania for the years 1981-1985.

The reports were listened to with special attention and interest and frequently interrupted by thunderous applause and enthusiastic cheers which often turned into ovations to the Party of Labour of Albania and its Central Committee, Comrade Enver Hoxha, Marxism-Leninism, the complete triumph of socialism and communism.

There were many contributions to the discussion of these reports. In their contributions, the delegates expressed their complete agreement with the theses of the report as well as their and all the working people's determination to forge always ahead on the road shown by the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, the difficult but glorious road of the construction of socialism and communism.

A delegation from the Communist Party of Iraq (Central Leadership) arrived in Tirana during the proceedings of the 8th Congress of the PLA and attended them.

The proceedings of the Congress were followed up with great attention not only by the delegates

to the Congress, but also by all the communists and working people throughout Albania, who in their messages, letters and telegrams to the Congress expressed their rejoicing, enthusiasm, good wishes and took pledges for ever higher results in their work, revealed the boundless loyalty of the communists and the working masses to the PLA, its Central Committee and the founder of the Party and leader of the Party and the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The Congress was also greeted by the heads of the delegations of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, who expressed their admiration of the major successes scored by the Albanian people under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, its Central Committee with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, of the determined struggle of principle the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha wage for the preservation of the purity of Marxism-Leninism against the revisionists of all hues. They made a high assessment of the proceedings of the Congress which they consider as a very valuable experience for the Marxist-Leninist parties.

The warm greetings of our friends raised the enthusiasm of the delegates even higher. This was evident in their enthusiastic cheers for Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, which indissolubly unites all the genuine revolutionaries in their struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism and reaction for social progress and the complete triumph of socialism and communism on a world scale.

On the occasion of the opening of the 8th Congress of the PLA and the 40th anniversary of its founding, the Congress, the Central Committee of the PLA, and the beloved leader of the Party and Albanian people personally have received a great number of messages, telegrams and letters from Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations, from associations of friendship with Albania, as well as from our compatriots and their patriotic societies in different countries of the world: Argentina, USA, Australia, Austria, as well as from people of Kosova.

These messages of greetings express fraternal feelings and the warmest wishes to the Albanian people, the Party of Labour of Albania and its leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha. Together with their wishes for the complete success of the 8th Congress of the PLA and their congratulations on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the PLA, the authors of these messages and letters express their solidarity with the PLA and the Albanian people and their high appreciation of the internationalist stands of the PLA and its contribution to the defence of the freedom and independence of the peoples and the cause of the world revolution. These messages also express the unshaken confidence of their authors that the Albanian people, under the correct leadership of the PLA with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, will always hold the red banner of Marxism-Leninism high and unbending and will

march ever forward towards new heights of socialism, courageously overcoming the imperialist-revisionist blockades and encirclement.

The delegates went through moving moments when a group of young pioneers, who had come from all over the country, entered the congress hall. The kids thanked the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha for the happy life they have ensured to them. They pledged that they will carry the instructions of the Party and Comrade Enver out to the letter and carry the revolution always forward in our country so that Albania remains always a banner of socialism and communism.

On November 6, the Congress unanimously endorsed the political and practical activity of the Central Committee of the PLA so far and the report of the CC of the PLA submitted by Comrade Enver Hoxha, the report «On the Directives for the 7th Five-year Plan of the Development of the Economy and Culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania for the Years 1981-1985,» the Report of the Central Control and Auditing Commission, the directives for the 7th Five-year Plan of the development of the economy and culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Finally, the Congress elected the leading organs of the Party: the Central Committee made up of 81 members and 40 alternate members, as well as the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the Party made up of 21 members. The vote counting commission informed that all the comrades on the voting list for members of the Central Committee of the Party, for alternate members of the Central Committee and for the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the Party had won 100 per cent of the votes.

At its first meeting held on November 7th, the new Central Committee of the Party elected the Political Bureau made up of 13 members and 5 alternate members and its Secretariat made up of 4 members. Comrade Enver Hoxha was re-elected First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA. The Central Control and Auditing Commission elected its leadership with Comrade Pilo Peristeri at the head.

The delegates broke into thunderous applause which turned into ovations for whole minutes when the beloved leader of the Party and the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, held the closing speech of the Congress.

Enthusiastic cheers broke out again when Comrade Enver Hoxha declared the 8th Congress of the PLA closed. Those present rose to their feet and sang the International. Thus, the proceedings of this great historic assembly of the Albanian communists, which was a brilliant manifestation of the unbreakable unity of the people around the Party and its Central Committee with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, of their unshakeable determination to carry out the majestic program endorsed by this Congress, were wound up.

ENVER HOXHA

REPORT ON THE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF LABOUR

DEAR COMRADES,

THE PARTY AND OUR ENTIRE PEOPLE COME TO THIS CONGRESS WITH GREAT SUCCESSES AND NOTABLE VICTORIES. SOCIALIST ALBANIA HAS RAISED ITS ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT TO A HIGHER STAGE, HAS TAKEN A NEW STEP FORWARD IN RAISING THE WELL-BEING OF THE MASSES AND STRENGTHENING THE DEFENCE OF THE HOMELAND.

THE FIVE YEARS WHICH HAVE ELAPSED SINCE THE 7th CONGRESS WAS HELD ARE A PERIOD OF HEROIC STRUGGLE BY OUR WORKING MASSES ON ALL FRONTS TO CARRY THE SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION EVEN FURTHER FORWARD, TO MAKE OUR NEW LIFE EVEN RICHER AND MORE PROSPEROUS. UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY AND WITH UNSHAKEABLE CONFIDENCE IN ITS CORRECT LINE, THE WORKING CLASS, THE COOPERATIVIST PEASANTRY, THE YOUTH AND THE INTELLIGENTSIA UNSPARINGLY Poured OUT ALL THEIR PHYSICAL AND MENTAL ENERGIES TO COPE WITH AND SUCCESSFULLY OVERCOME THE DIFFICULTIES OF SOCIALIST GROWTH, AS WELL AS THOSE WHICH THE FOREIGN ENEMIES CREATED FOR US.

OUR PARTY COMES BOLDLY AND PROUDLY TO THE PRESENT CONGRESS, AS IT DID TO THE FORMER CONGRESSES, BECAUSE IT HAS SUCCESSFULLY ACCOMPLISHED THE GREAT TASKS IT UNDERTOOK, BECAUSE IT HAS FULLY JUSTIFIED THE UNSHAKEABLE TRUST THE PEOPLE HAVE IN IT. OUR PEOPLE CAN BE SATISFIED WITH THEIR WORK AND EFFORTS. THIS HAS BEEN CREATIVE AND FRUITFUL WORK WHICH BROUGHT THEM NEW JOY AND PROGRESS, WHICH MADE THEM MORE OPTIMISTIC AND HAPPIER.

During the 6th Five-year Plan, too, the industrialization of the country went ahead non-stop. The utilization of the value of our mineral wealth and other raw materials of the country reached a higher level. With the building of new projects, such as the «Steel of the Party» metallurgical combine, the ferro-chrome plant, the pyrometallurgy plant, the deep oil-processing refinery, etc. a considerable portion of these materials are now transformed and processed locally, thus creating a sound and reliable base for the development of the whole economy. This is a success of the correct line of the Party, as is the ensuring of the powerful energy base, which was further expanded with the commissioning of all the turbines of the «Light of the Party» hydro-power station.

Our agriculture has made new big strides in all directions. The orientation of the Party that it must be transformed into a socialist agriculture of modern large-scale production, relying on an ever more powerful technical base and on the latest agro-technical knowledge, has been proved in practice to be a correct and fully realizable orientation. The increase of agricultural and livestock products from year to year, the ever better ful-

filment of the needs of the population and industry for these products, fully confirm this.

Marked progress has been made in the field of culture and education. The socialist content, national physiognomy and popular spirit of our culture have been further developed and deepened. Culture and all its values are being introduced ever more deeply among the masses. A merit of our new culture is that it has withstood the various pressures and influences of bourgeois and revisionist culture, while preserving its originality and socialist features. The people's education has advanced, fully implementing the instructions of the Party to ensure the broad education of the new generation and to give the country specialists at the level which our present and future development requires.

In this grave period of crises which have engulfed the capitalist and revisionist world, where there are many political upheavals, stagnation and decline in production, falling living standards and decadence of moral values, in our country there is complete economic and political stability, our society is sound, our people are confident about the present and the future. During the past five years,

THE ACTIVITY COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF ALBANIA

a large contingent of people educated and trained by the Party and our people's state power have begun work for the first time, adding to and further strengthening the great army of working people of town and countryside. This fact becomes even more significant if we bear in mind that in the world today, not only is work not ensured for the younger generation, but even people of the older generation are left unemployed.

Our people's state power has been further strengthened and democratized. The participation of the masses in governing the country has become more active and been raised to a higher level. Our socialist democracy has been extended further and better conditions have been created to ensure that the people enjoy the rights guaranteed them as fully as possible, and perform their duties to society better.

The internal situation has never been stronger than it is today. The compactness and unity of the people, the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry, the collaboration and solidarity among the different strata of our society, have been strengthened and consolidated further. The links of the Party with the people have been steeled and their mutual confidence has been tempered further.

A brilliant expression of this great unity is that determination, that drive and heroism with which our people fight to carry out the tasks set by the Party, to overcome the various difficulties that have emerged in our road, to successfully cope with the imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement.

Thanks to the correct line and special care of the Party, socialist Albania today has a reliable and impregnable defence. Our people and the army always maintain high vigilance and stand fearless and ready to defend the freedom and independence of the Homeland and the victories of socialism.

Our country is honoured and respected by the progressive and peace-loving peoples and states everywhere in

the world. Its international position is strong. Its friends and well-wishers are increasing and multiplying day by day. Its resolute and principled struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism has enhanced the sympathy and love of the Marxist-Leninists, revolutionaries, and honest, democratic-minded people for the Party of Labour and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Our Party and people successfully withstood the grave test to which they were put by the sudden and brutal breaking off of economic relations with our country on the part of China. The Chinese revisionists thought that through their hostile activity they would disorganize our economy and stop its development for a long time, that they would force Albania to make political and ideological concessions, to hold out its hand to foreigners and beg for support and aid from abroad. However, they, and international reaction after them, which hoped that Albania would be forced to change course, failed completely. With great political maturity and a lofty patriotic spirit, with a fresh mobilization of their energies and unshaken confidence in the triumph of their struggle, our people overcame the difficulties created.

Our Party comes to its 8th Congress tempered in new battles and richer in experience. It comes as a great army, educated with the proletarian Marxist-Leninist ideology, with strong internal unity and closely linked with the people, with increased organizing, mobilizing and leading capabilities, ever ready to undertake new and greater tasks and to carry them out with success, as always.

The work of this Congress coincides with a glorious anniversary, the anniversary of the founding of our heroic Party of Labour. Forty years ago our people entrusted their destiny, the life and the future of the Homeland to the Albanian communists. Our Party justified their trust with its glorious work, with the triumph of the revolution and the creation of the new socialist Albania. Inspired by the trust of the people and conscious of its

historic responsibility and the lofty mission it had undertaken, it guided the Albanian people with penetrating mind and sure touch from one battle to another, from one victory to another.

The magnificent achievements attained in the years of our free life under the leadership of the Party have shown that there is no force which can seriously disturb socialism in Albania and the freedom and independence of our Homeland, or dim the brilliance of our future. The consistent adherence to the Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance, the policy of the creation of a modern industry based on the country's raw materials and an agriculture which with its products guarantees the food supplies for the people, the training of sufficient technical and scientific cadres capable of working and leading in all sectors, have been proved indispensable to success in all directions. This wise and far-sighted policy of the Party has created that sound foundation on which our ceaseless economic and cultural development is based and which guarantees our socialist course.

The achievement of economic independence along with political independence, the ensuring of the country's de-

fence by the people themselves, the education and arming of the working masses with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, are the strong and unshakeable pillars on which our socialist fortress stands, the fundamental features which characterize a truly socialist state. Taken as a whole, these achievements constitute the historical experience of socialism in Albania. The experience of Albania shows that even a small country, with a backward material-technical base, can achieve a very rapid and all-round economic and cultural development, can ensure its independence and withstand the attacks of world capitalism and imperialism when it is led by a truly Marxist-Leninist party, when it is determined to fight to the end for its ideals, and has faith in its ability to achieve them.

In the future, too, the Party of Labour of Albania will march determined and unwavering on the brilliant road on which it has proceeded during the forty years of its existence. Linked like flesh to bone with its people, at the head of them and together with them, it will fight with devotion, sparing no sacrifice, in order to ensure new progress and victories for our people and our socialist Homeland.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY AND THE TASKS OF THE PARTY

Our socialist economy enters the new five-year period of its development with stability, dynamic and with great possibilities to develop and extend social production further and raise its efficiency in all directions.

The main objectives of the 6th Five-year Plan have been successfully attained in general. This has made the material-technical base of the country still stronger, has further increased the resources of raw materials and energy, has ensured better conditions for the harmonious, rapid and ceaseless development of the economy. During the past five-year plan the development of the productive forces continued at high rates, the intensification of the economy developed further and the technical-scientific revolution saw important new advances. Industry, agriculture and the other branches of the economy made

further progress. In 1980, as against 1975, social production rose about 25 per cent and industrial production more than 34 per cent, at a rate 2 to 3 times higher than the growth of the population.

Through the consistent application of the economic policy of the Party, perceptible improvements were made in the structure of industrial production, and the proportion of means of production in total production increased. Industry met the needs of the population better and its role in the all-round development of the economy and the defence of the country was increased.

Compared with the 5th Five-year Plan, agricultural production rose more than 21 per cent. Agriculture met the needs of the country for bread grain, food products

and the most essential raw materials, and increased the volume of export of agricultural products.

To fulfil the targets of the 6th Five-year Plan the Party and our state raised the level of utilization of the internal resources and possibilities of the country. The uninterrupted financing of the development of the economy and culture was ensured, about 300 important projects were built and commissioned and goods export rose over 51 per cent.

The growing economic power and the implementation of a number of measures of an economic and social character guaranteed the level of well-being already achieved and led to its further uplift. The real per capita income of the population increased both in town and countryside. The retail goods turnover went up about 20 per cent. The housing conditions of the population were further improved and measures were taken to expand social services. About 20 thousand people graduated from the higher schools and more than 113 thousand from the secondary schools, or 57 per cent more than in the 5th Five-year Plan.

These achievements in the general socio-economic development of the country assume special significance if we bear in mind what is occurring in the capitalist-revisionist world, where the economic crisis, with its grave consequences for the working masses and the whole life of the countries of this world, has caused stagnation and decline in production. These achievements mark a great victory for our Party and people.

On behalf of the Party and the people, from the tribune of this Congress I hail and congratulate the workers, the specialists and the cadres of construction and industry who, responding to the call of the Party, even in the difficult conditions which the Chinese revisionists created for us, proved up to the task and succeeded in building and commissioning the great projects of the 6th Five-year Plan, which further strengthened our socialist Homeland.

Despite the successes achieved, we are also aware that some targets of the five-year plan were not fulfilled in investments and construction, in agricultural production and some industrial products, and in the productivity of labour. The Party, the state organs and the working collectives have carefully analysed these failures and have drawn lessons in order to eliminate weaknesses and shortcomings in the work of organization and management of the economy.

The great achievements of historic significance already made in all fields, as well as the rich experience gained in the work and struggle of the Party and people for the construction and defence of socialism, constitute a powerful political, economic and social basis from which to advance confidently and boldly.

On the basis of the general line and the economic policy of the Party for the construction of socialism, the Central Committee, after all-sided work and study and a broad popular consultation, prepared the draft-directives for the 7th Five-year Plan of the development of the economy and culture for the period

1981-1985, which it presents to the Congress for examination and endorsement. The fundamental task of this five-year plan is: **«The general development of the economy, relying completely on our own forces, on the basis of deepening the socialist industrialization of the country, the strengthening and intensification of agriculture, raising the efficiency of the economy, the development of the technical-scientific revolution and perfecting the socialist relations of production, in order to guarantee and gradually raise the material well-being and the cultural level of the masses of the working people and to further strengthen the socialist order and the defence capacity of the Homeland.»**

The main directions and objectives of the development of the economy and culture during the 7th Five-year Plan, which is distinguished by a number of special characteristics, are synthesized in this task.

This is the first five-year plan which will be carried out relying entirely on our own forces and possibilities. Today Albania is the only country in the world which is developing and advancing on the socialist road without any kind of aid or credit from abroad. This is a great but glorious test for our people and Party, and the victory is certain, because, by proceeding on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, we prepared ourselves long ago for this decisive step.

The objectives and tasks of the new five-year plan are greater than in any other plan, but they are scientifically based and fully achievable. For the five years 1981-1985, the volume of social production and investments will be larger than the volume realized over the first four five-year plans taken together, while the volume of exports will be even larger. In 1985, as against 1980, social production is envisaged to increase 34-36 per cent, at an average annual rate of 6.4 per cent. The funds for investment and construction will be used to build about 750 important projects for the development of the economy and culture.

With the possibilities created by the increased production and national income, in 1985, as against 1980, the fund for consumption by the people is expected to increase by 21 per cent and the circulation of retail goods by 22-24 per cent. Important tasks are envisaged for the development of education and culture, the health service, housing and other public services.

In setting these targets and rates, account has been taken both of the possibilities the economy has and will provide and of the needs for the development of the economy and the employment of the new active forces, for the strengthening of the defence of the country and the increase of reserves, and for the development of the social and cultural sectors, as well as for ever better fulfilling the growing demands of the population. Many of the targets of this five-year plan, especially those which have to do with the utilization of reserves of oil and minerals, the allocation of investments, etc. have also been seen to in close connection with the development of the



Comrade ENVER HOXHA addressing the 8th Congress of the PLA.

economy in the future five-year plans, when we will be faced with even greater needs and demands.

During the 7th Five-year Plan some important structural improvements will be made in the field of production, the circulation of goods and consumption by the people. These improvements will involve energy resources, black metallurgy, the engineering industry, agriculture, transport, finances and mass consumer goods, etc. The improvements envisaged will lead to intensification of the economy, raise its efficiency and make it more capable of meeting the needs of the country and of coping better with the encirclement and blockade and the pressure of the economic crisis of the capitalist and revisionist world.

The development and strengthening of the material-technical base of the country, as always, will be closely linked with the improvement of various aspects of the economic relations in the city and, especially, in the countryside. Important measures have been and are being taken for the further development of the cooperativist system and the restriction of the personal plot, for the extension of specialization and cooperation, the strengthening of the organization and management of production, for a better linking of the remuneration for work with quantity and quality, savings and the fulfilment of targets of the plan. These measures will be carried still further with the aim of ceaselessly strengthening our socialist order.

Comrade Enver Hoxha spoke about the further strengthening of industry, as a decisive factor for the general advance of the country, about the further intensification of agricultural production and the perfecting of the socialist relations in the countryside, about the investments and construction work, as the important basis for the ceaseless strengthening of the economy, about the increase of exports and the sparing use of hard currency, about the guaranteeing and the gradual raising of the well-being of the people, and about the perfecting of the management of the economy and raising its efficiency.

Speaking about the ceaseless strengthening of the Party, about the further enhancement of the effectiveness of its work, Comrade Enver Hoxha concentrated on such important problems as the enhancement and further perfecting of the leading role of the Party, the increase of the effectiveness of the work of the Party and the sense of responsibility of the party organs and organizations, the improvement of the work of the Party with the cadres and the further strengthening of the political system of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The tasks of the Party for the communist education of the working people are comprised in the third chapter of the report of Comrade Enver Hoxha. In this chapter Comrade Enver Hoxha dwells on important problems such as the communist education of the working people — the basis of our successes, socialism needs people with broad culture and scientific knowledge.

IV

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE PSR OF ALBANIA

The Party of Labour of Albania has always followed the development of international situations and the events which occur in the world with attention. It has analysed them in an objective and realistic manner, based, as always, on the Marxist-Leninist principles, and has drawn the respective conclusions. In all this work the Party has proceeded from the fact that the processes going on in the world today exert their influence, to this or that extent, on our country, too. We follow and analyse the international situations with particular interest, so that

we are never taken by surprise, to ensure that we are always prepared to face up successfully to any danger which might come from abroad, and to build socialism with success. On the other hand, this also constitutes a condition for us to properly and effectively perform our internationalist duty in support of the peoples' struggle for freedom and national independence, democracy and social progress, and to contribute to the strengthening of international peace and security.

Viewed as a whole, the present international situation

is disturbed, complicated and very tense. Major political and social forces confront one another: on the one side, imperialism, capitalism and reaction, the bearers of oppression, exploitation and war, and on the other side, the peoples, the revolutionaries and the democrats, who are struggling for national and social liberation and the emancipation of mankind. This large-scale, profound and all-round confrontation, which is a reflection of stern class clashes and has included all the continents without exception, has further exacerbated all the contradictions and the grave crisis which has swept the capitalist world today. **Everything indicates that the present situation in the world could give rise to general and local wars, just as it may give rise to liberation wars and revolution.** The development of events will show whether imperialism will be able to lead the world to a new catastrophe or whether the peoples will prevent the war and save mankind.

In this situation, the peoples' war and the revolution are on the agenda, not only as aspirations and immediate tasks for liberation from capitalist oppression and the imperialist yoke, but also as historical necessities to defeat the warmongering plans of imperialism and avert a new general war.

Imperialism has been and still is the source of all aggressions and predatory wars, the source of all the disasters and suffering which have existed and exist in the world. The peoples have paid the price of the insatiable greed of the imperialists for conquests and exploitation and for world domination with their blood and their lives. The struggle going on today among the imperialist superpowers and the big capitalist powers for markets and spheres of influence is further testimony of this unalterable character of the nature and aims of imperialism.

American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are contesting with one another, are competing and manoeuvring to carry out aggressions and occupy other countries. In many regions of the world the struggle between the two imperialist superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, not excluding imperialist China and other capitalist powers, has assumed new, major proportions. Each of these powers is striving to achieve economic, political and military superiority over the other and to capture new strategic positions. Although the flames of world war are not blazing yet, the local fires which have broken out and the dangerous hotbeds which have already been created may turn into a great conflagration of imperialist world war. The Middle East, and Indochina once again, are very clear evidence of this. This rivalry, this superpower policy, further complicates the situations and leads to tension with dangerous consequences in all world relations.

