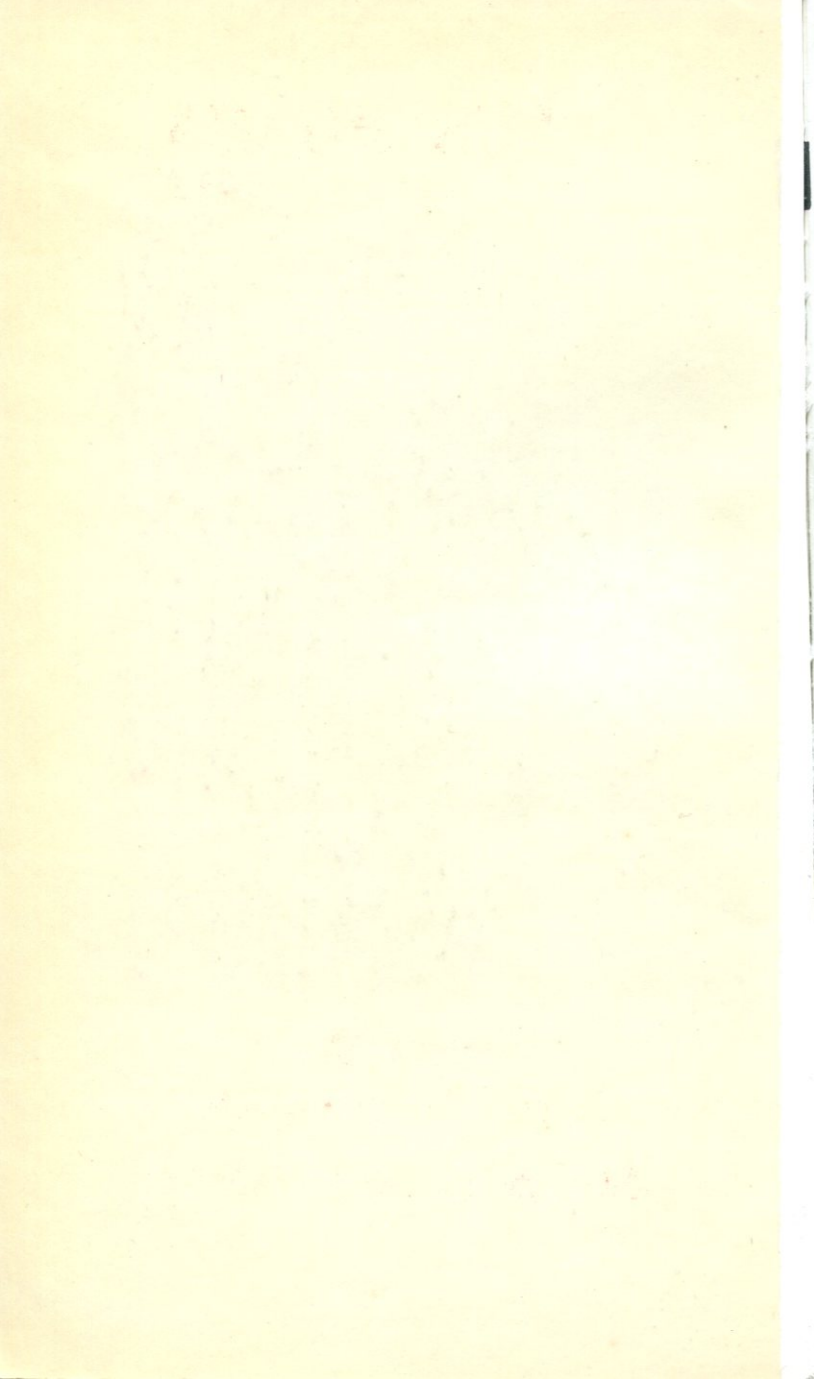


ENVER HOXHA



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IS FORGING AHEAD
CONFIDENTLY AND UNAFRAID**



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*Speech delivered at the meet-
ing with the electors of con-
stituency N° 209, Tirana,
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Dear comrade electors,

I am very happy to have the opportunity to meet you again, dear mothers and fathers, sisters and brothers, workers, intellectuals, men of our glorious armed forces, and boys and girls, to talk over our common problems on the eve of such an historic event for our entire people and their State power as the elections of the deputies to the People's Assembly.

I am especially happy to meet you today, on this outstanding day in the glorious history of the Albanian people, on which 37 years ago here, in Red Tirana, precisely in your city quarter which is dear to everyone of us, the Communist Party of Albania was founded, the Party which, at the head of the people and together with them, raised high the banner of the freedom and social progress, the great banner of democracy and socialism. To our heroic Party we owe all our victories, the happy life we are enjoying today and our secure future.

The situation in our country is revolutionary and optimistic. We live in an advanced, free and democratic socialist society.

What has made our society advance so greatly, so that the whole appearance of our country has changed, all this industry has been set up, agriculture has advanced, education and culture have developed to unprecedented proportions, and tens of thousands of higher and

medium cadres and tens of thousands of skilled workers have been trained? What has made our life so fine that everyone, from the children to the elderly, feel so happy?

All these achievements have their source in our socio-economic system, in the dictatorship of the proletariat, in our free, democratic, independent and sovereign life, in the heroic work of our people. It is the Party of Labour of Albania, the unerring Marxist-Leninist guide to our brilliant future, which has brought us all these blessings.

In socialist Albania the working masses are masters in their own country. Full freedom and democracy for the working people really exist here in the most appropriate forms. I spoke about these questions in the General Council of the Democratic Front, so I shall not dwell on them at length here. But I want to emphasize that broad democracy for the masses is being developed and perfected continuously, in the process of the construction of socialism. It is linked with the strengthening of the socialist economy, and the common property, with the harmonious development of all branches of production and the perfecting of the relations of production. It is linked with the strengthening of the running of the economy and culture by the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat on the basis of a unified, centralized plan, according to the line, directives and orientations of the Party.

As you know, here the plans for the development of the economy and culture are worked out from below up, by the broad masses of the working people. The masses make many valuable pro-

posals, raise complaints and criticism over failures to fulfil the plans, and suggest their creative ideas to the Central Committee of the Party and the Government. In this way true proletarian democracy is expressed in theory and practice on the vital, cardinal issues. The working masses give the State this great assistance because they love it wholeheartedly, because they know the economic potential both of their places of work and of the Republic as a whole, through the clear orientations issued by the Central Committee of the Party and the Government, not only when the plan is being drafted but continuously, during the whole period of its implementation.

In the capitalist countries the worker is not and cannot possibly be acquainted with the directions of the development of the economy as a whole, and not even of the enterprise where he works, for the reason that he is connected with the factory only sufficiently to do a job like an automaton, only as a wage earner, a seller of his labour power.

The same thing can be said of the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries. Thus, for example, in the Yugoslav system of «self-administration», which is publicized as a system in which everything is allegedly in the hands of the workers, the worker is deprived of any power. In the enterprise which he allegedly runs himself, the worker, in fact, decides nothing. There, the director and his staff decide on the plan, investments, the way income is distributed, who should be favoured and who should not, etc. The workers of the «self-administrative» enterprise know nothing at all about the plan of the republic, or the plans of other enterprises, because they have no

interest in this question. There, the enterprises compete with one another in order to make profit for those who run them. From this struggle waged there in the fields of production and marketing the workers gain nothing. On the contrary, their interests are undermined by competition, and the bourgeois spirit of localism and individualism is widespread among them.

In the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and the other revisionist countries, the so-called reforms in the management of the economy, its decentralization and other factors led to the restoration of capitalism, to differentiation and the polarization of society. This situation has brought about the enrichment of the upper strata, of the whole pyramid which rules over the proletariat and the working people of these countries, and led to the impoverishment of the masses of the working people.

Although, for the purpose of deceiving the working masses, certain «socialist» forms, norms, or traditions, completely divested of their Marxist-Leninist content, may still be preserved in some of these revisionist countries, power is maintained through the force of arms, terror and the use of violence. The economy is in crisis, prices are rising every day, social life is degenerating, clashes of the popular masses and the various nationalities with the repressive forces of the governments etc., are occurring. That is why the life of the masses of the people there is so poor both from the economic and from the spiritual aspect.

Our Foreign Policy Is in Conformity with the Struggle and Aspirations of the Proletariat and the Peoples

The successful construction of socialism in Albania, the correct Marxist-Leninist line of our Party in all fields, have also strengthened the international position of our country.

The principled stand of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in the field of foreign policy is known to our people and all the peoples of the world. The foreign policy of our State and Party is guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, it defends the lofty interests of our socialist Homeland, supports the revolutionary movement of the working class and the struggle of the peoples for freedom, independence and sovereignty.

Our Marxist-Leninist Party and our socialist State are irreconcilably opposed to and in struggle with imperialism, be it American, Soviet, Chinese, Japanese, or any other. We are opposed to that socio-economic formation in which base and superstructure serve to exploit and oppress the peoples. Our policy is such because it is a policy of proletarian principles. To follow the developments in the world with a proletarian class eye means to defend the interests of the working people, to side with the oppressed, those who want to overthrow the old world and to replace it with a new world in which people will live in complete freedom and genuine democracy. We are supporters of the revolution, of that revolution which brings about qualitative progressive changes in the life of the peoples and mankind as a

whole. We do not cloak our stand with clichés, nor do we make concessions to the detriment of the revolution, socialism, or peoples' liberation.