Of course, while we observe that the rivalry between the superpowers and the sharpening of contradictions between them constitute the main source of present-day international conflicts and the danger of war, we cannot fail to notice also their efforts to reach compromises and agreements and even temporary alliances. The effort to

come to terms to the detriment of the peoples has always been the response of imperialists to the tendency towards inter-imperialist clashes and conflicts.

However, an atmosphere of mutual trust can never exist between imperialist states. Due to their aggressive nature, they are bound to act against one another openly and secretly. This is the dialectic of relations between imperialists.

Up till now the superpowers have tried to preserve a certain equilibrium between themselves, to ensure respect for their mutual spheres of influence, and to keep pace with each other in the arms race. They have made efforts to avoid a direct war between them, but now, as a result of the crisis and unequal development, this equilibrium is tending to fall apart.

They can no longer find unoccupied spaces in which to extend their expansion. Any further step brings them into collision with the other's interests and carries the danger of an unpredictable reaction. This gives rise to imbalance, to the dangers of armed confrontations which might lead mankind into a general imperialist war.

In the past, it became possible to conclude the treaty on the non-proliferation of atomic weapons, which ensured the United States of America and the Soviet Union the monopoly of these weapons, and even to sign the SALT agreement, which established the equilibrium of these superpowers in these weapons. Now the two sides have been caught up in the fevers of unrestrained armament, in which they have lost all sense and logic. The megalomania and arrogance of the superpowers, which think they can make the law and get away with it, is mingled with fear of each other and with the terror that the revolution strikes in them.

The interests of the superpowers and those of the peoples are not in accord and do not coincide at any time or in any instance. For imperialism to exist the peoples must be enslaved, for the peoples to be liberated imperialism must be destroyed.

That policy of reactionary classes which, to protect their own power and to deceive the masses, rely on one or the other imperialist state, presenting the one as good and the other as bad, the one as a supporter of the peoples and the other as their enemy, the one as the champion of peace and the other as a warmonger, is very dangerous and must be fought to the end. The superpowers, individually and jointly, are the most ferocious enemies of the freedom and independence of the peoples, the protectors and guarantors of reactionary regimes, supporters of national bondage to foreigners and instigators of feuds and conflicts between nations. Their policy contains the direct danger that mankind is hurled into a third world war.

Therefore now as in the past, the struggle of all revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces to expose and foil the predatory and enslaving plans of imperialist superpowers is an historic necessity, a condition and a duty for the defence of the freedom and sovereignty of the

peoples, for the triumph of the revolution, for averting the war and ensuring peace.

In one way or the other, in this or that form, all the peoples encounter the interference of and are threatened by the aggressive policy of American imperialism, which represents the greatest capitalist power of our time and the main defender of the bourgeois-imperialist system. From the end of the Second World War, when it emerged at the head of the imperialist powers and became the main pretender to world domination, to this day, American imperialism has caused the shedding of torrents of blood by the peoples it has attacked, either directly or by means of its obedient tools. In every counter-revolutionary process which has occurred in the world, in every fascist putsch and overthrow of democracy, in every attack on the revolution and socialism, the hand of American imperialism has always been present. This is the imperialism which has made its interference in the internal affairs of other countries, its despotism and dictate, a normal practice in international life, and which has transformed aggression and the threat of aggression into its basic policy and a permanent form of its activity.

American capital is the greatest and most insatiable plunderer of the assets and toil of the peoples that history has ever known. The American capitalist companies, which have extended their tentacles all over the globe, violate the sovereignty of the nations in the most barbarous way and make the law in many countries. Together with the export of capital, American imperialism has also exported its way of life, corruption and degeneration, the spirit of decadent cosmopolitanism and servile submission to foreigners.

American imperialism has covered the globe with military bases, which are the main outposts for its war and aggression. It pursues the policy of strengthening the existing blocs and setting up new military blocs, by means of which it ensures its own domination over its partners, threatens to put down the revolution and the people's struggles with fire and steel, and defends the system of capitalist oppression and violence by force.

At the present time American imperialism has begun to apply a harsher, more aggressive and more adventurous line in foreign policy. It is relying more and more on military force. Reagan's new policy is clear evidence of this.

Now American imperialism is demanding that the whole of world reaction and counter-revolutionary forces unite in a single crusade under the American aegis against the revolution, socialism, the freedom, independence, sovereignty of the peoples and against the democratic human rights. Considering nearly all the zones from which oil and all the main raw materials are extracted, all the sea routes and all the strategic points of the globe as «zones of American interests», and by officially declaring that it will intervene with arms to defend these «interests», American imperialism has come out openly with a concrete program for the extension of its political and military power all over the world. The creation of the «rapid deployment force», that great aggressive army ready to

intervene anywhere that Pentagon sends it to establish the domination of the United States with fire and steel, is an incontestable proof of this course.

This line is also expressed in the new «doctrine» of Washington, begun by Carter and further developed by Reagan, that allegedly peace in the world and the security of peoples can be achieved by means of the «increase of the American power and superiority». In reality, this «doctrine» incites general imperialist war and brings it closer. The unprecedented build-up of various weapons, from the conventional weapons to atomic bombs equivalent to hundreds of megatons, the incitement of the militarist spirit and the total mobilization to achieve military superiority over the Soviet rival at any cost, are creating the concept in American leading circles that war is not only inevitable, but also an imperative necessity.

All these things show that the world will be faced with an intensification of the aggressive policy of American imperialism, an increase in its interference in internal affairs of other countries and especially in the use of its military force.

In these conditions any concession or giving way to American imperialism, any illusion that its policy might change for the better, carries great dangers for the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the peoples.

Today the hegemonic and expansionist policy for the establishment of world domination, the adventurous course for the preparation and incitement of war also characterize Soviet social-imperialism, the global strategy of which and especially the ways in which it is applied have likewise become more aggressive.

Beginning with the occupation of Czechoslovakia, the policy of the Soviet Union has gradually assumed a pronounced militarist character which is expressed in the use of military force to realize its expansionist aims. Its military interventions followed one another. After Czechoslovakia came Angola, Yemen, Ethiopia, Eritrea, into which the Soviets intervened by third parties. Finally came Afghanistan. Afghanistan marked the commencement of the great march of Soviet social-imperialism towards the South, where the world's greatest resources of energy are found, together with the most important strategic junctions and the fields where the most acute imperialist rivalries collide with one another.

The policy of the Soviet Union has assumed the same aggressive, expansionist, war-mongering features as those of the United States of America. This is clearly apparent from the same objectives which they have chosen and the parallel courses on which they are proceeding. The Soviet Union is seeking military bases in foreign countries and creating political-military alliances with other countries to have them as outposts for the extension of its domination over the peoples and in its contest with American imperialism. Likewise, it is not lagging behind in the armaments race. The Soviets have now a huge military arsenal which they are continuously building up and perfecting in the preparations which they are making for the outbreak of the war. The militarized Soviet eco-

nomy has been placed in the service of realizing the plans of this new imperialist superpower for conquests.

As a result of all these things, the Soviet Union has been unmasked before the peoples as a ferocious imperialist power which is openly threatening and endangering their freedom and independence.

Nevertheless, among certain people and political forces in various countries, illusions about the Soviet Union still exist and there is a mistaken concept about the order which exists there and a naive trust in its policy. This comes about not only from the fact that the Soviet Union gambles heavily on its socialist past and that it peddles its policy of rivalry with the United States of America as an anti-imperialist policy, but also for many other reasons. The main one among them is that the Soviet expansion is generally carried out through its penetration into the anti-imperialist, liberation movements, transforming them into its instruments and exploiting them to its own advantage. The facts have shown that not only those who have trusted the «internationalist aid» of the Soviet Union, but also those who have believed that they can rely on Soviet «aid» and alliance with it in order to oppose or gain liberation from American imperialism and other imperialisms, have become victims of its expansion.

It is particularly important to unmask the pacifist demagoguery of the Soviet Union, the Khrushchevite slogans of «peaceful coexistence» and the misleading revisionist propaganda which tries to convince the peoples that averting war and ensuring peace, indeed even national independence and social transformations, depend on the so-called détente between the two superpowers. The peoples do not want mounting tension, the development of acute conflicts, or the use of force in the settlement of international problems. But the so-called détente, which the Soviet revisionists advocate, has nothing at all to do with guaranteeing international peace and security which are threatened precisely by the two imperialist superpowers.

The détente trumpeted by the Soviet revisionists and the others is nothing but the old imperialist theory of balance and harmony among the great powers. The theories of «détente», «balance», or «bipolarism» which, despite some nuance in form, are identical in content, are intended to guarantee the mutual spheres of influence, to raise the dictate of superpowers in world affairs, the complete and unconditional submission of other countries to the two supergreat and abandonment of their national interests and sovereignty, to international law.

The imperialist-revisionist policy of war, oppression and exploitation has run into the great resistance of the proletariat and the peoples of the world. The peoples understand the intrigues, manoeuvres, strategy and tactics of the savage superpowers — the United States of America and the revisionist Soviet Union, and are not sitting idle.

The world today is witness to the fact that the struggle of the working class and the peoples, oppressed and exploited by world capital and imperialism, has assumed wide proportions and a variety of forms never seen before.

The working class and all the exploited, in one way or another, with greater or lesser intensity, are fighting against all the capitalist ruling forces, whether local or international, which exploit them, impoverish them and oppress them economically and morally.

In all the capitalist countries, the resistance of the working class to the attacks of the bourgeoisie and its struggle to defend its standard of living and democratic rights have extended. Not only have the strikes, demonstrations and manifestations become more frequent, but the participation of workers in them has also reached unprecedented figures. Millions of workers are on strike in the USA, in Britain, in the FRG, in Italy, in France, Spain and elsewhere. These strikes and demonstrations are assuming a more and more militant character. Proof of this is the fact that in many countries of Europe and America the apparatuses of bourgeois violence have been obliged to use their weapons and fight the workers, as well as to take other restrictive and repressive measures. Cases in which the workers do not obey to bourgeois trade-unions and come out in the streets against the desire and orders of the trade-union bosses have increased.

In the present period the workers' struggle has been directed especially against the consequences of the economic crisis, the burden of which the bourgeoisie wants to throw on to the working class. The working masses have risen against this new injustice and robbery and are demanding that this burden should not fall on them, but on their employers. They are fighting to retain their jobs and real wage levels, fighting against inflation and the increasing cost of living, fighting for increased funds for health, education, social assistance, etc.

The social and political demagoguery of capitalism and the opportunism and sabotage activity of social-democracy, revisionism and the trade-unions under their control are also being exposed and unmasked in this daily confrontation between the working class and the bourgeoisie. This anger and revolt, which is hitting the capitalist and revisionist bourgeoisie in different forms and with different intensities, is also a direct and powerful blow against the sinister forces of war which want the destruction of mankind.

In the capitalist and revisionist countries today, the working class is bound by many chains with which the bourgeois state and the various parties have shackled it. But this state of affairs will not last for ever. The increasingly acute contradictions between labour and capital and the capitalist and imperialist oppression in general are accelerating the rise in the political and class consciousness of the proletariat and making it conscious that it can escape oppression and exploitation only through class struggle, only through revolution.

Besides the upsurge and extension of the struggle of the working class, a general awakening of the oppressed peoples, a strengthening of national feelings, and a greater desire to be free, independent and sovereign can be seen today. The people's liberation movements have grown in extent and enhanced their quality, their anti-imperialist,

anti-social-imperialist and anti-neo-colonialist character has been strengthened.

The struggle of the Iranian people, who rose in revolution and swept away the Shah and his mediaeval regime and threw out his American patrons, was a heavy blow to imperialism. In Iran, the United States of America suffered a major political defeat which it is unable to reverse through diplomatic methods and economic blackmail, or even through military intervention, as it attempted and failed to do at Tabaz. In Iran, American imperialism lost one of its most important sources of oil, lost colossal profits and lost its credibility as an invincible protector of its Arab «allies» of the Persian Gulf. The Egyptian-Israeli compromise at Camp David was shaken, and open and surreptitious disagreements with its NATO partners emerged.

The struggle of the Arab peoples against the Israeli occupiers and their American patrons has assumed greater proportions and intensity. In the centre of this struggle stand the heroic Palestinian people who, in extraordinarily difficult conditions, have been waging a titanic battle for tens of years to regain the homeland denied them, to secure their rights and live free and independent on their mother soil. The people of Afghanistan are fighting valiantly and boldly against the Soviet social-imperialists and the local lackeys to regain their national independence.

The peoples of Latin America are shedding their blood in the fight against the fascist dictatorships, which are kept in power with the direct aid of American imperialism. The liberation and revolutionary movement there is growing and deepening and in many cases has succeeded in conquering the enemies and emerging triumphant. The most recent evidence of this is the triumph of the revolution in Nicaragua, which overthrew one of the most reactionary regimes — that of Somoza, the outbreak of the revolution in Salvador, etc. In the «backyard» of the United States great tempests are blowing up, tempests which cannot be stopped, either with weapons or with dollars.

The African continent is not passive, either. Thanks to a long and persistent struggle, the overwhelming majority of the African countries won their state independence one after the other. Through armed struggle the Black population of Zimbabwe succeeded in winning its rights, which a reactionary minority of old colonialists denied it. However, Namibia and the people of South Africa, who continue to live in segregation and without any rights, are not yet liberated. The peoples of Africa have not reconciled and cannot reconcile themselves to racism. Its existence insults and angers all the African peoples.

The people's national liberation wars, the blood shed by the peoples who are fighting for freedom and independence, reflect the hatred for and anger against capitalist exploitation and the imperialist yoke. They confirm Lenin's theses about imperialism as capitalism in decay, as the eve of proletarian revolutions. They confirm that imperialism is heading for the abyss, that it is no longer capable of stopping the revolutionary drive of the peoples who dare to rise against it and are not intimidated by the

imperialist pressures, threats and even armed interventions.

The international situation and the danger of war are becoming even more acute because of the grave economic, political and ideological crisis which has swept the capitalist and revisionist world today. The present economic crisis is the clearest and the most concrete expression of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. Unlike the crisis of the 30's, which included the United States of America and the big developed countries especially, the present crisis has engulfed all the capitalist countries, developed or undeveloped, without exception. This greater extent and depth of the crisis results from certain new factors in the development of the capitalist system after the Second World War, such as the further increase in the concentration and internationalization of capital, the establishment of the almost complete domination of the dollar in the world financial system, the extension of the activity of multi-national companies and their ever increasing weight in world production and the growth beyond all bounds of non-productive expenditure, especially on armaments.

The class and liberation struggles, the general weakening of the positions of imperialism, which came about as a result of the destruction of the colonial system and the emergence of scores of new states, which, to this or that extent, are fighting to achieve complete political and economic independence, have exerted an influence, indeed a great decisive influence, on the birth and development of the present crisis.

Like all the other crises, the present crisis is one of over-production. It is the offspring and an inevitable phenomenon of the capitalist system. Unlike the others, this crisis is continuing for a long time and there is no sign of emerging from it.

The capitalist economy remains in stagnation. In some countries production is declining further or showing only some unimportant increase. Because of the restriction of markets, exports are declining on a world scale. The productive capacities of the big industrialized countries are being utilized less and less. Unemployment in those countries has reached 25 million people. Inflation is rising continuously.

Like any other crisis, but more so in this case, the present crisis has proved that, irrespective of the external forms it may assume during its development, the bourgeois system cannot ensure an harmonious growth of the economy, cannot ensure work and food for all the working people, cannot avoid economic catastrophes, and the destruction of productive forces and the national wealth created with the sweat and blood of the working people.

The present crisis is the crisis and failure of state monopoly capitalism. The mechanism of the state monopoly regulation of the economy has not only proved to be powerless against the crises, but has been transformed into another factor increasing the economic difficulties. Thus, it has been proved that the intervention of the monopoly state, the capitalist programming, are unable to eliminate

competition, to ensure full employment of the population and to eliminate the obstacles to extended social reproduction.

With the present crisis, the model of the capitalist «consumer» society has received a crushing blow. The economic theories of present-day capitalism, spread and applied in all the big capitalist countries, and which inspired a number of revisionist countries in their economic reforms, have gone bankrupt along with it.

Moreover, the present crisis has clearly shown the decay of the capitalist system, not only in its classical form, but also in the form of capitalism which prevails in the Soviet Union — state monopoly capitalism and its superstructures. This capitalist form of the domination and exploitation of the working people could not avoid the disturbances in the economy, the disorganization of the productive forces, the decline in production, the fall in the standard of living of the working masses, and the spread of the ills which bourgeois society creates.

If we were to make a general characterization of present-day capitalist and revisionist world economy we would say that it is in a state of stagnation, which is more and more degrading the internal social relations and the relations between states. What stands out most obviously is the intensification of a general attack on the standard of living and the rights of the working people. In almost all countries, expenditure on health, education, aid for children, pensions, etc., is being cut drastically.

Along with the worsening economic situation of the working people, in most of the capitalist countries there are mounting demands for «strong» government, with the purpose of imposing anti-worker measures on the population and keeping in check the mounting class struggle. In some countries military putsches are carried out, there is terrorism and anarchy, organized by the bourgeois capitalist governments in power, there is illegal trafficking on a colossal scale, robbery organized on a national and international scale, and a hideous, unlimited development of physical, moral and political corruption. Fascism is knocking at the gates of many countries.

In all directions and in all aspects the present crisis proves that Marx's analysis of capital and Lenin's conclusions about imperialism remain not only correct but also the fundamental scientific basis for understanding the present social processes going on in the capitalist world and the tendencies of their development.

The economic crisis and the aggressive course of the superpowers have made all the contradictions between the imperialist powers more acute and struck heavy blows at their blocs and alliances. The economic, political and military relations within the various imperialist and revisionist groupings have been shaken. The members of Western and Eastern groupings are trying to exploit various splits and to find excuses for not abiding by the commitments, treaties and agreements which exist among them. New conflicts and rivalries have been added to the old ones. This is more obvious especially in the Western bloc.

The American policy of the big stick against the peoples is accompanied with a tightening of the screws on its partners and clients. From Europe, Japan and China, American imperialism demands not only collaboration in all fields, but also complete submission. It is trying to dictate to its NATO allies that they increase their military budgets and accept the stationing of the new American «Pershing» and «Cruise» missiles on their territories, that they do not emerge with a policy of their own and do not flirt with the Soviet Union or the Arabs. However, the situation in the world today and the condition of the United States of America itself are no longer what they were in the time of Truman and the Marshall Plan.

Today, the political and economic power of the United States is declining in comparison with that of Western Europe. The competition from the Common Market and Japan has become very powerful and threatening. Whereas in 1950 the industrial production of the United States of America was two-thirds of world industrial production, today it is one-third of it. Whereas the USA at that time possessed 50 per cent of the world monetary reserves, today it has only 7 per cent of them. The leadership of American imperialism has been greatly weakened and is accepted reluctantly.

The European members of NATO have now organized and strengthened their economic potential within their countries and abroad, have strengthened their own military arsenal, and have created their reactionary organism — the European Common Market. Its tendency is to oppose the American dictate as much as it can, to restrict the American expansion into the markets of its member countries, to compete on the American market and to extend its own markets. Each of the big states of Western Europe has begun to recreate and strengthen its own spheres of influence on an extensive scale.

The strategy of the European monopolies is aimed at the transformation of Europe, first into an economic superpower, then into a political superpower, and later still into a military superpower. However, these are fields in which it will come into collision with the superpowers and other imperialist powers.

On the chess-board of the present situation, a very favourable piece for the United States of America is China, and Japan along with it. True, China is a weaker partner than «United Europe», but it has greater need for America and is very hostile to the Soviet Union. For this reason American imperialism has decided to provide China with many armaments, including offensive weapons. At the same time, it is putting pressure on Japan to increase its military budget, its army and armaments.

Already a new imperialist alliance between the United States, Japan and China has taken form in the Far East, and this constitutes another danger that local wars, or a general war, will break out. Apart from American imperialism, which has considered the vast expanses of the Pacific Ocean as its indisputable spheres of influence, now Japan, too, an economic superpower with new imperial ambitions, has emerged with hegemonic pretensions. China,

which dreams of becoming the sole ruler of Asia and Oceania, also, has similar ambitions in this zone. The United States of America, for its part, is trying to direct the expansionist tendencies of China and Japan towards the Soviet Union.

In order to cope with and counter the American-Sino-Japanese front in Asia, the Soviet Union is trying to get footholds in Africa, the Middle East, Pakistan, Indochina, and if possible, also in India, while in Europe it seeks to maintain a «détente» with the Common Market and pursues a policy to split the fronts. In other words, it is making every effort to weaken the encirclement around it, to split the military bloc which is being prepared and developed on its two flanks — in Europe and Asia, and to secure dominant strategic positions for an eventual war. However, Europe, for which the Soviet Union constitutes a great threat, does not want to be endangered, either. It is ready to set the others, especially the Sino-Japanese front, fighting the Soviet Union so that this front draws the chestnuts out of the fire for it.

Moreover, it also has its internal problems which frequently bind it hand and foot. «United Europe» is not internally united. The Parliament of Strassburg cannot settle its many problems and the contradictions which are eroding the Common Market. The feuds, rivalries and opposing interests of each state are increasing to such an extent that they are putting the very existence of this Market in jeopardy.

The contradictions and disagreements have become very acute, also, within the so-called socialist community. The Soviet Union itself is in such difficulties that it is no longer able to fulfil the demands of the allied countries for a normal development of their economies. Having long ago turned into appendages of the Soviet economy, these countries are obliged to submit to its ups and downs and caprices.

There are frictions and quarrels also because of the tendency of the satellite countries to move closer to and collaborate with the West. The Soviet Union tries to hinder this rapprochement and to keep the countries of Eastern Europe bound to it with chains. To this end, it is trying in every way to strengthen the Warsaw Treaty, Comecon and the other organisms of economic and political integration, to reinforce its military garrisons in these countries, etc. When this cannot be achieved through agreement, it acts with tanks, as it did in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

The best evidence of the grave situation in the «socialist community» and of the deep contradictions eroding it, are the recent events in Poland, which have led that country to the brink of economic catastrophe and to major social and political upheavals. These are consequences of the line pursued by the Polish revisionist party for the re-establishment of capitalism, of the all-round subjugation of the country to the Soviet Union, of opening the doors to Western capital and the consequence of the large debts of Poland, which amount to the colossal sum of 27 billion dollars. Herein lies the source of the revolts of the working class and working people of Poland.

The revolt of the workers of Poland has confirmed two capital questions of principled importance. It has shown that the working class has the strength to destroy a reactionary state power, either revisionist or capitalist.