The policy of the Party of Labour of Albania has the support, first of all, of the world proletariat, the peoples and the workers of the various countries on all continents, because this policy is in conformity with their struggle and aspirations.

Even the capitalist and revisionist States are not insensible to the policy of Albania and its stands, regardless of the fact that ours is a country with a small territory and population. This is because the policy of socialist Albania is just, because its voice is listened to with respect in the world. That is why they try to hide it from the peoples of their own countries, or to present it in a distorted light. But they have not achieved their aim and never will achieve it.

Our country does not follow a policy that vacillates according to the current circumstances. The changes in the international arena are caused by the instability and decay of capitalism, the economic, political and military crises, the broad revolutionary movement of the peoples who are fighting to free themselves from the yoke of imperialism and social-imperialism, from oppression and exploitation by capital, and the rule of the bourgeoisie and revisionism. The changing situations are eroding imperialism and capitalism from within, creating uncertainty about the future, therefore the ruling circles, the cliques in power in the bourgeois-revisionist world, try to adapt themselves to them, to further strengthen their existing alliances and to form new alliances of every kind, to pursue a policy dictated by the passing circumstances. Judging others by their

own yardstick, the capitalists and revisionists think that, though independent of them, our country, too, will eventually fall into line and follow the furrows world capitalism is opening with its rotten plough.

Our enemies are mistaken when they think that in following an independent policy, our country is allegedly isolated and «abandoned on the streets», that «it will hold out its hand to somebody who will pull it out of the mire», etc. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has never been, and never will be isolated, it has never been and never will be left on the streets. It is advancing confidently, relying on its own strength, building, creating, training and defending itself fearlessly, and with its heroic example, it is inspiring and will continue to inspire the oppressed masses of the world.

The unwavering stand of Albania in its policy is resolute and correct, because it is guided by the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Our policy, based on scientific criteria, correctly and realistically analyses the problems of world development, inter-State relations and international events, the processes and phenomena of the revolutionary and liberation movements of the peoples of the world, and takes a correct stand towards them.

The capitalists and revisionists have called the policy of Albania «anachronistic» and are trying, with such artificial labels, which never find approval among the peoples of the world, to make it ineffective on world public opinion. Why do they make those efforts? They do this because our policy is the policy of the new social order, socialism, which is the dream of the proletariat and

all the oppressed of the world, who constitute a colossal force which has risen to its feet. This force is terrifying to the capitalists, the monopolists and their ideologists, hidden in the host of parties with various names, ranging from «democratic» to «communist». And it will become even more terrifying in the future. That is why our policy upsets those who are against the proletariat and their interests.

The directions of our policy, which defends the lofty interests of the Homeland and socialism, cannot change with each shift of the wind, at every juncture and circumstance which may be created from time to time. Naturally, our Party and Government follow the circumstances, contradictions and developments in the world very carefully, in order to utilize them in the interest of our socialist Homeland and the Albanian people, the revolution and all the peoples of the world.

The relations of our socialist State with the capitalist and revisionist States are based firmly on revolutionary class criteria. We do not have diplomatic relations with the American imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists, or the fascist States, and we are not going to have them, but with the other States, with a social system different from ours, we shall have relations on the basis of equality, respect for sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, and mutual benefit.

Although they may be of the one nature, the States have distinctive features in their policies, and these must be examined closely in order to define correct stands. It is not right to lump all States together or classify them in «three worlds» and advocate the alliance of these «three worlds»

against one member of the «first world», Soviet social-imperialism. When we, as Marxist-Leninists, speak about the world and its different States, we judge them according to dialectical and historical materialism, and not arbitrarily, therefore we are against the division which the revisionist theory of «three worlds» makes.

Having in mind the socio-economic order of the various countries, Lenin said that there are two worlds: socialism and capitalism. But, as he teaches us, although all the capitalist States belong to one socio-economic formation, there are small capitalist States and also powerful capitalist States. Under the law of the jungle, which exists in the relations among capitalist and revisionist States, the «big fish» eats the small, therefore the «small fish» has to struggle for existence, and the contradictions emerge precisely from these efforts.

Our Republic endeavours to utilize the contradictions in the interest of the revolution, and supports the fight against the «big fish» in order to weaken it, to assist the revolutionary movement of the working class and the struggle of the peoples for freedom, independence and social progress.

It is clear to our Party, to our socialist State, to the Marxist-Leninists, the proletariat and all the peoples of the world, that imperialism, social-imperialism, world capitalism and reaction of every hue are fighting to maintain their domination over the peoples, whereas the peoples are fighting to cast off the yoke of hated rulers and to take power into their own hands. This is a relentless fight which will end in the victory of the peoples, and which, of course, will not be

attained immediately, without sacrifices and bloodshed.

National liberation wars are just. The Marxist-Leninists and progressive revolutionaries support and lead them. These wars are necessary to win national independence and to establish genuine democratic rights and freedoms. They create favourable conditions and open the road for the socialist revolution. While supporting the liberation struggles of the peoples and the revolution, we can by no means rely on one imperialism to fight the other, we cannot support one capitalist world power to fight another capitalist world power.

The Marxist-Leninist theses of our Party on the current world development have been and are being vindicated by time. On the other hand, each day is proving more and more clearly that the theory of «three worlds» is anti-Marxist, reactionary, a theory in the service of imperialism and of the strategy of China itself as a superpower, the aim of which is to redivide the world, and not to combat imperialism and its aggressive designs. The «theoreticians» and the supporters of the theory of «three worlds» cannot call on the proletariat and the peoples of the so-called third world to rise against the yoke of the reactionary local bourgeoisie and foreign oppressors, to rise against the imperialist war. They can never do this, for they would contradict their own «theory», which advocates unity of the proletariat and the oppressed popular masses with their rulers, with the capital which is exploiting them. Therefore, the proletariat and the peoples do not trust this «theory» but spurn it and angrily reject it.

The view of our Party is that the advocates

of the theory of «three worlds» are renegades from Marxism-Leninism, dangerous enemies of the peoples, because they aim to sabotage the liberation struggles of the peoples and world proletarian revolution. They have revised the theory of Marx and Lenin on the content of the revolution, have negated the ideology which leads it to victory, which leads the peoples towards liberation, towards a new socialist society without exploiting classes.

The Yugoslav revisionists, who defend and develop the theory of the «non-aligned world», pose the same danger. With whom are these pseudo-Marxists non-aligned? They pose as non-aligned with any pacts, at a time when they are totally aligned with the founders of these pacts. They serve the powers which lead these pacts, for it is thanks to them that they exist and are kept in power. While they are non-aligned with the revolution and national liberation struggles, these gentlemen are totally aligned with the counter-revolution and imperialist oppression. Such «theoreticians» are firemen to extinguish the flames of the revolution, they are working to strengthen the rule of imperialism and the power of capital by spreading false ideas on the necessity for alleged structural reforms, economic reforms, new, allegedly communist methods of administration, etc.

We Marxist-Leninists, on the contrary, are aligned with the revolution. We are aligned with the peoples who are fighting to gain their freedom, independence, and sovereignty, therefore we stand resolutely on the side of the peoples who are hurling themselves into revolutionary and national liberation wars to liberate themselves

from every kind of bondage. We are committed to the common struggle of the peoples against imperialism, social-imperialism, and reaction, and as such are opposed to the «theoreticians» of «non-alignment» who beg alms from the imperialists and are for the preservation of the status quo.

The Yugoslav, Soviet, Chinese and «Euro-communist» modern revisionists, the social-democrats and others, indulge in a great deal of talk about allegedly equal economic relations among States, a new world economic order, aid to the underdeveloped countries, etc., but in reality all their words are slogans issued to preserve the domination of capital, to prolong the existence of colonialism and neo-colonialism. This is a hypocritical policy, and we do not conceal our attitude towards it. Were we to hide the truth, we would be committing a crime. We will never pursue a two-faced policy and we will fight to the finish for the truth. We see things as they are, and call them by their proper names. We act in this way, because, having judged our cause carefully, we see that it is just and honourable, therefore, we are convinced that it will triumph.

We say openly, also, that the beautiful words about the problems of disarmament that are spoken at the United Nations Organization, at the Conferences of Helsinki, of Belgrade and elsewhere, are sheer demagoguery, just «beating the air». Disarmament can never be achieved through the desire of imperialism which has established its monopoly in strategic weapons and its superiority in conventional weapons, not in order to disarm but to suppress the revolution and the

peoples, to unleash aggressive wars. Many years ago Stalin said, «The bourgeois States are furiously arming and rearming. What for? Certainly not for friendly chats, but for war. And the imperialists need war, for it is the only means for the redivision of the world, the redivision of markets, sources of raw materials and spheres for the investment of capital.»¹ This opinion of Stalin's is more relevant than ever today.