On the other hand, it has demonstrated that the subjective factor, the political force which leads the working class, plays a decisive role. In the case of «Solidarity», the working class is manipulated and directed by the Catholic Church and Polish and world reaction, which are fighting to establish another revisionist-capitalist regime on a course full of unexpected dangers and tragic consequences. Otherwise, had a truly Marxist-Leninist communist party — the subjective factor, been in the leadership, the Polish working class would have carried out the proletarian revolution and established the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The way for the working class and people of Poland and of all the other revisionist countries to escape capitalist exploitation and foreign oppression is not through reconciliation with the revisionist regime in power and with the Soviet social-imperialist slavery, or through uniting with Western capital and reaction. The only way to ensure the development of the economy, the freedom and independence of the country and the re-establishment of socialism is through the open and resolute struggle of the masses of the people under the leadership of the working class, with a genuine Marxist-Leninist party at its head.

The sharpening of the contradictions among the imperialist powers, as well as with their partners within their military and economic blocs, is increasingly leading to new tensions and conflicts, to wars of a local and general character for the redivision of markets, sources of raw materials and spheres of influence. This is a law of the development of capitalism.

However, the inter-imperialist contradictions and conflicts also cause the weakening of the imperialist system as a whole and of its individual links. It is up to the conscious revolutionary forces to know how to utilize the situations created by these contradictions in order to mobilize the masses, to make them conscious and engage them in struggle and revolution.

The neo-colonialist system created by imperialism after the Second World War is also in a grave crisis at present. In order to retain their political and economic domination, to ensure the maximum exploitation of the wealth of former colonial countries, to restrain the growth of the liberation movements of the freedom-loving peoples, the imperialists have tried to find and employ new forms of oppression and enslavement, ever more deceptive and sophisticated.

By means of the system of credits, loans, aid, and various funds, they have turned these countries into permanent debtors at the mercy of creditors who, in return for the money provided, demand not only their title-deeds, but also their souls. Accompanying the credits and aid, the multi-national companies have established themselves,

becoming not only monopoly holders of concessions for the exploitation of the mines, oil, electric power, wholesale trade, communications, etc., but also political centres with which the different groups in power in each country are linked. The big banks with alluring names like the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the European Development Fund, etc., have been transformed into the headquarters of international neo-colonialism for the domination and exploitation of the new countries. They are the financial and political centres which, together with the multi-nationals, organize and inspire coups d'état, topple governments and establish others, and even cause local wars when the interests of big capital require this. These conflicts have been turned into big business for the sale of arms and have been used for conducting tests on live testing grounds.

But besides this savage and all-round exploitation, certain changes of the economic and social structures have occurred in the former colonial countries, which are the result of investments, the introduction of new technique and technology, the extension of communications, etc., which the imperialists have been obliged to carry out so as to achieve greater and more rapid plunder of the wealth above and below the ground. This has also brought about the creation of new local social strata such as the national bourgeoisie, workers of various categories, and a new intelligentsia necessary to work in the economic, political and administrative sectors.

This development has opened the eyes of many people of these strata, especially among the new intelligentsia, who no longer reconcile themselves to the forms and methods which are used for the oppression and exploitation of their peoples.

National revolutionary consciousness is mounting everywhere. This is clearly apparent in the extension of the movement of various countries and forces which are struggling for the establishment of national sovereignty over their own national assets, re-evaluation of raw materials and sources of energy, for equal exchanges with mutual benefit in international trade, for alteration of the international monetary system established by imperialism, for the restriction and elimination of the monopoly economic power of the multi-national companies, etc. This movement has deepened the existing economic crisis, and especially the energy and raw materials crisis which has gripped the capitalist revisionist world.

The big capitalist powers have built their industrial empires with the oil they have robbed from other peoples and the raw materials they have bought cheaply. The parasitic and uncontrolled consumption of world resources of energy and raw materials has created the present critical situation in this basic sector of the development of the economy of every country.

Energy and raw materials exist, but they are no longer found at cheap prices. The big imperialist and capitalist powers are now unable to completely dominate the sources of raw materials and dictate their prices. The producing countries, which have woken up and are defending their

interests, which are seeking development, want to make investments in industry, agriculture and other sectors of their national economy, are resisting the pressure for low prices for oil and raw materials.

The resistance and struggle of peoples dominated by neo-colonialism in defence of their rights, assets and national sovereignty is an irresistible process which will increase and develop further in the future.

Imperialism and its system of neo-colonialist oppression and exploitation is profoundly aware of this threat. Therefore, it is making every effort, using demagoguery and deception here and force there, to suppress this movement, to confuse its revolutionary and progressive vanguard, to make it deviate and lead it into a blind alley. On the other hand, in order to deceive the peoples of the oppressed and dependent countries, and to keep the rotten neo-colonialist system in existence at all costs, its defenders try to create the impression among world opinion generally that these countries are completely free and sovereign, that they have the right to their «independent» say in the various international organizations and even to disagree with and oppose the superpowers.

Imperialism stimulated and encouraged the emergence of various movements and theories which created this impression. One of them is the «non-aligned» movement. The basis of it was advocacy of non-participation in political and military blocs and defence of the interests of the economically undeveloped countries against the superpower policy. Now, however, when the rivalry between the superpowers has increased, when the crisis has narrowed the fields for manoeuvre, it is quite apparent that a large number of «non-aligned» countries are uniting with one or the other superpower. Along with the splitting of the movement and the many conflicts between different so-called non-aligned countries, the demagogic theories so painstakingly concocted by the different leaders, especially the Yugoslavs, who have wanted to become the leaders and ideologists of this group, collapsed, too. Now it has ended up as an ill-defined, fluid and fickle movement which flares up and dies down according to the situations which are created and the interests of the superpowers.

At one time, the Chinese theory of «three worlds» also emerged as a theory in defence of neo-colonialism and especially of the American domination of the world. But it melted away like salt crystals in water. It was played as a trump card, but was very quickly over-trumped. Our Party exposed and attacked this reactionary, counter-revolutionary theory.

In recent years there has been a great deal of propaganda about what is called the «new international economic order» which is supposed to solve the great tangle of problems that are worrying the economically undeveloped countries today, such as those of industrialization, food, the transformation of the structures of production, etc. Around this «new order» various theories have been created, complete schemes and projects have been presented and concrete actions have been undertaken, such

as the so-called North-South dialogue, the Conference of the 77, the special meetings of the General Assembly of the United Nations, etc.

However, years have gone by and nothing has been achieved, because the imperialists and the neo-colonialists do not renounce their privileges and dominant positions. The fruitless resolutions of various international meetings and the decisions to hold new meetings are all that remains from them.

Of course, it is essential that the international economic relations are changed. This is the desire and demand of the peoples who are fighting to break free from the chains of neo-colonialism. But in what way can these be achieved? The revisionists and other opportunists pretend that this can be achieved by means of propaganda, by means of the education of capitalists, and by means of talks. The opinion that a new international order can be achieved through moralizing sermons is not only beyond any bounds of reality and possibility, but also an ill-intentioned fraud. The correct course is the struggle of the peoples to defend their rights to the end, resolute opposition to the neo-colonialist plunder, the taking over and the sovereign administration of the national assets. Only thus can the undeveloped countries impose their just demands for equal exchanges in the economic field, collaboration with mutual benefit, etc., on the big imperialist and capitalist powers.

The big imperialist powers, together with those not quite so big, think and theorize that it is they who have the fate of nations and mankind in their hands and act accordingly, and on this basis they seek to subjugate the peoples. These aggressive powers underestimate the strength of the peoples. Their vision is obscured and they do not want to see that every advance of the peoples towards opposing the twofold oppression and enslavement, external and internal, makes a breach which will be widened in the wall of the capitalist and imperialist prison.

American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism make great efforts to appear as two invincible superpowers. True, they have great military and economic potential, influence and interfere in the internal affairs of other peoples and states, but to have weapons, to have dollars or rubles does not mean that you have invincible power. The imperialist superpowers must be appraised as they really are, neither underestimating nor overestimating them. They are powerful and ferocious, but they are also in decay, they are worm-eaten and degenerate, and their foundations are shaky.

World capital is making great efforts to escape the crisis, to protect itself from the peoples' liberation struggles and from the revolution, this terrible iron grip which has it by the throat and is strangling it. But escape is impossible, because it is the capitalist system itself which creates political, economic and ideological crises and which fuels them and intensifies them to the highest degree. In order to emerge from the chaos which capitalism creates, to escape once and for all capitalist oppression and exploitation, the neo-colonialist yoke of foreigners and the do-

mination of reaction, there is no other course apart from the revolution, the overthrow of imperialism and capitalism.

The struggle of the peoples, the struggle of the proletariat against their enemies will surge ahead. It is an objective historical process which no force can stop.

The complex and difficult situations which have been and are being created in the world face our Party and our socialist state with the duty of maintaining the revolutionary vigilance always at a high level, and taking measures for the all-round strengthening of the economy and defence, and the unity and political consciousness of the people. These situations, likewise, demand that our foreign policy should be active, should ever better serve the defence of the interests of the Homeland and the victories of socialism, the advance of the cause of the revolution, the liberation of the peoples and peace in the world, and the support of all those processes which assist the emancipation and progress of present-day human society.

Our foreign policy, as the policy of a socialist state, of a truly free society without exploiting classes, is a revolutionary and internationalist policy. It is free from the slightest sign of narrow bourgeois nationalism, chauvinism, national exclusiveness, or of underration of other peoples. The Albanian people have respect for every people and wish all peoples well.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania firmly upholds the principle that each people has the right to choose its own course of development and decide its own fate in a sovereign way.

As a completely free country, socialist Albania says what it thinks openly, without any hesitation and with complete sincerity. It applies a sovereign foreign policy which is not restricted by political pacts, military treaties or closed economic organizations. It does not base its economic and political development, its defence and its future on the credits, loans or aid from other states, but on its own forces.

As a result of this, the voice of Albania has always been a free, realistic and objective voice in a world where the dependence on and subjugation of many states to big imperialist powers restrict and distort any independent thought or action.

During the period since the 7th Congress of the Party, our state, basing itself on the well-known principles of equality, respect for sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and reciprocal benefit, has extended its diplomatic, commercial and cultural relations with an ever greater number of states and has steadily increased its exchanges with them in various fields. Today the People's Socialist Republic of Albania maintains diplomatic relations with 95 states, as against 74 states with which it maintained relations at the time of the 7th Congress of the Party.

The policy of our Party and our socialist state has been and always will be for the continuous strengthening of sincere relations of friendship and collaboration with

all the freedom-loving and peace-loving peoples, with all those who fight against the aggressive and hegemonic policy of imperialists. It is for the development of sincere collaboration with all those countries which wish it well and maintain a correct attitude towards it.

Our Party and country are opposed to all those imperialist and neo-colonialist practices of inequality, discrimination and great-state dictate in international relations. We believe that the relations between states, whether big or small, should be free from any kind of economic, political or military pressure and dictate, and should serve their economic, cultural and social development, the strengthening of friendship between sovereign peoples and states, and the interests of the maintenance and strengthening of peace in the world.

Our socialist state has been and is for the normal and free development of international trade on the basis of equality and reciprocal benefit. Our country is for balanced trade exchanges without discrimination or restrictive measures, therefore it has expressed its opposition to unequal relations in trade exchanges, to the manipulation of prices and, in general, to machinations and attempts by any state at all, which aims to exploit trade relations as a means of pressure in order to dictate its own political will and views to the other state.

We do not confuse trade exchanges with receiving of aid and credits. These are two separate, unconnected things.

The way we understand and carry on foreign trade, leaves the Albanian state a free hand to act and decide for itself, to have its say just as it thinks and to build the country with its own forces as it desires.

Our country has concluded a series of cultural agreements with many countries and carries on regular exchanges in the fields of art, culture, science, sports, etc. These exchanges have served to acquaint our peoples reciprocally with one another's achievements and progress. Our people value and utilize everything good and progressive which other peoples have. Progressive experience and culture are the treasure of all mankind. At the same time, we make efforts to acquaint the other peoples with the values of our culture, too, which is as ancient as it is progressive.

It is the principled and independent internal and foreign policy of our Party and socialist state, their just stands on international issues, their struggle on the side of the peoples and against imperialism, which have strengthened the international position of Albania and raised its prestige.

The word and deed of Albania are listened to and welcomed with respect by the peoples and workers of different countries, because they are in conformity with their own interests and aspirations. That is why the peoples and progressive opinion throughout the world prize and approve this policy, why the countries and states with different social systems follow it with interest and admire it, while reaction and the Soviet, Yugoslav and other modern revisionists attack it.

As is natural and understandable, our Party and Government have devoted special care to relations with neighbouring countries and, in a wider framework, with the European countries. Our stands towards them are known and they do not alter. At all times and in every situation, the aim of the foreign policy of Albania has been to contribute as much as possible to the strengthening of peace and international security on our continent and to the strengthening of collaboration amongst its peoples. We have said and still say that the participation of the majority of the countries of Europe in the military and the political blocs of the superpowers is the cause of its misfortune. This is where the divisions and splits in Europe, the frequent tensions and confrontations between different countries of this continent have their source.

That policy which seeks to persuade the European peoples that by sheltering under the atomic umbrellas of the superpowers, their freedom, national independence and the general peace are allegedly guaranteed, is an extremely dangerous policy and a fraud. This policy does not ensure these things, but sacrifices them. The fact is that in the name of future security, present-day security has been sacrificed, sovereignty has been crippled and the freedom of action and independent stands of many Eastern and Western states in the international arena have been restricted.

The Helsinki Declaration has been presented to the European countries as a guarantee of their independence and sovereignty and a means to ensure peace. We have clearly expressed our attitude towards the Helsinki Conference and the so-called European security. Socialist Albania did not take part in it and denounced it as a farce hatched up by the two superpowers with the objective of guaranteeing and strengthening their respective spheres of influence in Europe, of legalizing and perpetuating their domination on this continent. The events that have occurred in Europe and around it since the Helsinki Conference have completely corroborated and justified the stand of Albania. Time has shown that the so-called «Helsinki spirit», «peaceful collaboration», «the free circulation of people and ideas», etc., were nothing but hollow-sounding slogans to deceive the European peoples, to arouse the illusion in them that the danger of war is allegedly being removed and that the maintenance of the imperialist status quo in Europe is their salvation.

Our view is that only resolute opposition to American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, the liquidation of military blocs and the removal of atomic weapons and foreign troops can ensure the peace in Europe.

The problems of the Balkans are the same as those which are worrying Europe as a whole, but here, because of the strategic position which this peninsula occupies and the old feuds, the conflicts are more acute and the dangers greater.

The situation is made even more complicated by the fact that the superpowers, proceeding from their hegemonic interests and their desire to transform the Balkans «perma-

nently into a powder keg», are trying to arouse chauvinist passions and sentiments, to set the Balkan peoples and countries against one another, to prevent the relations between them from developing normally and in a positive direction, and to undermine the strengthening of friendship between neighbouring peoples.

The dangers in the Balkans are increased especially due to the participation of some countries of this region in the military and economic blocs of the superpowers, the existence of foreign military bases, and permitting the American and Soviet fleets to enter their territorial waters and stay in their ports, etc.

Such developments create tensions and are fraught with dangers for the Balkan peoples. In every direction and aspect they are in opposition to the sincere efforts and desires of the peoples of the Balkans for the establishment of trust, understanding and genuine collaboration between the countries of our peninsula.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania upholds the view that at present the genuine aspirations of the peoples of the Balkans, peace and stability in this zone, can be served best by not allowing the imperialist superpowers to interfere in the internal affairs of the countries of our region and by taking concrete and constructive steps for the positive development of relations on the basis of the good neighbour policy. The situation in the Balkans would be greatly improved if the Balkan countries undertake officially not to allow the superpowers to threaten or endanger other neighbouring countries from their territories. In the future, just as in the past, socialist Albania will consistently adhere to this policy and will make every effort to ensure that mutual respect and genuine understanding prevail in its relations with the neighbouring states.

Albania has been guided by these principles and these aims in its relations with Yugoslavia, too. It has been predisposed to and has made all efforts for the normal and correct development of good neighbourly relations, such as those in the field of trade, transport, cultural exchanges and in other fields of mutual interest.

In our relations with Yugoslavia we have always proceeded from the fact that our peoples have been living beside one another for centuries, that frequently in history they have had a common fate, that when foreign invaders have attacked one they have not spared the other. As a result of these things, irrespective of the ideological and political contradictions which have existed and still exist between our two countries and which are already known world wide, irrespective of the ideological polemic which has been and is being developed by the two sides, we always seek to live in peace with Yugoslavia, as good neighbours, without interference in each other's internal affairs and respecting the rights of each.

The policy of socialist Albania towards Yugoslavia has always been constant, unaltered in its foundations and principles. If there have been ups and downs, improvements and deteriorations in Albanian-Yugoslav relations, this has come about not through any fault of ours, but

through the fault of the Yugoslav leading circles. The present deterioration in the relations between the PSR of Albania and SFR of Yugoslavia also is a consequence of chauvinist actions of the Belgrade authorities towards the population of Kosova and their incitement of a new campaign of hostility against our country.

As far as the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is concerned, the attitudes and behaviour of Yugoslavs towards it will not make it waver from its principles or make it change course. Its desire is that the state relations in different fields between the two countries should develop normally. However, this will depend on the stand of Yugoslavia towards socialist Albania and on its treatment of the Albanians of Kosova and other parts of Yugoslavia.

The problem of the Albanians who live on their own territories in Yugoslavia is not a problem of a «minority» which has immigrated to or settled somewhere in an «empty» zone as an economic immigration, is not a result of the onslaught of the Ottoman Empire, nor of the natural demographic increase of Albanians, which is worrying the Great-Serb neo-Malthusians. The Albanians in Yugoslavia constitute an ethnos, a people formed centuries ago, who have their own history, language and culture, an autochthonous people who, as is known, were cut up and were separated from their Motherland by the imperialist great powers and annexed to Yugoslavia. This nobody can conceal. Any other interpretation is arbitrary, a flagrant and harmful falsification of history.

The Albanian people did not allow the fascist occupiers or anyone else to determine the Motherland of the Albanian ethnos. The Albanians have fought unceasingly for centuries against many savage enemies, much greater in numbers, in order to defend their national identity and their very existence. In all these wars, both in defeat and in victory, in the long years of enslavement, throughout their history, the Albanian people have never lost their national identity and national consciousness, their compactness and unity. In all circumstances they have manifested these things with an extraordinary and exemplary vitality.

The empires and the great powers were quite unable to wipe out the compact ethnos of Albanians, nor were they able to assimilate them or to alter their culture, language, habits and customs. The very existence of the Albanian people proves this. History shows that without any support from foreign powers, which have always been opposed to them, the Albanian people have fought successfully for the freedom and compactness of their nation, to defend their independence as a sovereign state, their culture and their own natural and legitimate rights. At all times they have achieved victory only by fighting and shedding their blood for it.

During the Second World War, the Albanian people and the peoples of Yugoslavia fought together and as close comrades-in-arms against the Italian and the German fascist invaders. The Albanians who live in Yugoslavia also fought heroically together with us and all the peoples



The report submitted by Comrade ENVER HOXHA was frequently interrupted

of Yugoslavia against the same enemies. Not only did they fight together, but our National Liberation Army went to the aid of the Yugoslav partisans and the Kosova brothers, and the blood of the sons and daughters of the Albanian people was shed on their land. We acted as the Communist Party of Albania taught us, with a high level of consciousness and internationalist spirit. We thought that the peoples of our two countries would win freedom in this way, that enslavement would be eliminated and the tragic mistakes of past history would be corrected. We believed that after the victory everything would be settled

in the Marxist-Leninist way. Our communist parties, which led the National Liberation War in the two countries, were a guarantee for this. However, our belief in the «communism and internationalism» of the Yugoslav leaders, our trust in their words, proved to be unjustified. In fact, the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia never took a proper Marxist-Leninist view of the question of the future of the Albanians in Yugoslavia, therefore this question was bound to be settled, as it was settled, in a wrong and distorted fashion, in an utterly anti-Marxist, nationalist and chauvinist way.



by the applause of the delegates to the Congress.

the ally of the peoples of Yugoslavia directly interested in this question — people's Albania. Contrary to the «policy of national equality» proclaimed at the 2nd Meeting of the AVNOJ, the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia unjustly violated the will of the Albanians in Yugoslavia, expressed at the meeting of the 1st Founding Conference of the National Liberation Council for Kosova and Metohia, held at Bujan from December 31, 1943 to January 2, 1944, which was completely in conformity with the right of «self-determination up to secession» of the peoples who constituted Yugoslavia, and which had been defined in the fundamental documents of the Communist Party and the National Liberation Movement of Yugoslavia.

In regard to consultation with people's Albania on the settlement of this historical problem, the Yugoslav leadership apriori considered it unnecessary. It was against such consultation, because it knew that a principled Marxist-Leninist friendly discussion between the leaderships of our two countries, taking also into account the free will of the Albanians living on their own land in Yugoslavia, would lead to a just solution and not to an arbitrary chauvinist and nationalist solution, such as that which the Yugoslav leadership undertook.

After the war, in 1946, a delegation from our country, which I headed, paid the first official visit to Yugoslavia. In the talks which were held with Tito on this occasion, he wanted to know what I thought about the solution of the question of Kosova and the other Albanian regions in Yugoslavia. I expressed the opinion of the Albanian side that Kosova and the other regions inhabited by the Albanians belonged to Albania and should be returned to it. The Albanians fought to have a free and sovereign Albania, with which the Albanian regions in Yugoslavia should now be united. President Tito replied: «I agree with your view, but we cannot do this for the time being, because the Serbs would not understand us.» This official promise of Tito's on this great issue of principle was not accompanied with any further action on the part of the Yugoslavs. The whole thing was a fraud on their part.

The fundamental error of a nationalist and chauvinist character of the Yugoslav leadership, which was followed by other equally grave errors in connection with the legitimate and natural rights of Albanians who are now accused by the Great-Serbs of being «chauvinist», «nationalist» and «irredentist», lies in the wrong solution at Jajce, in the dividing up of Albanian territories and in the denial of the expression of the free will of the Albanians. The recent events in Kosova and the other Albanian regions in Yugoslavia have their source in this very wrong and anti-Leninist solution of the national question in Yugoslavia, and especially in regard to the Albanian entity of about 2 million inhabitants, nearly as many as the total population of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Right from the start, Serbian, Montenegrine and Macedonian chauvinism followed a savage nationalist policy

The wrong solution of this great issue of principle began at the 2nd Meeting of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council of Yugoslavia, held at Jajce, in November 1943, where the Albanian regions in Yugoslavia were used as a means to adjust the proportions of the territories and populations of the republics of the Federation, and more precisely of Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro. The future of the Albanians in Yugoslavia was decided apriori from above, without the approval and self-determination of the Albanian people of Kosova and the other Albanian regions of Yugoslavia, and without the slightest consultation with

of oppression and discrimination against Albanians in all directions, in education, culture, the economy, etc.

Even in the period when there were good relations between our country and Yugoslavia and between the two parties, the problem of the Albanians in Yugoslavia was a «ball and chain» on the legs of the Yugoslavs. They did not examine the Albanians' demands and causes of complaint, did not settle them politically through understanding, but settled them with violence, with savage administrative measures. The Albanians were accused of nationalism and this was done to cover up the Serbian chauvinism and nationalism. Nothing can cover up or justify the bloody reprisals against the Albanians of Yugoslavia in 1945, 1968 and again in 1981, the discrimination imposed upon them, leaving them in poverty, the national oppression, the denial of their rights and great discrimination in the field of education and culture. The falling into disgrace of the Great-Serb group of Ranković in 1966, and later that of the other Great-Serb group of Nikezić marks the period of the Titoites' political demagoguery towards Kosova and the Kosovars. The need to balance the various forces within the Federation led to a certain formal revision of the status of Kosova which, from a simple region of Serbia, was called an «autonomous» region of Serbia.

Whether the Serbs liked it or not, this new situation gave the Albanians in Yugoslavia, and especially the Kosovars, possibilities to extend their schooling, to set up the University of Prishtina, to develop their culture, to learn the history of their people, to establish contacts and educational-cultural and economic relations with Albania, on the basis of the laws of the Federation and official agreements between the PSRA and the SFRY. However, the economic base of the Autonomous Socialist Region of Kosova still remained too weak and was neglected. Its assets were still unscrupulously exploited by the other republics of the Federation, especially by Serbia. All the «solutions», which were presented with great clamour during this period, were unavailing, temporary and useful only to Belgrade and Skoplje. According to the occasion, without saying so openly, they were considered either as «opportunist concessions of Tito's», as occurred among the Serbs, or as «victories achieved thanks to Tito», as they were loudly proclaimed by some Albanian leaders of the Autonomous Socialist Region of Kosova. Meanwhile the masses of Albanians did not nurse many illusions, because what was given them was very little compared with the major rights which they had been denied and robbed of.

The events which have occurred since the death of Tito have shown how wrongly and on what an anti-Marxist course the national question in Yugoslavia, and especially the question of the Albanians, had been settled. A heavy and bloody blow was dealt to their lawful demands, recognized in the Constitution, by the Serbian chauvinist leadership and the whole Yugoslav leadership after the demonstrations which were held in Kosova in March and April this year. Now, apart from the deplorable

economic situation, savage national oppression is being imposed on the Kosovars and all the other Albanians in Yugoslavia more than at any other time. A reign of terror has been established over them, the Serbian police and army have been poured in and the jails are packed with young men and women. The measures which are continually being taken are directed not only towards the elimination of any legitimate rights and those few gains which appeared in the development of education and culture, but also towards the denationalization of the Albanians in Yugoslavia. And this is being done by those who claim that they respect the documents of the Helsinki Conference about freedoms and human rights. World opinion must not remain indifferent, but ought to be alarmed about this tragic situation of the Albanian population in Yugoslavia.

After all, what did the Albanians demand in the mass demonstrations which were held in various towns and villages of Kosova?

The Albanians in Yugoslavia have demanded more than once, through peaceful demonstrations and without demonstrations, that their constitutional, economic and socio-cultural situation should be corrected and put on the right road within the laws of the Federation. They demanded the status of a Republic within the SFRY. They did not demand either secession from the Federation or unification with Albania. However, the just and lawful demands of the students, workers, peasants and intellectuals of Kosova went unheeded. Moreover, as at other times when they had presented such lawful and just demands, they were described as nationalist, were persecuted and bloodily suppressed.

Can these problems be solved in this way in our times? Never. It is impossible to keep a people, whose territory contains great wealth and is plundered by others, in poverty and want. It is impossible to keep a valiant people, like the Albanians, under the threat of tanks and bayonets. It is impossible to distort or eliminate their history and ancient culture. It is impossible to wipe out their patriotic sentiments and love for their Homeland.

If the present Yugoslav leadership proceeds on the course it has chosen and is pursuing, the opposition of the Albanians will continue, will grow and become even more acute. Only a solution of the national question, which is well considered by the two sides without passion, a solution which is accepted and approved by the people of Kosova, can eliminate this very complicated situation which has been created not by the people of Kosova, but by Great-Serb chauvinism. The people of Kosova proposed the fairest and most suitable solution in this situation, which is difficult for Yugoslavia and for themselves. The demand to raise Kosova to the status of a Republic within the Federation is a just demand. It does not threaten the existence of the Federation. Instead of being reasonable, the Serbian and Yugoslav chiefs sent in the tanks, shed the people's blood and now they are going ahead on a wide scale with their famous differentiation, that is, police investigations: who was for and who was against de-

monstrations. To act in this way, first with terror and then allegedly with «differentiation», means to try to intimidate the masses who cannot be intimidated, to eliminate their patriotism which cannot be eliminated, to have the illusion that you have calmed the situation when you have aroused indignation and anger, to think that you have brought «trustworthy people» into the state power which you have purged of «nationalists», etc., when you have only impelled the whole people to silent resistance, who tomorrow will raise their voices with greater force against the atrocities which are being committed. The Yugoslav leaders do not want to understand this situation.

Because we state these truths openly and demand that the problem of Kosova and all the Albanians in Yugoslavia, which has been settled wrongly, should be restudied with cool heads, avoiding the use of violence and terror, because we demand an end to the persecutions and the release from jail of the boys and girls of Kosova, they accuse the PSR of Albania of interfering in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia and even of inciting the disturbances in Kosova and elsewhere! And how is it allegedly inciting these disturbances? By means of official educational and cultural relations. They even go so far as to claim that the PSR of Albania is making common cause with Albanian political reaction in exile, which we have always fought with all our strength.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has never interfered in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. The opposite has occurred. The Yugoslav revisionists plotted to bring about the liquidation of the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania and the incorporation of Albania into the Yugoslav Federation as its 7th Republic, aiming in this way, through an annexationist and imperialist course, to resolve the problem of the whole Albanian nation once and for all. However, these plots did not succeed and they will never succeed. Albania is not and never will become a means of regulation to calm the conflicts and contradictions between the Yugoslav clans. It belongs to its people, a people full of vitality, valiant and patriotic, who fear no one.

Albania has never made territorial claims against Yugoslavia, and no demand for border readjustments can be found in its documents. While maintaining this stand, however, we have not denied and never will deny the fact that a good part of the Albanian nation and people lives in Yugoslavia. We have defended the legitimate rights of our Albanian brothers across the border and we shall continue to defend them in the future with all our might and in a Marxist-Leninist way, and this is not interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. This is our undeniable right.

The question of Kosova is a tragedy. The Yugoslav authorities must cease their terror and persecution of the Albanians, eliminate the national oppression, and recognize all the rights due to them. To solve the problems justly, they must talk calmly, without heat and on terms of equality with the Albanian population in Yugoslavia.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has devoted special care to strengthening friendly relations with Greece. In recent years these relations have assumed further development in all fields. Commercial exchanges have been extended and are developing successfully to the advantage of both sides. The collaboration in the field of culture, the coming and going of artistic groups, the reciprocal visits of people of art, education and science, have assisted our peoples to become better acquainted with one another's achievements and progress. They have served to strengthen the ancient and traditional friendship which links our two countries. Convinced that the relations of friendship and understanding between Albania and Greece fully respond to the common interests and aspirations of our peoples, the PSR of Albania will make every effort to extend and develop these relations in the future.

We note with satisfaction that the Greek government and the Greek people also are predisposed to and desire that the relations between our two countries should proceed on the basis of friendship and good neighbourliness. The sentiments of the Albanian people and the Greek people are in accord in many directions. They wish each other well and rejoice at each other's progress, proceeding from the principle that each is master in his own house and his own affairs. The friendship between the Albanian people and the Greek people is a lasting friendship, which will unceasingly be strengthened and flourish in the interests of our peoples and peace and security in the Balkans. Efforts by anyone to break this friendship will fail. We are convinced that now all the conditions and possibilities have been created, so that through common efforts any obstacle can be removed and broad avenues of development of fruitful relations with mutual benefit can be opened between our two friendly countries.

We are ready to work with Italy for the further development of normal relations in conformity with the aspirations and interests of our two neighbouring peoples. Many links have existed between Albania and Italy in various fields, such as those of trade, transport and cultural exchanges, etc. Our peoples have always wished to live in peace and friendship with one another. Although several times in the course of history they have been divided and set at loggerheads, they have tried to come together, to collaborate and strengthen the atmosphere of trust and mutual understanding.

The possibilities exist for further progress in Albanian-Italian relations. It is our desire that they proceed well, but this depends also on the predisposition and interest of the Italian side to collaborate with Albania in a new spirit, in friendship and complete equality.

The relations of our country with the Republic of Turkey have developed and are developing more and more in the spirit of friendship and collaboration. The growing goodwill and respect between our two peoples and countries create a good basis for the further extension and strengthening of these relations in the future.

During their history, the Albanian people and the

Turkish people have had friendly links and affinities with each other. The Turkish people, who have an ancient history and culture, have had great respect for the valiant men of Albania, for the scholars, philosophers, statesmen, architects, writers and poets of Albanian birth or origin, who have made their contribution to the efforts of the Turkish people for progress.

The Albanian people have special admiration and respect for Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, that outstanding personality and statesman, who, with great courage and inspired by democratic progressive ideas, liberated Turkey and its valiant people from the complex of enslaving other peoples, which characterized the Sultans' empire, consolidated the unity and genuine independence of the Turkish nation and set Turkey on the course of democracy and progress.

The Albanian people have been aware of the feelings of goodwill towards Albania held by Kemal Atatürk who opposed King Zog, the tyrant of the Albanian people.

The sincere friendship of the Turkish people towards the Albanian people and the lofty spirit of Atatürk can be seen clearly in their fraternal sheltering of hundreds of thousands of our brothers from Kosova, who were driven from their lands in Yugoslavia. We thank the fraternal Turkish people for this and for their friendship towards the Albanian people, a friendship which is reciprocal.

Positive new steps have been made in our friendly relations with the French Republic. We appreciate the efforts of the ever more numerous well-wishers of Albania in France to strengthen the friendship between our two peoples. The Albanian people, for their part, nurture friendly feelings and have respect for the talented French people, for their revolutionary traditions and their progress.

As in the past, we sincerely desire that the relations of our state with Austria, Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland and Portugal should be further developed and extended in the positive and friendly direction they have taken in recent years.

The post-Second World War British governments have adopted hostile, anti-democratic stands towards new Albania. Apart from this, they seized the Albanian gold plundered by the Hitlerites and to this day are still exploiting it in their own interests, by not returning it to the rightful owner, socialist Albania.

In these circumstances, can there be any talk of diplomatic relations between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and Britain? The British Government must immediately return the gold to Albania together with the interests accrued from the arbitrary exploitation of it. Let no one doubt that socialist Albania will defend its interests and will fight against injustices which have been or are being done to it.

There are no insurmountable difficulties to the establishment of diplomatic relations between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Federal Republic of Germany. We believe that with understanding on the

part of both sides over certain questions that remain suspended since the Second World War, this situation can be put in order.

The profound principled ideological and political disagreements of our Party and state with the countries of Eastern Europe are well-known. While not relinquishing the struggle against modern revisionism, we are for the normal development of relations, for trade exchanges on the basis of equality and reciprocal benefit with Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria and Hungary.

A sincere and ancient friendship links the Albanian people with the fraternal Arab peoples. We have supported and will continue to support to the end and energetically the just struggle of the Arab peoples for the liberation of the Arab territories occupied by the Israeli Zionist aggressors and the re-establishment of all the legitimate rights of the martyred Palestinian people. In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and in the Albanian people, the heroic Palestinian people and their lawful representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, have had and will always have sincere friends and resolute defenders of their just national cause.

We note with particular satisfaction the friendly development of the relations of our country with Algeria, Syria, Iraq, Libya, Lebanon, Tunisia, Egypt and other Arab countries. We desire that these relations should find further concretization and development. Likewise, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is for friendly relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran and will spare no efforts for their development and strengthening.

The Albanian people and their government have welcomed and supported the just struggle of the African peoples to eradicate colonialism and racism from the continent of Africa and have supported the efforts of the freedom-loving peoples of African countries to cope with the aggressive, neo-colonialist and predatory policy and activity of imperialism. With Tanzania, Guinea, Mali, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and other friendly countries of Africa, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania maintains friendly relations and is for further development of them.

Our country has good relations also with a number of countries of Asia. With the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, with Laos and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, our relations are developing in a friendly way and we express our desire that they should be further strengthened in the future.

In regard to Cambodia, our Party and state have condemned the bloodthirsty activities of the Pol Pot clique, a tool of the Chinese social-imperialists. We hope that the Cambodian people will surmount the difficulties they are encountering as soon as possible and decide their own fate and future in complete freedom without any «guardian».

Now it is known world-wide that, apart from formal diplomatic relations, there are no other concrete relations between our country and China. This situation has been

created through no fault of ours. It is a consequence of the hostile, anti-Albanian policy and activity of the Chinese leadership.

The establishment of diplomatic relations with Japan also creates the conditions and opens the way to the development of trade between our two countries.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has normal relations with Mexico, Peru, Argentina, Panama, and other countries of Latin America. It is ready to establish such relations also with other states of this continent which are for a friendly approach and for trade and cultural exchanges with our country.

With the United States of America and the Soviet Union, which are the most ferocious enemies of the freedom and independence of the peoples and of peace and security in the world, our country does not maintain and will not maintain any relations. As in the past, we

shall always continue our resolute struggle for the exposure of their aggressive and hegemonic policy and activity.

In the future too, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania will continue to work for the development of the international relations in the positive direction. In this spirit, it will spare no efforts in the United Nations Organization and other international organizations to make its contribution to the defence of the interests and aspirations of the peoples.

The principled foreign policy followed by our Party and country expresses the aspirations of the Albanian people and enjoys their complete and boundless support and backing. In the future, too, our Party will struggle for the consistent and resolute implementation of this policy, which ensures the freedom, independence and national sovereignty of our people.

V

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST REVISIONISM. THE REVOLUTIONARY AND LIBERATION MOVEMENT AT THE PRESENT STAGE

In the period since the 7th Congress, our Party, standing loyal as ever to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, has continued the struggle against modern revisionism uninterruptedly. The ideological and political criticism against Khrushchevite, Chinese, Yugoslav and West-European modern revisionism has been made more profound. The historical and socio-economic conditions of the birth and spread of these trends have been brought out more clearly, and the process of degeneration of those communist parties which took the course of revisionism, their mistakes and concessions in strategy and tactics, have been analysed more extensively. The connection of modern revisionism with the strategy which imperialism adopted after the Second World War for the destruction of socialism and the suppression of the revolution and the people's liberation movement, has been proved in the light of facts from the past and the present.

These analyses and conclusions have helped the Party to recognize more clearly the dangers which threaten socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat in our coun-

try from revisionism and to take more effective and appropriate measures to avert these dangers. They have also helped in the education of the communists and the masses, the enhancement of their theoretical level and the tempering of their revolutionary consciousness. The more profound knowledge of the strategy and tactics of imperialism and revisionism have made our struggle in defence of the cause of the proletariat and the peoples even more effective.

The correctness of the course which our Party chose right from the start to oppose revisionism and fight it to the end has been and is being proved more and more each day by the political degeneration and the profound ideological crisis of modern revisionism, by the grave economic situation and the impasse in which the revisionist parties and the countries where they are in power have landed.

When our Party began the struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism, the communist parties which made common cause with Khrushchev looked, more or less, like a

united bloc, with a single line, which was that of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Today, however, 20 years later, they are split and divided into many trends and factions, are fighting and clashing with one another and have been overwhelmed by bourgeois nationalism and social-democratic opportunism. These former communist parties have been transformed either into genuine parties of the new bourgeoisie ruling in the countries where the revisionists are in power, or into component parts of the structures of the bourgeois state, as in the old capitalist countries. The crisis of modern revisionism is a direct expression of the crisis of capitalism and the bourgeois ideology in general.

The revisionist betrayal and the restoration of capitalism in a series of former socialist countries have created great confusion about the problem of socialism, which is the nub of the ideological struggle going on in the world today. The problem is that the revisionists present the capitalist society re-established in their countries as a pure socialist society, as «real socialism», and as «developed», or moreover «very highly developed» socialism. The fact that many parties and different political forces, which are far removed from scientific socialism, talk about socialism, as well as the efforts which the bourgeoisie and its propaganda make to distort the true socialist ideals and to alienate the masses from the struggle for the triumph of these ideals, add even more to this confusion.

Clarity on this question, the establishment of a clear-cut dividing line between genuine socialism and pseudo-socialism, is of capital importance to waging the struggle of the working class and the working masses successfully. If it does not have a clear concept of socialist society, if it does not abide by its principles and universal laws, the revolution stops half-way. The revolution may be carried out, but when it lacks the genuine socialist perspective it can deviate, and the struggle and sacrifices made for its triumph will be in vain.

The first trend of revisionism in power, which set itself the task of undermining socialism, was Yugoslav revisionism, which emerged at a key moment of the struggle between socialism and imperialism.

The roots of Yugoslav revisionism go back a long way. It did not appear for the first time in 1948, nor did it come about as a reaction against «Stalinism» or as a consequence of actions of the Information Bureau. It is a consequence of bourgeois outlooks which existed much earlier in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and were not eliminated during the National Liberation War.

The new Yugoslavia could not be built without a clear orientation and without political maturity based on the scientific theory of socialism. Only a strong communist party with sound Marxist-Leninist principles could carry out this great work. True, a communist party existed in Yugoslavia, but it did not have all these characteristics and did not develop them during the war. On the contrary, it lost even those it had after the War, when, be-

cause of the circumstances, it was called upon to build the new Yugoslavia on the socialist road.

If you listen to the self-praise of the Titoites and the Yugoslav bourgeoisie you might believe that such a party has existed and still exists. Like the others, we Albanian communists also fell for this euphoric judgement, especially during the time of the war and in the first post-Liberation years. This judgement had its own logic, linked with the heroic fight of the peoples of Yugoslavia, which was led by the Communist Party.

After the liberation of Yugoslavia major deviations from the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism appeared, in theory, in political stands, and in the construction of socialism. Likewise, in its relations with the socialist countries, especially with Albania, grave deviations and an arrogance and conceit alien to a communist party were observed in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

It was clear that this course would eventually lead to a split, as it did, not for any fault of the Information Bureau, or Stalin and «Stalinism», as the Yugoslav revisionists and their friends like to describe Marxism-Leninism. The conflict with the Information Bureau was a result of contradictions between the liberal-opportunist views of the Yugoslav leadership and the Marxist-Leninist views on the construction of the socialist state and socialist society. Tito and his associates gave to their opposition to the Marxist-Leninist theory the colour of opposition, first, towards Stalin, and later, towards the Soviet socialist system.

The Titoites' change of course had to be and was made. They took the course towards capitalism by adopting and commencing the building of a «new» socio-economic structure and a new form of state government appropriate to an anti-socialist course, and this was the system of «workers' self-administration». In fact this was not a new system. It was neither socialist nor a Yugoslav creation. It originated from Proudhonism, from Bakunin and Kropotkin's anarchism, that Marx in his time, and later Lenin, and still later Stalin, had thoroughly exposed.

Sensational claims were made and unprecedented huzzas shouted about the Yugoslav turn towards capitalism, while glory was heaped upon «Barabbas». The Yugoslav deviation was trumpeted as a «new period», as a «new trail» blazed by Tito for the construction of a «humane», «specific socialism». This turn was supported and financed by imperialism and world capitalism. Pan-Yugoslav megalomania was fanned up and Yugoslavia was presented as a «champion of and example for the peoples of the world in their liberation struggle.»

In the forms and the terminology used in its structure and superstructure, the whole «self-administration system» had to be presented as «Marxist». In fact, however, it was totally opposed to Marx and the theory and practice of Leninism.

The first blow was struck at the state power of

people's democracy, which was a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but which was never described as such in Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav revisionists justified this by claiming that the state power of the people's councils, which had been established during the war and existed until 1948, could not be retained as such with all its prerogatives. It had to be replaced with the «workers' councils», because, according to them, the former was allegedly étatist-bureaucratic, which gives birth to «bureaucracy and the stratum of the new bourgeoisie», while the «workers' councils» were a state power closer to Marx's theory. By means of these councils, allegedly «it is the workers themselves who lead and govern directly», without the intervention of the state, which, as it must result from the logic of the Yugoslav leadership, is not theirs. Thus, the existing Yugoslav state remains merely a «guarantor» that this «new system» is not damaged, does not disintegrate and, to this end, the Federation controls only the army, the UDB, foreign policy and nothing else.

Hence, the «self-administration system» decentralized, liberalized and undermined the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The state was a state of «proletarians» and became a state of «workers», it was a state «which emerged from the war, from the base», while the «new system», which the «dialectical» development allegedly required, was established from above by Tito and Kardelj.

The leading role of the party in this system had to be liquidated and in fact it was vitiated. All that was left to the party was a wishy-washy educational role, without any weight in the whole rigmarole. In appearance the party was not eliminated, but in reality it ceased to exist. It was called the «League of Communists», so as to give it the closest possible resemblance in name to that used by Marx, to remove it as far as possible in fact from the role which Marx and Lenin define for the communist party.

The Titoites present the matter as though, with its «self-administration», Yugoslavia has entered the stage of development approaching communist society. Proceeding from this, they claim that the state is beginning to wither away and the party can no longer have that role and those functions it had in the period of the transition from capitalism to socialism.

Moreover, according to them, «self-administration» has also done away with the class struggle within the party, within Yugoslavia and outside it. In reality, Tito, Kardelj and their successors changed the direction of the class struggle. They waged and are waging it to defend their «self-administration» system against «supporters of the Information Bureau», «Stalinists», «dogmatists», etc. In fact, this is the struggle of capitalist elements against revolutionaries, of the capitalist system against the socialist system, and the bourgeois ideology against Marxism-Leninism.

The Yugoslav theoreticians indulge in gross misrepresentation in connection with the ownership of the

means of production. According to them, the socialized ownership of means of production, which exists in the «self-administration» system, constitutes the highest form of socialist ownership, while state ownership constitutes its lowest form. The latter, they claim, can be defined as a kind of state capitalism which gives birth to a new bureaucratic caste, which in fact collectively possesses the right to ownership. Hence, they conclude, even in socialism state ownership does not eliminate the alienation of the worker, which is caused by capital. The capitalist relationship, profit-workers' wages, is replaced with the relationship, state accumulation-workers' wages. In other words, they claim that the worker always remains a wage-slave in both social systems.

This is a well-known Trotskyite thesis which was exposed and refuted long ago. In genuine socialist society, in which the common property is managed by the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the broad, organized and effective participation of the working class and the other working masses, according to the principle of democratic centralism, and in which great differences in the distribution of the social product, which lead to the creation of privileged strata, are not permitted, the worker is not a wage-slave and is not exploited. Proof of this is the reality of socialist Albania, where the working class is the class in power which, under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party, runs the economy and the whole life of the country in its own interests and in the interests of the whole people.

Yugoslav «self-administration», which allegedly makes the worker the centre of everything, is workers' «self-administration» only in theory, in practice it is anti-worker, anti-socialist. Regardless of the clamour of the Titoites, this system does not permit the working class any right to manage or administrate.

In Yugoslavia each «self-administrative» enterprise is an independent organization in its economic activity, while the policy of administration is in the hands of its leading group, which, just as in any other capitalist country, manipulates the funds of accumulation and makes the decisions on investments, pay, prices and distribution of the product. It is claimed that all this economic-political activity is approved by the workers through their delegates. But this is a deception, a great fraud. These so-called workers' delegates make common cause with the ruling caste of bureaucrats and technocrats to the detriment of the working class and the other working masses. Those who make the law and determine the policy in the «self-administrative» organization, from the lowest to the highest level in the republic, are the professional administrators. The administrative, socio-economic and political leading role of the workers, of their class, has been reduced to the minimum, if not totally eliminated.

By inciting particularism and localism, on the scale of republic, region and commune, the «self-administration» system has liquidated the unity of the working class, has set worker against worker as individuals by fostering selfishness, and as collectives by fostering competition

among enterprises. On this basis, the alliance between the working class and the peasantry has been undermined, too, and the peasantry likewise divided into small private economies and exploited by the new bourgeoisie in power. All this has created autarky in the economy, anarchy in production, in the distribution of profits and investments; in the market, in prices, it has led to great inflation and unemployment.

The idea that the working class is in the leadership of the system of «workers' self-administration» in Yugoslavia is a false illusion, a utopian idea. In that system the working class is not in command, is not the leading force. The dictatorship of the proletariat has been liquidated, the leadership of the working class, the communist party or the League of Communists, as it is called in that country, does not run either the state, the economy, the culture or social life.

In that system of general confusion some other force has seized the dominant positions of political leadership. This force is the new caste of political bureaucrats and technocrats from the stratum of the intelligentsia, which has become bourgeois, and the worker aristocracy. It is far removed from any proletarian morality, and no political control is exerted over it.

This new bureaucratic stratum advertises itself as the enemy of étatist bureaucracy, although it is an even more dangerous bureaucracy, which is flourishing and growing stronger in a decentralized economic system which protects and develops private property.

The «workers' self-administration», which is based on the ideology of anarcho-syndicalism, has given birth to republican nationalism which has gone so far as to draft its special laws and regulations to defend its own narrow interests. The economic monopoly of the republics which is comprised of the monopoly of their enterprises and trusts, has turned, in fact, into a political force and into a republican nationalism, which is manifested not only in each republic but in each region, each commune and each enterprise. Everybody, individually and as a group and a republic, strives to enrich himself further and more quickly at the expense of the others at all costs.

Bourgeois nationalism has become firmly established in Yugoslavia and the slogan «unity-fraternity», which was correct during the National Liberation War, when they were fighting against the occupiers and local reaction for a new socialist society based on Marxism-Leninism, has remained an empty slogan without any effect in the present-day Yugoslav system which splits and divides everything. The «unity-fraternity» of peoples, nations and nationalities, of republics and regions, can be realized only in a genuine socialist system which is guided by the Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The Yugoslav federal union was not created on Marxist-Leninist foundations, hence, undoubtedly national antagonisms were bound to arise, as they did in fact. The system itself is the bearer of these contradictions and nurtures the separatism of nations and nationalities, republics and regions.

The many credits from world capitalism have also operated in this direction. The use of them to satisfy the bourgeois megalomaniacal tastes and whims of the caste in power, their unequal distribution, without sound criteria, amongst the different republics created economic and social inequalities in the republics and regions, which have further deepened the national antagonisms.

The system of «self-administration» would not have lasted long had it not been assisted by two factors: the anti-Sovietism of the Yugoslav leadership, which was nothing but its anti-Marxism and anti-Leninism through which it ensured the political support of the whole of world reaction, and the all-round economic support by means of large credits from capitalist countries. Nevertheless, these two factors could not rescue this anti-socialist system. On the contrary, they further weakened it and have driven it towards economic and political bankruptcy.

Kardelj and Tito laid the blame for the failure of this system and all the evils to which it gave birth on the «failure to perfect» this system properly, on the consciousness of working people «which was still not up to the proper level», the existence of the bureaucracy, etc. They saw the bankruptcy of their anti-socialist system, but were quite unable to turn back. Hence, all the measures which Tito took when he was alive, providing for the leadership of the Federation and the republics after his death, are palliatives. The euphoria about the «self-administration» system disappeared together with Tito and Kardelj. Tito's successors find themselves in great confusion and perplexity and do not know which way to turn to emerge from the difficulties afflicting their country. Now Titoite Yugoslavia is in the grip of a grave general crisis of its structures and superstructures, an economic and political-moral crisis.

Soviet revisionism has been and still is the most dangerous current of modern revisionism. More than any other variant of revisionism, it retains its socialist disguise and Leninist phraseology in order to cover up the present-day capitalist reality of the Soviet Union and its aggressive imperialist foreign policy. It is a revisionism which has seized power in a state which is a great power and has ample means and possibilities to exert its influence in the world, to operate in many directions and on a large scale.

Like the other revisionist currents, Khrushchevite revisionism also has its own process of birth and development until it reached its present form of a total revisionism which distorts all the issues of the Marxist theory and socialist practice. As a social phenomenon, Khrushchevite revisionism also has its own ideological, social and historical roots and causes.

The Party of Labour of Albania has made a profound Marxist analysis of these causes. It has drawn conclusions from this analysis and taken a series of measures to bar the way to the birth of such a regressive phenomenon in our country. However, we must delve

ever deeper into this problem in order to ensure that revisionism will never gain a foothold in Albania.

Right from the start, the Khrushchev group set itself as its main task to liquidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, to undermine the foundations of socialist society, to set the Soviet Union on the capitalist road and turn it into an imperialist superpower. Now we can all see this great counter-revolutionary transformation which has occurred in the Soviet Union. Only the bourgeoisie and imperialism advertise it as a communist country. By presenting the present-day capitalist Soviet Union as a socialist country, they want to discredit Marxism-Leninism and genuine socialism.

Khrushchevite revisionism is the ideology and policy of state capitalism which dominates the whole life of the country. The Soviet Union's return to capitalism could not fail to have its own special features, and the capitalist order there could not fail to assume special forms. These special features and forms are determined by the fact that capitalism in that country was re-established as a result of the overthrow of socialism, as a result of a retrogressive process, unlike the capitalism of the classical type which follows the overthrow of the feudal order, as a progressive process.

The fundamental peculiarity of this type of capitalism is that here many socialist forms of property, organization and management are retained, but their content has changed radically. Today in the Soviet Union the means of production are, in fact, state capitalist, or collective capitalist property, because they are used in the interest of the new bourgeois class which is in power, and because it is precisely this class which appropriates the labour of workers and peasants.

The former laws, traditions and practices have been replaced with new ones, which allow the state bureaucracy and the bureaucracy of the party a free hand to express and apply their own will without hindrance. The new competences, which they were given on the basis of the economic reforms, were used to secure and extend the incomes and privileges of various leading castes, to preserve their power and defend them from the discontent and revolts of the working class and the working masses.

True, the state ownership remained and the factories were not distributed to private owners, the kolkhozes remained common collective economies and the banks were not handed over to shareholders, but what was changed was the distribution, the destination of the social product.

Although it is claimed that the principle of remuneration according to work is applied, in reality the different groups of the new bourgeoisie appropriate the surplus value created by the workers and peasants. All this robbery is presented as a kind of material stimulus, allegedly to encourage productive activity, scientific work, artistic creativeness, etc. In reality, this is a typical capitalist exploitation.

In order to open the way to the re-establishment of capitalism, the Khrushchevite revisionists attacked the fundamental theses of the Marxist-Leninist theory about commodity production and the operation of the law of value in socialism. In theory and practice they identified socialist commodity production with capitalist production. On this basis, they reformed the whole economic mechanism. Gradually, the economic enterprises and many institutions as well, went over to a greater independence from the state plans. Great powers and rights were given to the directors of various institutions and enterprises to direct and manipulate production and distribution, to employ and dismiss people, to divide the profits etc. The centralized state financing of the existing enterprises was restricted and the use of self-financing and credit was gradually extended.

The Soviet revisionists claim that their economy is managed and developed on the basis of plans, allegedly drafted according to the principle of democratic centralism. However, the state plan, as they conceive it in theory and apply it in practice, is not and cannot be in any way a plan of a genuine socialist economy. In the Soviet Union, bureaucratic centralism of the monopolist type coexists with extensive economic liberalism at the base. The image is given of a planned management of the economy, whereas in practice the economic laws and categories of the capitalist mode of production have free fields of action.

Parasitic consumption has assumed unprecedented proportions. On the basis of the nominal pay, the difference in remuneration between workers and the bureaucratic and technocratic administrators of production reaches a ratio of more than one to ten, while together with the incomes from the division of profits, from all kinds of bonuses, and from countless other privileges, the difference in pay reaches even greater figures. These differences in pay and way of life can hardly be distinguished from those which exist between the bourgeois administrators and the workers in the countries of the West.

In the conditions when 35-40 per cent of the pay for the value of labour power is formed in a decentralized way from the division of profits, when the work norms are not unified and are likewise applied in a decentralized way, when the material stimulus in favour of the new bourgeoisie has absolute priority, and when inflation, caused especially by the militarization of the economy which gobbles up one third of the national income, is constantly rising, in essence, the society has lost real control over the amount of labour and consumption, which are two main keys for a socialist economy.

These and a series of other measures of a capitalist character, which were trumpeted as a creative development of the Marxist-Leninist economic theory and practice, had as their aim and led to the demolition of the foundations of the socialist economy.

The consequences of this course are apparent in the daily life of the Soviet people. On the market there are

shortages of prime necessities; inflation, unemployment and the fluctuation of labour power have increased, declared and undeclared increases in prices of various goods can be seen. The private sector of the economy has extended, the doors have been flung open to foreign monopoly capital, and the black market, speculation, embezzlements, bribery and fraud are rife.

The present-day Soviet reality shows that the process is not moving towards the «elimination of class distinctions» and the «creation of a new social unity», as the Khrushchevite-Brezhnevite revisionists propagate, but towards profound social differentiation between the new bourgeois class, comprised of the stratum of bureaucrats and technocrats, and the broad working masses, who are in the position of a simple producing force. The greater the degree of exploitation of the working people and the more the profits of the bourgeoisie increase, the deeper the gulf between them is growing. This situation has given rise to a whole ideology and policy which justifies and defends this new system of capitalist exploitation.

The Soviet power is no longer of Soviets, of the workers and peasants. It is isolated from them and has become like a force in itself and alien to them. The Khrushchevite revisionists have formally proclaimed the dictatorship of the proletariat liquidated. They have named the state the state of the entire people, in order to hide the reality that it is no longer of the people, but a dictatorship of the new Soviet bourgeoisie. Its capitalist character is clearly apparent from the whole internal and foreign policy which it pursues, a policy which serves the interests of the bourgeois class in power. The Soviet state, which has the main means of production in its hands and runs the whole economy, has been transformed into a representative and defender of the interests of the ruling class.

In order to preserve their socialist disguise and «to prove» that the Soviet Union is a socialist country, the Soviet revisionists say that there is only one party there, that this party is a communist party, and its leading role has been sanctioned in the Constitution. The fact that there is only one leading party and that its undivided power is recognized by law does not make it a communist party. There are many bourgeois countries where there is only a single ruling party. The position of a political party in the state does not determine its character. The character of a party is determined, first of all, by to which class it belongs and whom it serves, by what ideology it is guided, and what policy it pursues.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union today is the direct representative of the bourgeois class in power, exercises power on its behalf, and serves the development and strengthening of the restored capitalist order. It is communist only in name. The maintenance of the name communist and its use of certain Marxist phrases and socialist slogans have a hypocritical and simply demagogic character. This is part of that deceptive propaganda which wants to keep the masses in the dark and make them believe that they are living in socialism and not in a capitalist society of

oppression and exploitation. From tradition, for purposes of disguise, or simply out of inertia, many parties retain such names as «democratic», «popular», «socialist», etc., at a time when they are typically bourgeois reactionary parties.

The revisionist-capitalist policy, which is applied in the Soviet Union, has revived the old demons of the czarist empire, such as national oppression, anti-semitism, Slav racism, Orthodox religious mysticism, the cult of military castes, the aristocratism of the intelligentsia, bureaucracy in the old Russian style, etc. The theories of the Soviet revisionists about the alleged creation of a «historic new community» of the «unified Soviet people», have been invented precisely to conceal the reality that the Soviet Union is rent with profound social, class and national contradictions.

It is the strength of the Soviet army which dominates in the Soviet Union today. The stepped-up rate of militarization of the life of the country and the heavy burden of military expenditure, which has reached astronomical proportions and is shaking the Soviet economy more and more profoundly, distort its development and impoverish the people.

The re-establishment of capitalism in the country could not fail to lead, also, to a drastic turn-about in the sphere of international relations and the foreign policy of the communist party and the Soviet state. Khrushchevite revisionism was gradually transformed into the ideology and policy of the new imperialist superpower, which justifies and defends its expansion, aggression and wars for the establishment of world domination. Offspring of this ideology and policy are the notorious theories of «limited sovereignty», the «international division of labour» and the «economic-political and military integration» of the countries of the so-called socialist community, which have bound these countries hand and foot and transformed them into vassal states. At the 26th Congress of the CPSU Brezhnev called these relations «relations between peoples» in order to wipe out any national and state identity in this way.

In order to attain its expansionist, neo-colonialist objectives, Soviet social-imperialism has created a theory according to which no country can liberate and defend itself from imperialism and develop in an independent way without Soviet aid and tutelage. It misuses the slogan of «internationalist aid» in order to undertake aggressions and to plunder the wealth of other countries.

The whole aggressive, hegemonic and expansionist foreign policy of the social-imperialist Soviet Union is further proof and evidence that the Soviet order is a capitalist order, because only a capitalist order can pursue such a policy in the international arena. As Lenin said, foreign policy is a continuation of the internal policy, and the two together are a concentrated expression of the economic relations which exist in a country. The socialist and communist disguise, which the Soviet revisionists still try to retain, is being torn from them day by day in the face of their capitalist reality and the social-imperialist policy which they pursue.

As to how long this great deception of the Soviet people, that they are allegedly living in socialism, can be kept up, how long the Soviet working class will continue to live with illusions, — this depends on many factors, internal and external. As to what awaits the countries in which Khrushchevite revisionism is ruling, the events in Poland are very significant. The fact is that there the class conflict between the working people and the bourgeois class in power, represented by the revisionist party, has burst out. Irrespective of how it has been manipulated by the forces of the Right, in essence, the revolt of the Polish working class shows that it has become conscious of its position as an oppressed and exploited class, that the existing state power in Poland belongs to a class antagonistic to it and that socialism has been betrayed. Which will be the next after Poland? The processes of class differentiation are seething, and class conflicts are building up rapidly in all the revisionist countries. The Soviet Union makes no exception in this direction, although outwardly it looks as the most stable among them. The wounds which the restoration of capitalism has opened can be healed only with the overthrow of revisionism and the re-establishment of socialism.

Our Party has waged a great, open, principled struggle against Chinese revisionism, the ideology, policy, stands and actions of the Communist Party of China. Chinese revisionism is an opportunist current in the world communist movement and its foundation — Mao Zedong thought, is an ideology with archaic features, an amalgam of ancient Chinese theories of Confucius and Mencius and new paraphrased theories, without any organic structural connection, painted up with a Marxist phraseology. Mao Zedong thought represents a hegemonic ideology of world domination, based on a heterogeneous collection of contradictory and pragmatic theorems and ideas. When China began the construction of the new Chinese state, which emerged from the liberation war, the Chinese ship wallowed confusedly, sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left, in the waters of this ideology. This was the source of those vacillations of China and that lack of definition of the character of its political and economic system.

The theory which guided the new China was not Marxism-Leninism. The Marxist slogans in Chinese characters painted on the façade gave the false impression that some features of scientific socialism existed. They prevented the continual deviations from being clearly discerned.

While the role of the dictatorship of the proletariat was being stressed in China, the dictatorship of rival groups and personalities was concealed and developed under it. While the leading role of the party was stressed, this concealed a chaotic organization and the non-existent leadership of the party. While there was talk about the hegemony of the working class, the leading role, in fact, was left to the peasantry, because it was its petty-bourgeois ideology which predominated in China. While there was talk about the alteration of class structures, in essence, nothing changed from what it was.

The Chinese economy went on limping badly, lacking any clear directive or perspective, irrespective of the existence of the so-called plan which did not have the remotest resemblance to a scientific plan, let alone a plan based on a centralized system. Indeed, it did not have even the features of a decentralized plan. The Chinese economy carried on by its own momentum.

In this flabby organization and in this ideology with no backbone, the predominant idea was that of the hegemony of the great Chinese state which «had been called upon by history» to represent the new model of socialist society, to represent the «Marxism-Leninism of the new era», which was Mao Zedong thought.

In this development of China we had to discern that under the cloak of «revolution» lurked counter-revolution, that under the cloak of Mao Zedong thought lurked anti-Marxism, a trend of modern revisionism which was seeking political, ideological, organizational and state forms and structures appropriate for the «Chinese continent» and for its capitalist-imperialist aspirations.

The «anti-imperialism», «anti-Sovietism», and «anti-Americanism», which were alternately stressed in Mao Zedong's China, were temporary manoeuvres. They were not ideological convictions, were not principled stands, but were manoeuvres to balance the powerful states of the world, a game on the world chess-board with the imperialist political-military powers for the strengthening of China.

It was with these world outlooks, with these eclectic, opportunist stands, both on the internal plane of China and on the external plane, that the «Proletarian Cultural Revolution» of the Red Guards was carried out and that the revanchist «revolution» of reactionary old men and all the remnants of the old China is taking place today. These were the foundations on which the ill-fated theory of «three worlds» and of «alliances of these three worlds» was worked out and the big switches were made in Chinese international policy with very dangerous consequences for world peace.

It took our Party a fairly long time to discern this anti-Marxist course of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese state, with which we had good friendly relations. For our Party the theoretical-political essence of this friendship was very important, the question of the struggle to preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the question of socialism and the revolution were important.

At first we waged a principled struggle through debates, as between comrades, but gradually it became embittered because of the anti-Marxist attitude of China. On the part of the Party of Labour of Albania, this was a struggle with no concessions, but also an unequal and difficult struggle. Had not this struggle been waged the construction of socialism in Albania would have been endangered.

The importance of the struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania lies in the fact that it destroyed two myths: that of China as a country in which socialism was being

built, and that of Mao Zedong thought as the Marxism-Leninism of our time. In this struggle to defend principles our Party took account of all the economic difficulties which might be created for the country.

Mao Zedong thought, publicized as the «further scientific development of Marxism-Leninism», might have had an influence, as it did in fact, on the international communist movement and on certain Marxist-Leninist parties in particular. Because of many circumstances, these parties, being quite unable to make a profound analysis of this revisionist ideological trend, thought that in great China and in Mao Zedong they had the leaders of the proletarian revolution, resolute supporters in the struggle against American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, natural defenders of the just national liberation wars of the peoples.

Hence, a principled and determined struggle had to be waged in order to undeceive the deceived. The Party of Labour of Albania undertook this struggle. This is an experience we have lived through and proved, both in the time when Mao Zedong himself was alive and after his death. Socialist Albania did not become isolated in the world on account of this struggle, as the Yugoslav revisionists claim. The opposite occurred. The Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania made their internal and international positions even stronger.

In this struggle to defend Marxism-Leninism and the revolution and to oppose the pseudo-Marxist ideology of Mao Zedong thought, other sister Marxist-Leninist parties, too, fought with wisdom and revolutionary determination and made a valuable contribution.

The exposure of China as a non-socialist country and of Mao Zedong thought as an anti-Marxist theory wiped out a dangerous illusion in the international Marxist-Leninist movement, just as had occurred with Soviet and Yugoslav revisionism and the other reactionary revisionist currents.

Any disguise, any falsification, any deviation from the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism cannot be kept up for long. Sooner or later it is exposed, because it runs counter to the ideals of the working class and the peoples who fight for freedom, for genuine democracy, for socialism, for a society without exploiters and exploited.

The present developments in China, the whole home and foreign policy of the Chinese leadership, prove that the analyses and conclusions of the Party of Labour of Albania were absolutely accurate and correct. The Chinese leadership left the field free for the development of the capitalist economy, opened the doors to the inflow of enslaving foreign capital, united in close alliance with American imperialism and the blackest international reaction. China came out openly as an aggressive imperialist power with pretensions to world hegemony. It has become one of the main centres of world counter-revolution, which fights with all means to hinder the liberation of peoples and strangle the revolution. Today Chinese revisionism has emerged

openly as a reactionary current, has broken off any connection, not only with the revolutionary and liberation movements, but also with any democratic and progressive movement. In every case it takes the side of the most sinister, most obscurantist and fascist forces in the world.

The disorder, corruption, confusion and clashes, which have occurred and are occurring in China, are direct consequences of Mao Zedong thought. The criticism which the Chinese leaders today make of Mao Zedong has nothing at all in common with the Marxist criticism which we make. It has no connection with the content of his ideas which the present Chinese leaders retain and apply in practice. Their criticism is an expression of the struggle for power between different rival Maoist groups. These groups cannot reject Mao Zedong, because all of them find support and justification for their actions in his ideas. Without freeing themselves from Mao Zedong thought the Chinese proletariat and the Chinese people will be unable to find the right road which leads to socialism.

In the future, too, the Party of Labour of Albania will continue its consistent principled struggle for the complete exposure of Chinese revisionism, for the establishment of a clear-cut dividing line between Marxism-Leninism and the anti-Marxist ideas of Mao Zedong. Without denouncing and rejecting Mao Zedong thought, without combating and eradicating any influence of it in the revolutionary movement, there can be no serious talk about the struggle against Chinese revisionism or against modern revisionism as a whole, the Marxism-Leninist movement cannot be properly consolidated and developed and the cause of the revolution carried forward successfully.

The more the contradictions of capitalism and imperialism deepen, and the closer the wave of the revolution approaches, the more the other revisionist current — Eurocommunism, reveals its anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary features.

Eurocommunism is a product of the degeneration of the communist parties which took the course of revisionism, and of the split which occurred in the revisionist camp as a result of the predominance which bourgeois nationalism assumed within this camp.

It is the ideology of the worker aristocracy, fed with crumbs from the profits of the bourgeoisie. Eurocommunism, which is the purest ideology of bourgeois reformism, plays the role of the «fifth column» in the ranks of the workers' movement.

The Eurocommunists, who were the most ardent supporters of the campaign against Stalin, allegedly to return to Lenin, have now united openly with the whole chorus of the bourgeoisie and the social-democrats to attack Lenin and Leninism. The very term «Eurocommunism» is an expression of their departure from Marxism-Leninism, of their denial of the universal laws of the revolution and the construction of socialist society. The Eurocommunists have exhumed from the grave and put into circulation again the old opportunist theories of Lassalle and Bernstein, Kautsky and the 2nd International, which they publicize

as the last word in the creative development of Marxism in our days. The open attack from anti-communist positions all along the line against the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism is the logical end of all modern revisionism and all its trends.

The Eurocommunists' preachings about the supraclass capitalist state, about democracy for all, about the peaceful, parliamentary democratic road to socialism, about structural reforms within the framework of the bourgeois constitution, etc., have only one aim: to sabotage the revolution and defend and perpetuate the capitalist order. When the Italian, French or Spanish revisionists talk about the «historical compromise», the «historic bloc of the left», etc., or when they struggle to get into the bourgeois governments, they do this not in order to wrest power from the bourgeoisie, not to liquidate the capitalist order, but to protect it from the revolution and to take over the management of the affairs of the bourgeoisie themselves. They want to replace social-democracy, which is now compromised and discredited in the eyes of the masses as an open servant of the bourgeoisie, in this role.

While they prettify capitalism, the Eurocommunists express open hostility to socialism. According to them, no true socialism exists or ever has existed up till now. For them the «true socialism» is that which they themselves have invented, the so-called «democratic socialism», «pluralist socialism», or the «third road».

The «socialism» envisaged by the Eurocommunists is a socialism without the dictatorship of the proletariat, without the undivided leadership of the communist party, without the Marxist-Leninist theory. In this socialism, state power will belong to all classes, the different parties will come to leadership according to the votes they receive in elections, and the Marxist ideology will coexist with all the other ideologies, bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and religious. Different forms of the economy, the socialized property and private enterprise, imperialist capital and the multi-national companies, will exist in the socialism of the Eurocommunists.

Hence, in this so-called pluralist society, classes, parties, ideologies, different forms of property, socialist and capitalist elements, will combine and coexist in complete peace and harmony in the economy and policy, in the base and superstructure and the whole life of society. However, such a mongrel capitalist-socialist society has never existed and never can exist. It can exist only in the imagination of the Eurocommunists. Socialism and capitalism are two mutually exclusive social orders. The new society advocated by the Eurocommunists is nothing but the present-day capitalist society painted in socialist colours.

The emergence of Eurocommunism was publicized loudly by the bourgeoisie which hoped that its reformist ideology would overshadow the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism. It hoped that Eurocommunism would extend widely and become a banner to unite all the re-

visionists of the West and the East. But its hopes were completely dashed. In the Eurocommunist parties themselves the factions and splits increased, while between the different Eurocommunist parties the struggle for leadership began. The squabbles and divisions with the other revisionist parties became even greater. Marchais' party abandoned the Eurocommunist camp and is moving closer and closer to the Soviet revisionists. The Communist Party of Spain has split up into different factions, into orthodox and heretic Eurocommunists, into pro-Soviet and anti-Soviet groups. Meanwhile Berlinguer's party is experiencing a grave ideological and political crisis. The most important thing is that the Eurocommunist parties have lost much of the influence they had among the masses, and this can be seen in the defeats which they are suffering continually in the election campaigns, which they consider their main battlefield.

The ideas of genuine socialism have been and remain a great force to inspire, mobilize and organize the revolutionary struggle of the masses.

Today there is no need to invent new «socialisms» or to copy the so-called socialisms of the modern revisionists, such as the Soviet, Yugoslav, Chinese and other models, which are socialisms only in name.

There is nothing unknown about what socialism is, what it represents and what it brings about, how it is achieved and how socialist society is built. A theory and practice of scientific socialism exists. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin teach us this theory. We find the practice of it in that rich experience of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union in the time of Lenin and Stalin, and we find it today in Albania, where the new society is being built according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

Of course, as Lenin said, socialism will look different and will have its own special features in different countries as a result of the differing socio-economic conditions, the way in which the revolution is carried out, the traditions, the international circumstances, etc. But the basic principles and the universal laws of socialism remain unshakeable and are essential for all countries.

The Marxist-Leninists carefully study the revolutionary processes in their own countries, as well as the national and international conditions in which they take place. They are not dogmatic either in theory or in practice. For them, Marxism-Leninism, as a dialectical materialist world outlook, is a living, creative doctrine in ceaseless development.

The Marxist-Leninists are not conservative and fanatical, as the revisionists and the bourgeois charge. On the contrary, they are the most progressive people, resolute fighters against everything outdated and backward. They stand firmly on the positions of the new and fight with all their might for its victory. The revisionists and all the other opportunists who, as lackeys of the bourgeoisie, defend a lost cause, defend an obsolete order of oppression and ex-

ploitation, are conservative and reactionary. It is precisely this reactionary position which has plunged modern revisionism into a profound crisis.

The liberation of the consciousness of the proletariat and the peoples from the inhibiting influence of revisionism, the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism which points out the only correct course for the struggle and victory, is a primary task today in order to carry forward the revolutionary process in each country and on a world scale.

With the upsurge of the revolt and movements of the masses, with the awakening of the national and class consciousness of the peoples and from the fact that the world is facing great socio-economic upheavals, this task becomes even more urgent.

All the enemies are striving to alienate the masses from the revolution. The bourgeoisie, social-democracy, the modern revisionists and the opportunists of every hue are doing everything in their power to deceive the working class and the masses, to implant ideological confusion and disruption, to spread pessimism and fatalism, to arouse distrust in the revolution and socialism among the people, and to build up the psychosis that it is impossible to smash and defeat capitalism and imperialism. For these enemies, the only problem is to give capitalism «a more human face», which means that the big capitalists should continue to rule, but should throw a few crumbs to the poor. The bourgeois ideologists, the apologists of Soviet imperialism, the advocates of the theory of «three worlds», of «non-alignment» and the North-South dialogue, the Pope of Rome and the trade-union bosses are all united in this joint chorus.

Great pressure is being exerted on the European working class. Because of the domination of reformism, the workers' movement in Europe still has not developed into a genuine revolutionary movement. It has not gained full awareness that in order to change its situation the capitalist system must be replaced and socialist society established.

However, the European proletariat will not go on for ever obeying the trade-union bosses and social-democratic and revisionist parties, who prattle that a better future for the working masses will be ensured through the development of the existing bourgeois structures, the parliamentary road, through reforms, or through «United Europe». The oppression, violence, savage exploitation, unemployment, drugs, degeneration and inflation, which have swept the countries of Europe, will not be able to restrain the sound forces of the European peoples from revolting against the rule of capital. «United Europe» is nothing but an ephemeral solution, a reactionary capitalist policy which, sooner or later, will find itself facing countless difficulties of various natures. Hence, the moment will come when the revolt of the working class of Europe will reach the point that it imperatively demands a revolutionary solution.

In these conditions, it is of first-rate importance that the communists and non-communists, progressives and all the masses of the people should clearly understand that their real enemy is capitalism, that it must and can be

overthrown through revolutionary struggle. In this way, pessimism will be eliminated, and their courage and confidence in victory will be increased. The science of Marx and Lenin builds up this confidence of the proletariat and the masses and makes it invincible.

The party and the proletariat, that are preparing for the revolution and the seizure of power, try to analyse and thoroughly master the situations, to scientifically determine the character and stages of the revolution in every concrete instance, and, on this basis, to work out the appropriate strategy and tactics. They study with the greatest care the various people's revolutionary currents which clash with capitalism and its parties, assess their directions, the ratio of forces in the concrete situation, and on this basis, decide and put into practice all those skilful tactics which must be used to lead the popular masses on the correct victorious course, to channel thousands of streams into the great torrent of the revolution, in which the capitalist bourgeoisie will be drowned.

The Party and the proletariat do not go into revolution alone. In bourgeois society there are other oppressed strata which hate the capitalist order, there are progressive forces among the peasantry and youth, and there are other democratic and freedom-loving elements who cannot tolerate exploitation. The communists make approaches to all these forces and elements, build joint alliances with them on various issues and for definite objectives. Marxist-Leninists are neither sectarian nor liberal. They are revolutionaries, unwavering in principle, but flexible in tactics. The fronts which the Marxist-Leninist parties construct with other progressive forces in the capitalist countries against the bourgeoisie, against fascism and imperialism, are a component part of the strategy of the revolution. In any alliance or front the party safeguards its own individuality, even when, for objective reasons, it does not lead the front itself.

The unity of the proletariat has been and still is the key problem in the capitalist countries. The bourgeoisie tries to clasp the proletariat in an iron grip, to prevent it from proceeding on the course which history has allocated it for the overthrow of exploiters and the destruction of the power of capital. The trade-unions, which in most instances are subservient to the bourgeoisie, are one of the means of exerting this iron grip. The communists work to penetrate into and establish firm roots among the working class, and at the same time, struggle to bring about its unity. Today, when the crisis has resulted in tens of millions of workers being thrown out in the street and millions of others rising in strikes and demonstrations for economic and political claims, it is easier to unite and organize the workers in the struggle against capital.

The unity of the working class is achieved in struggle and in concrete revolutionary actions to fulfil the economic and political demands of the proletariat. To this end, the Marxist-Leninists work to ensure that the existing trade-unions break free from the domination of

agents of the bourgeoisie, revisionists and social-democrats, and to turn them into instruments of struggle against the exploiting order. Along with this, depending on the conditions and needs, they also create new revolutionary trade-unions.

The youth also are a mighty force who aspire and fight to change the unjust capitalist society, who want what is new and progressive. Only Marxism-Leninism and the revolution open this road to the youth, they alone save the masses of the youth from the political and social degeneration into which the bourgeoisie leads them, open to them the prospect of a new, undefiled and happy life, in which all their inexhaustible energies can burst out and be fully developed in the service of society and progress. The movement of the youth gains strength and can achieve its objectives when it merges with the revolutionary movement of the working class.

The present revolutionary process has made the problem of the stand towards the bourgeois army even more acute, not in order to consider it as the force which will carry out the revolution, but in order to disrupt and disintegrate it, so that it is not capable of opposing the revolution. The communists work to ensure that the masses of soldiers, who are sons of the people, do not obey the officer caste when the revolution breaks out, but will turn their weapons against the reactionary forces in power and unite with the insurgents, as occurred in Iran.

The revolution is the main task of the working class. But it is prepared in struggle, for the solution of the political, economic, social and cultural problems which concern the working masses every day. It is these actions, these daily battles, which enhance the consciousness of the class, which strengthen its organization and unity, which train it and lead it to revolution. By means of these battles, the party links itself with the masses and places itself at the head of them. Genuine parties of the working class are parties of revolutionary action.

In order to intimidate the masses and pave the way for the advent of fascism, big capital is inciting terrorism, which has assumed broad proportions in many countries. By means of terrorism, the bourgeoisie also tries to smear the genuine revolutionary movement and to set various elements, who revolt against the oppression of the bourgeoisie, on a wrong course. The bourgeoisie deliberately identifies the revolutionary struggle with terrorism in order to create the impression among the masses that the communists, patriots and revolutionaries, who fight against national and social oppression, are terrorists and anarchists who murder and rob. Genuine revolutionaries are against terrorism and anarchism, both in theory and in practice.

The working class and the working masses in the capitalist countries are more and more running up against the national problem, which has become very acute in the present time. Social-democracy and the revisionists deny the existence of such a problem in the developed capitalist countries, such as those of Western Europe, Japan, Canada, etc. They do not want to recognize the fact that,

as a result of the attack of the multi-national companies behind which stands American imperialism, the extension of supra-national competences of military blocs and international economic organizations, the extension of American bases and the stationing of American weapons on their territories are more and more restricting the national sovereignty, restricting the independent political action of their countries, and turning them gradually into vassal states.

The working class must take up the defence of the sovereignty and national independence which the bourgeoisie and the social-democratic and revisionist wing have abandoned. The proletariat of Europe and other countries must not be deceived by the propaganda of the United States, the Soviet Union or China each of which, for its own interests, makes a bogey of the threat to freedom and national independence from the rival superpower. By means of this propaganda they want to rob them of their freedom and independence and to establish the imperialist domination of this or that superpower.

The class and national moments also constitute a major problem in the countries where the revisionists rule. In particular, social liberation in these countries cannot be achieved without opposing and throwing off the yoke of Soviet social-imperialism, which has established its complete economic, political and military domination there.

American imperialism and other Western capitalist powers pose as supporters of the workers' and national movements in these countries, as though they support the liberation aspirations of the peoples there. This is demagoguery and a dangerous game intended to deceive the proletarians and the working masses. The imperialist bourgeoisie wants only to separate these countries from the sphere of influence of Soviet social-imperialism and to put them in its own sphere of domination.

The cause of the proletarian revolution is inseparable from the development of the peoples' liberation movement. An important feature of present-day national liberation struggles is that the political awakening to win and defend complete national freedom and independence is accompanied with a social awakening. The present movements of the oppressed peoples are increasingly aimed not only against foreign imperialism, but also against its agencies within the country. The fact is that, regardless of their socio-economic backwardness, the peoples of the oppressed countries are displaying great vitality and making an important contribution to the anti-imperialist democratic revolution, which opens the way to the proletarian revolution.

The people's uprisings of «Islamic inspiration», as the bourgeoisie and revisionists like to describe these movements with the aim of denying their anti-imperialist and revolutionary character, deserve special attention. It is a fact that there are insurgent movements in the Moslem countries, but the interpretations which the bourgeoisie and the revisionists make of them are ill-intentioned and denigrating. They conceal enslaving aims towards the peoples.

We Marxist-Leninists have said and still say that re-

ligion is opium for the peoples. In no instance do we alter our view in connection with this question. In its content, the Moslem religion, too, is no different from the others.

The broad masses of the Moslem peoples in the different countries have risen and are rising in struggle, not over the question of religion, but for national and social liberation. Belief in religion is relative and does not predominate over politics. The peoples of these countries believe in and respect Islam, but when the vital interests of the people, the freedom and independence of the country are violated, they rise in struggle against the aggressor, even if he is of the same religion. It is not the religious inspiration which causes the revolts and the revolutionary awakening of peoples, but the social and political conditions, the imperialist oppression and plunder and the poverty and suffering imposed on them.

The Arabs and other Moslem peoples are valiant fighters and boast an ancient culture. The anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-feudal uprisings and wars of these peoples show that they are progressive and love freedom. If this were not so, they could not rise in struggle for freedom and national independence against their double oppression, both internal and external.

In the regions inhabited by the Moslem peoples the imperialists and social-imperialists are in difficulties. Their puppets also are in difficulties. The state of affairs in these regions speaks of a revolutionary situation, of a great social movement of these peoples, regardless of the fact that, at first sight, they have a religious character, or whether the people taking part in them are believers or non-believers.

Revolutionary situations exist or are being created in many countries today, but the socialist revolution does not present itself as an immediate task everywhere. Other movements of a democratic, anti-imperialist, liberation character are developing in the world. All these are component parts of the world revolutionary process, are just struggles which weaken the imperialist front and contribute to the acceleration of the revolutionary processes, strike blows at the capitalist system and lead to its further decay. Therefore, as Lenin teaches us, the working class, as the most progressive class, and its communist party must actively support and assist these struggles and place themselves in the leadership of them. And if initially they have not affirmed their leading positions, still they must stand in the forefront of the fight and sacrifices, because only in this way can they come to the head of the movement and achieve its objectives, only in this way can the road be opened for the development of the anti-imperialist, people's democratic revolution into the socialist revolution.

In their struggle for national and social liberation the working class and the working masses clash everyday with the savage violence of imperialism, the bourgeoisie and the forces of reaction. In these conditions, they are obliged to respond to the reactionary violence with revolutionary violence, the forms of which are and cannot but be different, according to the conditions of each country

and the situations in which they occur. In some countries this violence has assumed or may assume the form of the armed insurrection. The Marxist-Leninists take an extremely serious stand on this question. They combat both nihilist stands and petty-bourgeois adventurism, expose and reject both the Maoist preachings about the «encirclement of the city by the countryside», etc., and the pseudo-Marxist theories which deny the decisive role of the popular masses in the struggle and the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist parties.

For our Marxist-Leninist parties the times are revolutionary. The new Marxist-Leninist parties are growing and tempering themselves all over the world. Their role and activity, their links and influence among the working class and masses are increasing. New parties have been created in many different countries and zones. All the conditions exist for them to be created even where there are no genuine revolutionary parties of the working class. This is an imperative fighting task of the most conscious, revolutionary elements of the proletariat.

The favourable objective situation in no way obscures the acute problems and major tasks which face the Marxist-Leninists. True, our forces are mounting continuously and the situation is developing in favour of the revolution, but reaction is active, too. Despite their profound and irreconcilable contradictions, the bourgeoisie, social-democracy and the various revisionists are united on one thing — they operate jointly in the struggle against Marxism-Leninism and the revolution. They try to implant distrust and fear amongst the masses of the people in order to alienate them from the revolution and socialism, to attack and damage the Marxist-Leninist parties in individual countries and the revolutionary communist movement as a whole.

Earlier, when Mao Zedong thought was exerting its influence in many parties, the imperialists and social-imperialists were more at ease, because they knew that this revisionist current was doing its work of undermining the Marxist-Leninist movement. Now that this current has been exposed, the enemies are trying to sow confusion by spreading all kinds of pseudo-Marxist theories, to split and weaken the parties through factional struggle, to manipulate weak and ill-formed elements in various ways and impel them to revisionist positions.

Today, however, the Marxist-Leninist parties have great experience in the struggle with different anti-Marxist currents and are better armed against the tactics which the bourgeoisie and revisionists employ. This experience helps them to wage the struggle against enemies with success, to increase their vigilance, to continuously raise the ideological and political level of the party members and arm them with the Marxist-Leninist theory. The revolutionary struggle has taught the Marxist-Leninist parties to strengthen their links with the masses, to go amongst the different social strata and organize them, to utilize legal and illegal work, combining them correctly in struggle against manifestations of legalism and bourgeois liberalism, as well as of narrow sectarianism and work in isolation.

In the face of the co-ordinated activity of the imperialists and revisionists against Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the peoples, the further strengthening of the unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement is an imperative need.

The strength of the international Marxist-Leninist communist movement lies in the correctness of the ideas for which it fights and in its unity. In their struggle the Marxist-Leninist parties are guided by the teachings of our great classics, use the rich and all-sided heritage from the Comintern, rely on the experience of their own struggle against the revisionist betrayal and bear in mind the negative experience of the parties which degenerated into revisionism. All these lessons and this experience constitute a very great ideological, political, organizational, theoretical and practical wealth for tempering and strengthening the parties and the Marxist-Leninist movement in every direction.

The meetings and discussions between sister parties make a valuable contribution to strengthening the unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement. In this way they benefit from one another's experience, arrive at common assessments of situations and unity of thought and action. The experience of one party cannot replace the experience of many parties. On the contrary, it is the experience of all the Marxist-Leninist parties which makes the movement invincible.

Standing loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism, the Party of Labour of Albania has always tried and will continue to try to make its own contribution to strengthening the unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement and the collaboration between the sister parties.

It is an honour for our Party of Labour to stand shoulder to shoulder with the other Marxist-Leninist parties, which are equal detachments of the revolutionary movement of the working class, in the great historic struggle for the cause of Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism. The Albanian communists and our whole people prize very highly the solidarity, the love and trust which the sister Marxist-Leninist parties, the proletariat and the revolutionary and freedom-loving peoples display for the Party of Labour and socialist Albania. This is a powerful support and encouragement for us. In all circumstances and in any situation our Party and people will fight to perform their national and international tasks with honour, to build socialism successfully in Albania, and to ardently defend the revolutionary cause of the proletarians and the peoples.

Dear Comrades,

The successes which our people have achieved under the leadership of the Party are great and the battles won are majestic. They show that our people have inexhaustible strength, that they are optimistic and determined to undertake new battles to make their lives happier, to raise the name of their socialist Homeland even higher, to strengthen their freedom and independence and the people's power which was born in the flames of the revolution.

It is this marvellous reality, the unbreakable unity of the people with the Party, the maturity, courage and determination of the communists, which give the people and the Party this sure guarantee that the tasks, which this Congress will set, will be fulfilled and overfulfilled.

The enthusiasm which the Draft-directives of the 7th Five-year Plan have aroused, the mobilization of the working masses to carry out the tasks of this year, and the encouraging results which have been achieved, and above all, the unanimous, resolute and ardent support which our people give the internal and external policy of the Party, show that the whole country is ready and mobilized to go forward confidently and resolutely on the course on which the Party leads them to achieve new victories.

Dear Comrades, let us turn this revolutionary drive, this boundless love for our glorious Party, this unshakable confidence in the future, into a great motive force to carry out the tasks in all fields, to overcome all the difficulties which we shall encounter and to further strengthen and consolidate our victories and the unassailable foundations of socialism in Albania.

LONG LIVE THE 8th CONGRESS OF THE PARTY!

LONG LIVE THE HEROIC, TALENTED AND INDUSTRIOUS ALBANIAN PEOPLE!

LONG LIVE THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA, THE WISE, VALIANT AND PROVEN LEADER, THE ORGANIZER OF ALL OUR VICTORIES ON THE BRILLIANT ROAD OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION!

GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM!

CLOSING SPEECH OF COMRADE ENVER HO

Comrade delegates,

The proceedings of this Congress are drawing to a close. The questions on the order of the day were examined and discussed exhaustively. The Central Committee which you voted in unanimously, had its first meeting in which the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee was elected.

Allow me on behalf of the comrades whom you elected to the Central Committee, on behalf of the members of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat, to thank you for the trust you have placed in us and the honour you have done to us by electing us to the supreme forums of the Party. We assure the Party and the whole people that we will put all our forces in the service of the cause of socialism, the freedom and independence of the Homeland, for which our heroic Party and people have fought and continue to fight with self-abnegation.

The historic tasks that lie ahead of us, the work awaiting us will not be easy. But we are fully confident that we shall carry them out successfully. A guarantee for this are the correct line of the Party, the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the 40-year experience of our Party. A guarantee for this is the militant spirit, the resolute struggle and the creative work of the communists and our people for the socialist construction of the country and the defence of the gains of socialism.

The successful conclusion of the proceedings of the Congress has greatly rejoiced our people, our friends and well-wishers. Its proceedings were characterized by revolutionary maturity, loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the determination to carry out our socialist society forward, to make the life of our people happy and sure.

The Congress is a fresh manifestation of the monolithic unity of the Party, of the unanimous determination to defend and carry out the line of the Party in all fields, both on internal and external questions. The unity of the Party is a guarantee for the unity of the people. Therefore, dear comrades, let us defend and ceaselessly strengthen this steel unity.

Many delegates from the various districts and sectors, workers, peasants, intellectuals, militarymen and others spoke from the tribune of this Congress. They were of different age and in length of service in the ranks of the Party. But all of them were united by the same communist ideal, the same love for the socialist Homeland, the same loyalty to the people. Their contributions to the discussions were another expression of the political and ideological maturity of the entire people, of its correct understanding of the situations and the importance of the tasks set by this Congress.

The Congress endorsed a great program of work in all fields, it formulated concrete

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tasks and clear orientations for all sectors. Their realization calls for fresh and greater mobilization, increased efforts for improving the organization and management of work, the increase of work productivity, the application of the achievements of science and advanced experience everywhere.

Our people, with the communists in the lead, will successfully accomplish these tasks, will also win the battle for the fulfilment of the 7th Five-year Plan. They will not spare their efforts and toil, because they are convinced that only by carrying the socialist construction forward, will the victories of the revolution be defended and strengthened, will the present and future be guaranteed.

Comrades,

Delegations of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties from all continents have honoured our 8th Congress with their participation. Allow me on your behalf and on behalf of the entire Party to thank them from our heart for the warm messages they brought from their parties and the fraternal greetings they addressed to this Congress.

Their internationalist solidarity is a valuable support for our efforts for the socialist construction, for the struggle our Party and

people wage against imperialism and modern revisionism, against all our common enemies.

On our part, we assure the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, all our comrades-in-arms, that the Albanian communists will jealously preserve the revolutionary friendship that exists between us and will spare no efforts so that our collaboration develops and strengthens further on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

FORWARD, COMRADES, TO CARRY OUT THE DECISIONS OF THIS CONGRESS, TO FULFIL THE TASKS OF THE NEW FIVE-YEAR PLAN, TO MAKE OUR SOCIALIST ALBANIA MORE POWERFUL AND MORE PROSPEROUS!

LONG LIVE THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA, THE GLORIOUS LEADER OF OUR PEOPLE!

LONG LIVE OUR HEROIC PEOPLE!

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM!

I declare the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania closed!

IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF THE PLA AND

RECEPTION AT THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PLA, OF THE PARTIES WHICH ATTENDED THE WORK OF THE 8th CONGRESS

On October 30, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha, and Comrades Adil Çarçani, Haki Toska, Hekuran Isai, Kadri Hazbiu, Manush Myftiu, Pali Miska, Ramiz Alia, Rita Marko, Spiro Koleka, Simon Stefani, received the delegations of the sister parties which have come to attend the work of the 8th Congress of the Party, at the seat of the Central Committee of the Party.

Present in the reception were the delegation of the Communist Party of Vietnam, headed by the Secretary of the Central Committee Song Hao, the delegation of the Communist Party of Brasil, headed by the First Secretary of the CC Joao Amazonas, the delegation of the Communist Party of Germany, headed by the Chairman of the Party Ernst Aust, the delegation of the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist) headed by the member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, Raul Marko, the delegation of the Communist Party of Colombia (Marxist-Leninist), headed by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, the delegation of the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed), headed by the Political Secretary Jose Alves, the delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Equador, headed by the Secretary of the Central Committee, Pasqual Prado,

the delegation of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), headed by the Chairman of the Party, Hardial Bains, the delegation of the Communist Party of Denmark (Marxist-Leninist), headed by the First Secretary of the Central Committee, Klaus Ris Klausen, the delegation of the Party of Labour of Iran, headed by the General Secretary Khalil, the delegation of the Communist Party of Japan (Left), headed by the member of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the CC of the Party, Toshio Jasuda, the delegation of the Communist Party of Togo, headed by the First Secretary of the Party, Cocou Jules, the delegation of the Communist Party of New Zealand, headed by the member of the Central Committee of the Party Jack Locke, the delegation of the Communist Labour Party of the Dominican Republic, headed by the General Secretary Rafael Chalub Mejia, the delegation of the Revolutionary Communist Party of India, headed by the General Secretary Lal Sing, the delegation of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Britain (M-L), headed by the General Secretary David Williams, the delegation of the Communist Party of Mexico (Marxist-Leninist), headed by the member of the Central Executive Commission Sergio Barlos, the delegation of the Communist Party of Dahomey, the delegation of the Organization for the

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Founding of the Communist Party of Sweden, headed by the member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, Nils Anderson, and the delegation of the «Proletarian Action» Marxist-Leninist Movement of Chile, headed by the member of the Central Leadership and of the Political Secretariat Miguel Asenjo.

Speaking of the reception, Comrade Enver Hoxha, after expressing the joy

of all the Albanian communists for the participation of the delegations from the sister parties in the work of the 8th Congress of the PLA, pointed out the importance of the meetings of our parties in the present situations of the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, which try to inhibit the struggle and efforts of the proletariat and the peoples.

Comrade Enver Hoxha also spoke to the members of the delegations about

the achievements of our people under the leadership of the Party in the construction of socialism.

Present in the reception were the members of the Central Committee of the Party, Behar Shtylla, Foto Çami, Gafur Çuçi, Ndreçi Plasari and the Director of the Directory for Abroad of the Central Committee of the Party, Agim Popa.

The reception passed in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere.

RECEPTION AT THE PALACE OF BRIGADES

On November 7th the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania gave a reception at the Palace of Brigades on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Party and the successful conclusion of the proceedings of its 8th Congress.

Present at the reception were the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha, and Comrades Adil Çarçani, Hajredin Çeliku, Hekuran Isai, Kadri Hazbiu, Lenka Çuko, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Ramiz Allia, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Çami, Llambi Gegprifti, Prokop Murra, Qirjako Mihali, the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania, Comrade Hazhi Lleshi, members of the Central Committee of the Party, of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Government, delegates to the

8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania and other guests.

In the reception took part also the delegation of the Communist Party of Vietnam, the delegation of the Communist Party of Brazil, the delegation of the Communist Party of Germany, the delegation of the Communist Party of Spain (M-L) the delegation of the Peruvian Communist Party (M-L), the delegation of the Communist Party of Colombia (M-L), the delegation of the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed), the delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Ecuador, the delegation of the Communist Party of Canada (M-L), the delegation of the Communist Party of Denmark (M-L), the delegation of the Party of Labour of Iran, the delegation of the Communist Workers' Party of France, the delegation of the Communist Party of Japan (Left), the delegation of the Com-

munist Party of Togo, the delegation of the Communist Party of New Zealand, the delegation of the Communist Labour Party of the Dominican Republic, the delegation of the Revolutionary Communist Party of India, the delegation of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Britain (M-L), the delegation of the Communist Party of Mexico (M-L), the delegation of the CC of the Communist Party of Indonesia, the delegation of the Communist Party of Dahomey, the delegation of the Communist Party of Iraq (Central Leadership), the delegation of the Organization for the Founding of the Communist Party of Sweden and the delegation of the «Proletarian Action» Marxist-Leninist Movement of Chile, who attended the proceedings of the 8th Congress of the PLA.

During the reception, which passed in an atmosphere of great elation, Comrade Adil Çarçani, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA, greeted those present on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party.

An artistic program was performed for those participating in the reception.

IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PLA AND ITS 8th CONGRESS

SPEECH BY COMRADE ADIL ÇARÇANI

Dear comrades and friends,

Allow me on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party to greet and thank you from my heart for your participation in this solemn evening dedicated to the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Party and the successful conclusion of the proceedings of its 8th Congress.

The Albanian communists, working class and entire people have lived in these days with the proceedings of the Congress; the hearts of the communists and the whole people have beaten in unison with the Party during these days. This is a remarkable steel unity around our heroic Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, a unity tempered in these forty years of successive great battles and victories over many savage enemies, internal and external, for the great cause of freedom and socialism, a unity which constitutes the greatest guarantee for all the victories achieved in our country. It has deep-going ideological and political roots, it is a unity of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist thought and action and is best reflected in the majestic and most glorious deed of the Party, which is the new socialist Albania, our beloved Homeland, a sovereign and happy country, an invincible state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The 8th Congress of the Party endorsed a major and inspiring program for the future, thus opening even more brilliant prospects before the Party and our people. The will of the Congress is the will of the Party, is the will of the entire people. Therefore, the communists, the working class and the entire Albanian people, under the leadership of the Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, are determined to turn the historic decisions of the 8th Congress into reality, to carry forward the complete construction of socialist society relying only on their own forces, to develop the class struggle uninterruptedly and in the right way, to fight, as always, against the imperialist and revisionist enemies, to keep the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin always flying.

The 8th Congress of the Party was a vivid testimony to the monolithic

unity of our people, but also a brilliant testimony to the proletarian internationalism, the communist friendship and unity which links the PLA with the other Marxist-Leninist parties. Your presence at and your greetings to the Congress, dear comrade representatives of the fraternal parties, are a great support and inspiration for our Party and people.

We know that, regardless of the slanders of the enemies, we have never been, nor will we ever be, alone in our just struggle, that we have innumerable loyal friends and comrades everywhere, because the cause for which we are fighting is the cause of all the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists, is the cause of the proletariat and all the freedom and progress-loving peoples of the world.

Both during the glorious National Liberation War and in the epoch of the construction of socialism, the PLA has never divorced its struggle from the struggle of the fraternal parties and the other peoples. It has always considered itself a detachment of the international Marxist-Leninist movement, and the revolution of the Albanian people a component part of the world proletarian revolution.

The revolution today is more actual than ever. The all-round crisis, which is eroding the imperialist-revisionist system, is accelerating this process.

For decades on end the imperialists and the modern revisionists have left no weapon or means unresorted to in order to overcome Marxism-Leninism and liquidate the true communist parties who stand loyal to the immortal and triumphant doctrine of the proletariat. However, Marxism-Leninism was not overcome, nor will it ever be overcome either by the strength of the bourgeoisie or the demagogy and betrayal of revisionism.

In the future, too, the Marxist-Leninist parties, defending Marxism-Leninism with revolutionary courage and adhering to its principles, unfurling the banner of Marxism-Leninism, will successfully continue their resolute and uncompromising struggle against all the trends of modern revisionism, and Soviet revisionism in particular, which

is their head. Great battles lie ahead of them, but also great and sure victories await them. Without struggle and sacrifice there is no liberation, there are no victories of the revolution.

In the process of our common struggle the unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement in general, which has colossal importance for our revolutionary movement and struggle, is being ceaselessly tempered. In the future, too, the Party of Labour of Albania will do everything within its possibilities, to ceaselessly broaden its close fraternal collaboration with the fraternal parties, to jointly strengthen the Marxist-Leninist unity of our movement ever more.

Once again thanking you on behalf of our Party and people, on behalf of the Central Committee with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, for the honour you did us and the very valuable support and solidarity you brought us with your participation in the proceedings of the 8th Congress of our Party, we beg you, dear comrades of the fraternal parties, on returning to your countries, to assure your parties that the PLA, the Albanian communists as well as the entire Albanian people will carry the cause of socialism in Albania always forward under the triumphant banner of Marxism-Leninism, will launch themselves into attack for the fulfilling of all the

majestic tasks set by the 8th Congress of the Party, will successfully fulfil the 7th Five-year Plan and, at the same time, will discharge themselves of their internationalist duty with honour and in any situation.

I invite you, comrades, to drink to:
— our Party of Labour and the health of the beloved leader of our Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha!
— the Marxist-Leninist parties!
— the militant solidarity among our parties!
— your health, dear comrades and friends of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties and the health of all those present!
— the glory of Marxism-Leninism!

LEADERS OF THE PARTY AND STATE VISIT THE HOUSE WHERE THE PARTY WAS FOUNDED

On the 8th of November, the day of the 40th anniversary of the founding of our glorious Party and on the occasion of the conclusion of the work of the 8th Congress of the Party, Comrades Adil Çarçani, Hajredin Çeliku, Kadri Hazbiu, Lenka Çuko, Ramiz Alia, Besnik Bekteshi, and Foto Çami visited the house where the Com-

munist Party of Albania (today the PLA) was founded. Amongst the visitors were also the Vice-President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania Comrade Spiro Koleka, the Chairman of the Central Control and Audit Commission of the PLA Comrade Pilo Peristeri and the Secretary of the Party Com-

mittee of the District of Tirana Xhelil Gjoni.

The leaders of the Party and state visited the room in which the meetings for the founding of the Party were held and the other parts of the house. To commemorate the event they took a photograph in the front-yard of the Museum-House of the Party.

Meanwhile, inhabitants of the No.3 quarter of the Capital, martyrs' mothers, veterans, young men and women, had thronged the «Founding of the Party» Street and applauded and enthusiastically hailed for the Party and the beloved leader of our Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

HOMAGES WERE PAID AND WREATHS LAID AT THE CEMETERY OF THE MARTYRS OF THE NATION

On the 8th of November, the day of the glorious jubilee of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Party, homages were paid and wreaths were laid at the Cemetery of the Martyrs of the Homeland.

Participating in the ceremony organized on this occasion were working people of centres of work and produc-

tion, members and relatives of the martyrs' families, militarymen, young men and young women, and others.

Wreaths were laid in the name of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania, the General Council of the Democratic

Front of Albania, the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Albania, the General Council of the Women's Union of Albania, the Central Committee of the Labour Youth Union of Albania, the National Veterans' Committee of the War of the Albanian people, the Ministry of People's Defence, the Party Committee and the Executive Committee of the People's Council of the District of Tirana.

Present in the ceremony organized on this occasion were Comrades Hekuran Isai, Manush Myftiu, Pali Miska, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, Llambi Gegprifti, Prokop Murra,

IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PLA AND ITS 8th CONGRESS

Qirjako Mihali, the Vice-President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Shefqet Peçi, members of the Central Committee of the Party and other comrades.

During the ceremony, the brass band executed funeral marches and the national hymn. Militarymen and young pioneers stood the guard of honour.

THE FOREIGN DELEGATIONS WHICH TOOK PART IN THE WORK OF THE 8th CONGRESS OF THE PARTY LAID WREATHS AT THE CEMETERY OF THE MARTYRS OF THE NATION

On the 40th anniversary of the founding of our Party, the delegation of the Communist Party of Vietnam, the delegation of the Communist Party of Brazil, the delegation of the Communist Party of Germany, the delegation of the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist), the delegation of the Peruvian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), the delegation of the Communist Party of Colombia (Marxist-Leninist), the delegation of the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed), the delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Ecuador, the delegation of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), the delegation of the Communist Party of Denmark (Marxist-Leninist) the delegation of the Party of Labour of Iran, the delegation of the Communist Workers' Party of France, the delegation of the Communist Party of Japan (Left), the delegation of the Communist Party of Togo, the delegation of the Communist Party of New Zealand, the delegation of the Communist Labour Party of the Do-

menican Republic, the delegation of the Revolutionary Communist Party of India, the delegation of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist), the delegation of the Communist Party of Mexico (Marxist-Leninist), the delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia, the delegation of the Communist Party of Dahomey, the delegation of the Communist Party of Iraq (Central Leadership), the delegation of the Organization for the Founding of the Communist Party of Sweden, and the delegation of the «Proletarian Action» Marxist-Leninist Movement of Chile, which took part in the work of the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, on the 7th of November paid homages and laid wreaths at the Cemetery of the Martyrs of the Nation.

During the ceremony, the brass orchestra executed funeral marches and the national hymn. Militarymen and young pioneers stood the guard of honour.

FESTIVE CONCERT ON THE OCCASION OF THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PARTY AND ITS 8th CONGRESS

On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Party and its 8th Congress, the Ministry of Edu-

cation and Culture organized, in the evening of November 8th in the Opera and Ballet Theatre, a festive concert

with the professional troupes of the Capital and folklore groups of some districts.

Present in the concert were the beloved leader of our Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, Comrades Adil Çarçani, Hajredin Çeliku, Hekuran Isai, Kadri Hazbiu, Lenka Çuko, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Ramiz Alia, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Çami, Llambi Gegprifti, Prokop Murra, Qirjako Mihali, the Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania,

Comrade Haxhi Lleshi, members of the Central Committee and the members of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and of the Government and other guests.

Present also were the foreign delegations which took part in the work of the 8th Congress of the PLA.

The program contained items dedicated to our glorious Party of Labour, our Homeland, our heroic people, our happy socialist life. The audience applauded the cantata «To the Party in its 40th anniversary», the popular song «My beautiful homeland» by the Piluri

polyphonic group, «The streams gurgle» by the Mirdita folklore group, «The song of our new life», the sung-dance «Rejuvenated Dropull sings» by the Dropull folklore group, the part from the «Shota and Azem Galica» ballet, etc. This beautiful concert was closed with the festive choreographic part «United around the Party».

In the end, all the artists came out on the stage and sang «Lead us, our eagle-eyed Party». All the spectators enthusiastically hailed and cheered for our glorious Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head.

MASS RALLY IN THE CAPITAL

On the occasion of the successful conclusion of the work of the 8th Congress of the Party and the 40th anniversary of its founding, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Party Committee of the District of Tirana in the morning of November 8 organized a magnificent mass rally in which 120,000 people participated.

Present in the rally were Comrade Enver Hoxha and other leaders of the Party and state.

Present also were the foreign delegations which attended the work of the 8th Congress of the PLA.

For minutes on end the participants in the rally ardently applauded and cheered for the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. The powerful «Party-Enver, we are always ready» burst from the thousands of their chests. Comrade Enver Hoxha greeted them with the raised fist salute.

The rally was opened by the First Secretary of the Party Committee of the District of Tirana Gaqo Nesho.

The member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party Comrade Kadri Hazbiu took the floor amidst the great joy of the participants. His speech was often punctuated by enthusiastic applause and cheering, which drew into long ovations.

On behalf of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Parties of Europe the rally was greeted by the head of the delegation of the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist), Comrade Raul Mariko, on behalf of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties and groups of America the rally was greeted by the head of the delegation of the Communist Party of Colombia (Marxist-Leninist) and on behalf of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties of Asia, Africa and Oceania, the rally was greeted by the head of the delegation of the Commun-

ist Party of New Zealand Comrade Jack Locke. The greetings by the guests were received with long applause and powerful cheering for Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Comrade Enver Hoxha shook hands with them warm-heartedly. Meanwhile, enthusiasm in the square was growing. The participants in the meeting burst out into repeated powerful cheering. Applauses continued without a break all the time while Comrade Enver Hoxha and the other leaders of the Party and state left the tribune saluting the rally.

This magnificent rally of the working people of the Capital was an expression of the boundless love of the people for the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, an expression of their unbreakable unity around the Party, their confidence in and determination for the future, their revolutionary readiness to put into practice the decisions of the 8th Congress of the Party, to march steadily forward to new victories on the brilliant road of the socialist construction in order to make our dear Homeland more prosperous and stronger.

COMRADE KADRI HAZBIU'S SPEECH

Comrades,
Working people of Tirana and all Albania,

Dear friends and comrades, representatives of the Marxist-Leninist sister parties and groups.

Today our people celebrate two great events: they celebrate the glorious jubilee of the 40th anniversary of the founding of their tested leader, the

Party of Labour of Albania and the successful conclusion of its historic 8th Congress.

In the night of the 8th of November, 40 years ago, here in Tirana, in the decisive moments when the destinies of the Albanian people were in the scales, Comrade Enver Hoxha with the Albanian communists founded the Communist Party of Albania, which

would lead the Albanian people in the greatest and most victorious wars in all their history. As Comrade Enver Hoxha writes in his memoirs «When the Party Was Born», «It was born from the bosom of the people, from their revolutionary fire and ardour, which had remained inextinguished in the centuries, it was born like the shining sun in the sinister darkness of the fascist bondage and terror which had afflicted the people and the Homeland.»

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The more time elapses, the more the incalculable importance of this event which marked the sharpest change in the many-centuries long history of the Albanian people, a history full of wars and struggles for freedom and independence, for the land of the ancestors, for their legitimate rights to existence as a people and nation, for their national language and culture, for liberation from oppression, misery and

state power, as the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and introduced the country into the road of socialism.

In these 37 years of the people's state power, under the leadership of the Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, the country has been entirely transformed. From the old Albania of feudal-bourgeois oppression, poverty and illiteracy, no trace has remained. Instead of it, Socialist Albania, in which



View of the mass rally organized in Tirana on the occasion of the

suffering, for social progress, come to the relief.

With the creation of the Party, the people brought forth from their ranks the leadership, which was absolutely necessary for them, and whose line made them more conscious of taking their destinies in their own hands, and no one would ever stop them on the road they had chosen.

The strength of the people, under the leadership of the revolutionary party of the working class, armed with Marxism-Leninism, would do miracles. In just less than three years after its founding, the Communist Party of Albania (today the Party of Labour of Albania), raising and leading the entire people in the glorious epic of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, liberated the Homeland from the fascist bondage, led to the triumph of the people's revolution, established the new

any form of oppression and exploitation of the working people has been liquidated, in which the people themselves, with the working class at their head, are in power, in which magnificent progress has been achieved in all fields, has risen. Today it has a new and powerful industry, an intensive and advanced agriculture which produces all the bread grain needed, has a developed educational and cultural system, a modern science and technique, and a strong and unbreakable defence.

Albania is the only country in the world in which the citizens pay no taxes or taxations, in which one in every three people goes to school, in which medication is free of charge for all, in which the new life of the broad masses of the people has become and continues to become more and more beautiful and happy every day. Our

country knows no crises, unemployment, price rises, inflation, corruption, terrorism and the other incurable ills which erode the capitalist and revisionist society from within. The gains of genuine socialism, which is built in Albania, in complete conformity with the immortal teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, according to the great principle of self-reliance and in the conditions of a small country under the savage imperialist-revisionist

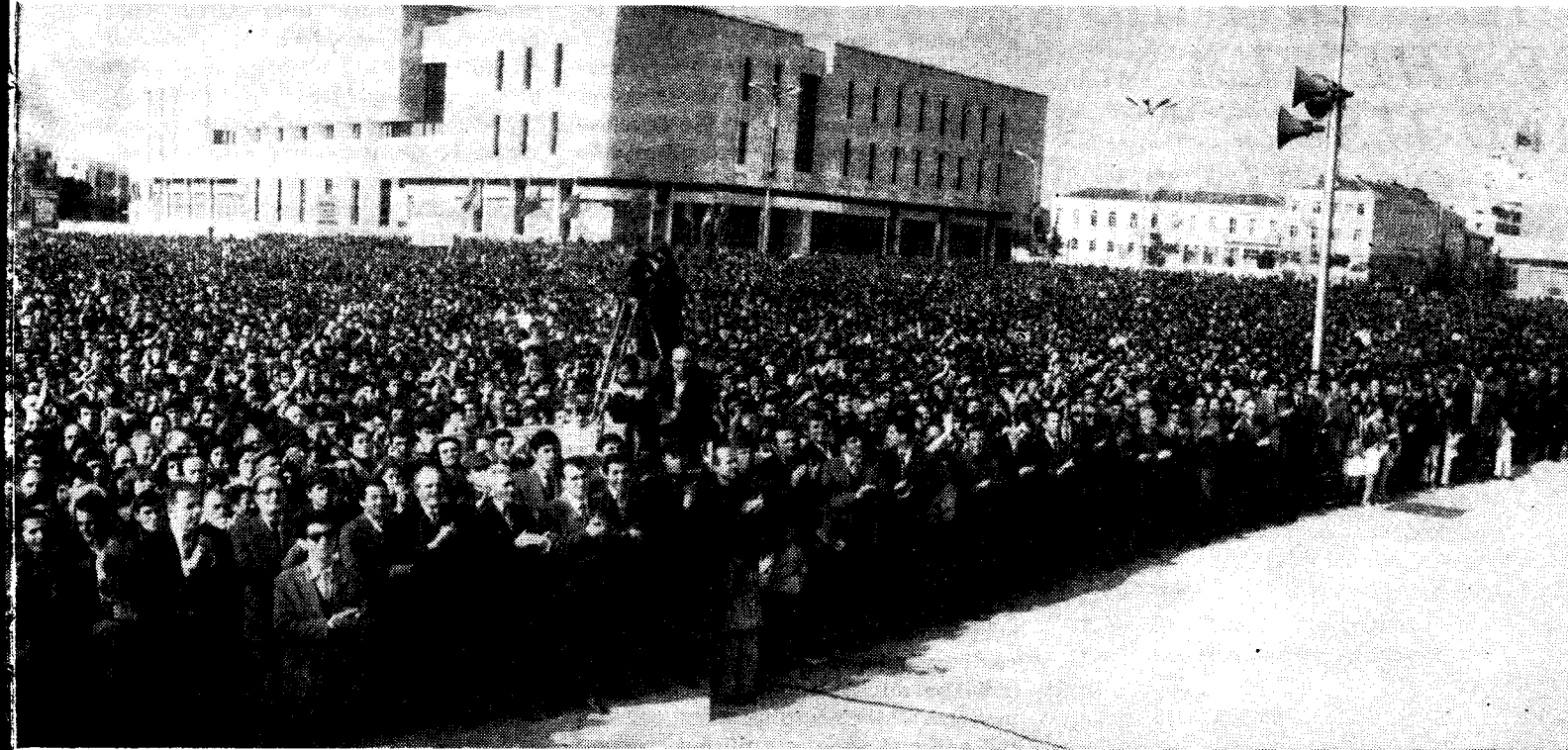
their boundless loyalty to the Party and to their beloved leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, their readiness to always apply its correct Marxist-Leninist line with determination.

Comrades,

Our Party and people came to the 8th Congress with a rich balance of victories.

Regardless of the sabotage acts of the Chinese revisionists, the 6th Five-year Plan was fulfilled in its funda-

under its leadership, the creative energies and the revolutionary qualities of our people burst out as never before. Parallel with the work to carry out the tasks of the 6th Five-year Plan, we in our country coped with success and without any aid from outside with the grave consequences of the destructive earthquake of April 15, 1979. Entire towns and villages were rebuilt with the resources of the people and the state reserves. This is and remains



anniversary of the founding of the Party and its 8th Congress.

blockade, are living testimony of the invincible strength of Marxism-Leninism, the vitality of the socialist order, the correct line and leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, the firm determination of our people and their steel unity around the Party.

With its unshakeable policy of proletarian principles, with its open and bold stands, with its unyielding struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism and modern revisionism, with its internationalist support which it has given and continually gives to the revolutionary and liberation movement, our Party has made our Homeland dearly loved and respected, an inspiring example for all the revolutionaries, for the freedom-loving and progressive people.

This is why in this great celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Party, our entire people once again express

mental objectives. The conspiratorial aims of the Chinese to force our Party and country to their knees and to turn them from their principled stands, or to force them to stretch their hands to someone else, in the West or in the East, ended in complete failure, just as those of the Titoite renegades and the Khrushchevites had done before them. The Party of Labour and socialist Albania have never and will never kowtow to pressures, from whatever quarter they come. They have never fallen and will never fall into the trap of the hypocritical smiles and offers for «open doors», from whomsoever they come, from the American imperialists and others, or from the Soviet social-imperialists and their stooges.

In the course of the struggle against difficulties and all the enemies, external and internal, our Party was further strengthened and tempered, and

one of the monuments of the socialist construction in this period of our development.

The Report of the Central Committee, delivered by Comrade Enver Hoxha, and all the documents and decisions of the 8th Congress, constitute a magnificent programme of objectives and tasks for our forward march on the road of the socialist construction of the country and the further strengthening of the defence of the Homeland, as well as in the struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism. They are the consistent continuation, the further development and enrichment of the political line and the Marxist-Leninist theoretical thinking of our Party in the present conditions of the country and on the international plane.

The orientations and tasks laid down by the 8th Congress of the Party reflect

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the summing up of the experience gained in the period between the two congresses for the continuous strengthening and tempering of the Party, the enhancement of its leading role, for the correct development of the class struggle and the all-round strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for raising the communist education of the working people to a new and higher degree, for placing the work of the Party, the state and economic organs and the social organizations on a sounder scientific basis.

The 8th Congress of the Party analysed and endorsed the directives of the 7th Five-year Plan of the development of the economy and culture, the realization of which relies completely on the material, human and financial sources and reserves of the country, without any aid and credit from outside. These specific features of this plan bring into special confrontation two opposing systems: our socialist system full of vitality and the outright rotten capitalist-revisionist system which is wriggling in the profound crisis of insurmountable antagonistic contradictions.

The Congress expressed the unshakable confidence that the heroic working class, the patriotic cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, our entire people, old and young, will continually be on their feet as one, will mobilize all their forces, mental and physical, all their revolutionary energies and will make this magnificent program of the economic and social development in the 7th Five-year Plan, a reality.

The 8th Congress defined the line and the tasks of the foreign policy of our Party and state for the coming period. Marxism-Leninism, the efforts to guarantee the most favourable external conditions possible for the construction of socialism and for the defence of the independence of the Homeland, unreserved support for the just revolutionary and liberation struggles, the principles of good neighbourliness: equality, sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs, and exchanges of mutual benefit, with all those states which maintain a correct stand towards our country, will, as always, underlie the foundations of this policy.

Sticking consistently to these principles, we have defended and will staunchly defend the rights which belong to our brothers who live in their own lands in Kosova, Macedonia and Montenegro, who constitute one ethny,

one people formed in the centuries, one people who have their own history, language, culture and who have unceasingly fought in defence of their national identity and their existence. We support them because we consider their demands to liquidate inequality and economic backwardness, to develop their national education and culture, to gain the right of the status of the Republic within the Yugoslav Federation, to be just demands. The Yugoslav authorities must cease their terror and persecution against the Albanians and recognize to them all the rights which belong to them.

The foreign policy of our Party and state, in the future, too, will be a policy based on principles, characterized through and through by uncompromising struggle against imperialism, with US imperialism at the head, against Soviet and Chinese social-imperialism, against national oppression, racism and reaction, against imperialist war, will be characterized by the relentless and consistent struggle for the exposure of modern revisionism of all colours, whether of the Titoite, Khrushchevite-Brezhnevite, Chinese or Euro-communist currents.

The principled policy is the only correct policy, said Lenin, and we always act according to this teaching. However there are some who pity us claiming that this policy leads to the isolation of Albania. When such rumours are spread by the imperialists and the social-imperialists we repeat to them that they are hoping against hope when they want to see socialist Albania change its line and policy, or that it renounces its principles and enters the umbrella of one or the other superpower. We do not fall in for their deceptive tactics because we know them for what they are; we are not afraid of their threats because our entire people, united as one around the Party and determined to make the sublime sacrifice in order to bring about the defeat of any venture against socialist Albania, stand guard of the Homeland. They will never catch us unprepared. We will never give up our independent policy, or the struggle to publicly expose the dangerous policy of oppression, expansion and aggression of the superpowers which are pushing the world towards a new bloodbath. We will always maintain our sharp vigilance, never for a moment forgetting the situations in which we are working and living, and will keep our powder dry.

Rumours about the isolation of Albania also come from our well-wishers, who sincerely concern themselves about its destinies. And we, with the same feelings of good-will, tell them that they have no cause to worry. Albania has never been and will never feel itself isolated. It maintains diplomatic, trade and cultural relations with a great number of states. Above all, socialist Albania has had and continuously has the powerful solidarity and support of the world proletariat, the freedom-loving peoples, the progressive peoples and forces all over the world. A living testimony of this is also the participation of the representatives of the Marxist-Leninist parties and groups from all the continents in the 8th Congress of our Party and in this mass rally. These Marxist-Leninist parties and groups represent a great force, to which the future belongs, because under the banner which they have raised are lined up the many-million masses, which have risen and will rise more and more every day in struggle and revolution for national and social emancipation, in order to put an end once and for all to any oppression and exploitation and to build a new world.

In the name of our Party and people, we once again express our heartfelt thanks to the sister Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations for the solidarity, help and support which they have always given our Party and coun-

try, because they are a great source of inspiration and strength for us. Likewise, we assure our dear friends and comrades that the Party of Labour, socialist Albania and the Albanian people will always be besides them in the difficult, heroic and glorious struggle which they wage, and will always carry out with honour their international duty.

Dear comrades and friends,

Besides the 40th anniversary of the founding of our Party of Labour these days we also celebrate the 64th anniversary of the triumph of the great October Socialist Revolution, which was achieved under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, led by Lenin and Stalin. The 7th of November has been and is the great celebration of the working people the world over.

The Khrushchevite revisionists, who came to power after the death of the great Stalin, betrayed the cause of the October revolution, liquidated the dictatorship of the proletariat and the victories of socialism in the Soviet Union, re-established capitalism there and transformed the state of the Soviets into a dangerous centre of the counter-revolution, into a social-imperialist superpower with ambitions for world rule.

However, the ideas of the October revolution are alive and cannot be extinguished. Its banner, which was thrown down by the modern revision-

ists, has been raised and kept high by the Party of Labour of Albania and the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties. The spirit of the Red October is felt and is spreading more and more every day in our time when the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism has shaken this old parasitic system and its spawn — modern revisionism, to their foundations, when the situations in the world are developing towards their further revolutionization, when the revolution and the liberation war of the peoples have become a problem put forward for solution. The cause of the working class and of the freedom-loving peoples and the great cause of the October Revolution will win!

With unshakeable confidence in the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist general line of our Party, with complete confidence in our forces and with great determination, let us mobilize all our mental and physical energies in order to carry out in practice the magnificent tasks which were set at the 8th Congress of the Party.

Long live the Party of Labour of Albania and its historic 8th Congress!

Long live the beloved leader of our Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha!

Long live our heroic people!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

THE MUSEUM OF NATIONAL HISTORY IS INAUGURATED

On the eve of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the PLA and of its 8th Congress, the Museum of National History, one of the greatest socio-cultural projects of the country, was inaugurated in Tirana, the capital of the PSR of Albania.

Veterans of the war and work, workers of work and production centres,

functionaries of various institutions, workers in the fields of art and culture, armymen, young people, students and other guests attended the ceremony organized on this occasion.

Those present met with warm applause and loud cheers the coming to the Museum of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, Com-

rade Enver Hoxha, as well as of the Comrades Adil Çarçani, Hekuran Isai, Kadri Hazbiu, Manush Myftiu, Pali Miska, Ramiz Alia, Rita Marko, Spiro Koleka, Lenka Çuko, Llambi Gegprifti, Pilo Peristeri, Qirjako Mihali, Simon Stefani, of the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Haxhi Lleshi, of the members of the Central Committee of the Party, of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Govern-

ment. Comrade Manush Myftiu, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania, delivered the speech of the occasion.

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Comrade Enver Hoxha, the beloved leader of the Party and the people, cut the inauguration ribbon amid the great rejoicing and enthusiasm of those present. Then the leaders of the Party and the State visited the Museum.

In his speech, Comrade Manush Myftiu said among other things:

«Our new Museum is a monument dedicated to the heroic struggles of our people for freedom, independence, democracy and socialism, to their creative genius in the field of material and spiritual culture. It reflects the glorious history of our people from the most ancient times to our days, seen in the prism of Marxism-Leninism. The culminating periods stand out in all their brightness: our ancient Illyrian civilization, the people's struggles under the leadership of Skanderbeg, our National Renaissance in all the regions inhabited by the Albanian people and the period of the revolution which rises to its highest point in the Anti-fascist National Liberation War and in the construction of socialism. Especially, the historic moment when Comrade Enver Hoxha, at the head of a hand-

ful of communists, founded the Communist Party of Albania, an event which would mark the beginning of a new epoch, makes a feeling of pride well up from our hearts. In these 40 years of struggle with difficulties and savage internal and external enemies, our Albania, under the leadership of the Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, has carried out epoch-making transformations. This is the period in which the heroism of our people has found its highest and broadest expression. Thousands upon thousands of dauntless men and women spared nothing for the liberation of the country from the Italian and German fascist occupiers and for the building of a new world. At these moments of profound emotion we bow our heads with a feeling of great love and respect to the memory of the martyrs, our comrades-in-arms, who fell on the front of the struggle and revolution, to the memory of our comrades-in-arms who fought and worked tirelessly for the construction of socialism and who are no longer amongst us.»

THE NATIONAL EXHIBITION OF POPULAR CULTURE WAS OPENED IN SHKODRA

On the 40th anniversary of the founding of the PLA and its 8th Congress, the national exhibition of popular culture, one of the greatest cultural activities in this jubilee year, was opened in Shkodra, under the auspices of the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Executive Committee of the People's Council of the Shkodra district.

The ceremony organized on this occasion, in the «Enver Hoxha» street, which was recently restored into a museum complex of outstanding values of the material culture, was attended by working people of work and production centres, cooperativists, working people of the sectors of art and culture

from all the districts of the country, popular masters, scholars, ethnographers, etc.

Also present were leaders of the Party and state.

The speech on this occasion was made by the Vice-minister of Education and Culture, Anastas Kondo. Among other things, he stressed that the opening of this national exhibition and many such exhibitions in the districts was organized with the direct instruction from and under the direction of the Central Committee of the PLA and the Council of Ministers, according to the invaluable teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, about the better study and propagation of the rich values and

traditions of our culture, about the most extensive utilization of the experience of our popular art, about the further strengthening of the national culture and its originality.

The many-centuries old history of our people, he continued, is full of the

efforts and struggles for freedom and national independence, for social development and progress. An organic, inseparable part of this history is also our ancient and rich material and spiritual culture, which our people have conserved and developed through the

storms of the endless fierce battles against the many invaders, during which they have created values outstanding for their creative inspiration, talent and rare artistic gift. All these have their deserved place in this national exhibition of popular culture.

THE NATIONAL EXHIBITION OF FIGURATIVE ARTS

On the eve of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Party and of its 8th Congress, the National Exhibition of Figurative Arts, organized by

the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Writers and Artists' League of Albania was inaugurated in the Gallery of Figurative Arts in Tirana.

The ceremony organized on this occasion was attended by workers of work and production centres, functionaries of various departments and institutions, painters, writers, sculptors, young people, etc.

Comrades Ramiz Alia, Manush Myftiu, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, the Member of the CC of the PLA Nexhmie Hoxha, the first secretary of the Party Committee of the Tirana District and other comrades were also present.



Comrade Ramiz Alia, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, cutting the inauguration ribbon at the National Exhibition of Figurative Arts.

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The speech of the occasion was held by Dritëro Agolli, President of the Writers and Artists' League of Albania, who among others, pointed out that the inauguration of the exhibition was a great manifestation of the fine arts, of the creativeness of our sculptors, painters, and graphic artists. The year 1981, he went on, was a year of intensive creative work for our figurative artists. Our painters and sculptors worked in the Museum of National History where they created 90 major artistic works, in the Skanderbeg Museum of Kruja, in the National Exhibition of Folk Culture in Shkodra and took part in the creation of several monumental works of art in the various cities of the country. Therefore, said he, this exhibition which is being inaugurated and all the other works of art outside it testify to the broad horizon, the all-round development, the maturity and, at the same, the perspective of our figurative arts. The works of our fine arts no longer hang on the walls or stand in the halls of arts exhibitions, but go beyond them, entering into the everyday life of our people and enlivening the squares of cities and villages with monuments commemorating events of the ancient and contemporary history of our people, who have

a profound respect for the artists they have brought forth from their midst. And regardless of the painter or sculptor who creates the work of art, we say: socialism is raising all these monuments to a great hero who is called the people.

From the present exhibition figurative arts, he went on, one comes out with the impression that serious efforts have been made for a fuller reflection of the past and present reality of the country, of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War and the construction of socialism, one feels that greater attention has been paid to man and his work. Proceeding from the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, our painters and sculptors are raising their creative consciousness, as well as the ideo-artistic level of their works, higher. Among the great number of other manifestations, he said in conclusion, the exhibition which we are inaugurating in the moments in which Tirana is preparing to meet the delegates of the 8th Congress of the PLA, adds to the colour of this festive atmosphere.

Then Comrade Ramiz Alia cut the ribbon.

Those attending visited the exhibition with great interest.



CELEBRATION OF THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE ALBANIAN LABOUR YOUTH UNION

On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the ALYU, in the afternoon of November 23rd, in an atmosphere of rejoicing and revolutionary enthusiasm, the Central Committee of the ALYU and the Committee of the ALYU for the Tirana District organized a solemn meeting in the Partizani Sports Palace of the Capital.

Hundreds of young men and women who had come from all over the country, veterans and former cadres of the youth organization, members of martyrs' families, representatives of the

mass organisations and other guests attended the celebration.

The comrades Ramiz Alia, Pali Miska, Rita Marko, Hajredin Çeliku, Foto Çami, the vice-presidents of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Spiro Koleka and Shefqet Peçi, the president of the General Council of the WUA Vito Kapo, the first secretary of the Party Committee for the Tirana District Gaço Nesho, the president of the Executive Committee of the People's Council of the Tirana District Nesip Ibrahim, members of the Central Committee of the Party, of

the Presidium of the People's Assembly and Government were also present.

The meeting was declared open by the first secretary of the ALYU Committee for the Tirana District Drini Nushi.

Amid the enthusiasm and applause of those present, the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA, Comrade Foto Çami read the greeting which the beloved leader of the Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, addressed to the new generation on the occasion of

the 40th anniversary of the founding of the ALYU.

The first secretary of the Central Committee of the ALYU, Lumturi Rexha, delivered the speech of the occasion.

The youth organizations, the young men and women who were decorated with different orders and medals by the Presidium of the People's Assembly, as well as the youth organizations of 10 districts which were honoured with banners by the Central Committee

of the ALYU were declared on this occasion.

The solemn meeting addressed a message of greeting to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania.

Then an artistic program was performed for the participants in the meeting.

November 23rd, the day of the founding of the organization of the ALYU, was celebrated in an atmosphere of rejoicing and revolutionary enthusiasm all over the country.

INAUGURATION OF THE LEZHA-SHKODRA RAILROAD

On November 22, the eve of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the organization of the ALYU, our working, cooperativist, student and military youth and, together with them, the whole inhabitants of the Shkodra region, experienced moments of great joy and happiness. The Lezha-Shkodra railroad was inaugurated, a beautiful present of our heroic youth on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the PLA, of its 8th Congress, and the 37th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution.

The train left Mjeda Station in the direction of Shkodra, with the representatives of about 7,000 volunteers from all over the country who had

worked on the building of the new railroad.

The arrival of the train at Shkodra Station was met with songs and dances, with enthusiastic cheers by thousands of young men and women, builders and specialists, workers, cooperativists, militarymen, students.

Amid applause and cheers for the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, the member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC of the PLA, Comrade Simon Stefani, cut the inauguration ribbon.

At the meeting organized on this occasion, the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA, Comrade Besnik Bekteshi, addressed those present on behalf of the Central Committee of the PLA, the Council of Ministers and the beloved leader of

our Party and People, Enver Hoxha, personally.

The secretary of the Central Committee of the ALYU, Etemie Zeneli, greeted those present on behalf of the Central Committee of the ALYU.

The vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSRA, Comrade Spiro Koleka, declared those who had been decorated.

The letters which the representatives of 137 volunteer brigades and veterans of the first youth actions addressed to the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha, were read at the meeting. They expressed the boundless love of the youth for the PLA and their revolutionary determination, under the leadership of the PLA, to be always a shock detachment in the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland, to raise the glorious tradition of youth actions to an ever higher level, to make the magnificent tasks set by the historic 8th Congress of the PLA, a reality.

During breaks between the sessions the delegates meet and talk cordially with one another.



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