Disarmament will be achieved only when the peoples rise in revolution, only when they wrest the weapons from the hands of the imperialists and make them ineffective. If such a situation is achieved, then imperialism, the strength of which lies in these weapons, will give up the ghost.

In the world today, big capital has spun its spider's web over all the States of the world, which it has enslaved by means of credits, «aid», etc. It has created and fosters the opinion that no State in the world can exist without receiving credits. The bourgeoisie and revisionism consider the correct action of any country, such as Albania, which does not accept credits for the construction of the country, as «out of step with the times and unrealistic». At the same time, with evil aims, they confound credits from the imperialists and capitalists with trade carried on for mutual benefit, in which the freedom, independence and sovereignty of neither side is impaired. Socialist Albania has carried on trade with various countries, without accepting any credits from foreigners, and it will continue to do so.

The aid of one socialist State to another socialist State is another thing. This aid must be

1 J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, pp. 242-243, Alb. ed.

internationalist and must not be accompanied in any way with evil intentions or be aimed at the subordination of this or that State to the dictate of a more powerful or greater State. Aid which has such anti-Marxist aims is not internationalist, but neo-colonialist aid disguised under an internationalist cloak.

Aid between socialist countries is mutual. The aid the Soviet Union gave us at the time when Stalin was alive, was internationalist. Stalin told me personally, that we were not to pay back immediately the credits they were granting us, because of our very great need to reconstruct our economy and recover. He did this because the strengthening of socialist Albania served the revolutionary movement and the struggle of the peoples. However, as the facts have proved, the «aid» of the Yugoslav revisionists and, later, of the Khrushchevites and Chinese, did not have this character. On the contrary, their «aid» was given for ulterior motives, and was intended to turn Albania into a vassal State of Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union and China. These «allies» were internationalist in words only, and contrary to what Lenin said, «The thing is not to 'proclaim' internationalism, but to be internationalist in deeds...»¹

From the Letter our Party and Government addressed to the party and government of China, you know that the Chinese revisionist leadership cut off all credits and aid in a brutal and hostile manner, withdrew its economic and military specialists from our country and failed to fulfil its obligations on a number of projects for which con-

1 V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 24, p. 72, Alb. ed.

tracts had been signed in official agreements. Under the agreements it had signed and international norms China was obliged to complete these projects. Now it does not want even to carry on mutually beneficial trade with us.

These acts of the Chinese leaders are inspired by an anti-Marxist stand of great State chauvinism, by their intention to harm the cause of socialism in Albania. The behaviour of the Chinese leaders towards our country shows that their political and ideological attitudes towards the peoples of the world are hypocritical and perfidious.

The stands of our Party and State towards China have always been correct, open, sincere, and friendly, while the stands of the Chinese leadership towards Albania, on the face of it, appeared to be Marxist-Leninist, but, as the facts have shown, right from the time when contacts between the two countries were established to this day, they were not Marxist-Leninist, they were neither sincere, nor well-intentioned, or internationalist.

The Chinese leadership has not defended or implemented the Marxist-Leninist principles on the construction of socialism and support for the cause of the revolution and liberation of the peoples. This is the source of their constantly changing and extremely unclear and complicated stands within China, as well as the continual changes in Chinese strategy and tactics over international problems. The anti-Marxist and pragmatic policy of the Chinese leadership is also the source of its hostile anti-Albanian attitude which led to the rupture of the relations of friendship between China and Albania.

Our Letter pointed out that, each time differences emerged in its relations with China, the Party of Labour of Albania, while rigorously adhering to the norms governing relations between two Marxist-Leninist Parties and two socialist States, repeatedly proposed that talks should be held and that the problems which had emerged should be solved in a sincere and friendly way, without making them public. Our Party did this, because it imagined and hoped that frank comradely talks would be beneficial to both sides, ideologically and politically, in the first place.

However, the Chinese leadership, Mao Tse-tung and company and those who now lead the party and the government of China, did not follow such a Marxist-Leninist procedure and had no desire to do so. They refused to discuss the differences which had existed between us for a long time.

It was not for a few goods or to get some credits that the Party of Labour of Albania and socialist Albania linked themselves with China, but for the sake of revolutionary unity, the great common cause of mankind: the construction and strengthening of socialism and the struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism and all reactionaries, against Khrushchevite and all other shades of modern revisionism. This was the great reason that linked us with China, and not simply that it might give our country credits.

In an article published recently in the Chinese press of Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping it is claimed that Mao Tsetung said, «Please, come and criticize me day and night. Then I will sit down and think things over with a cool head, without sleeping for two or three nights. After

reflecting and purging my conscience, I will make my sincere self-criticism.»

This is fine in «theory», but in practice? The opposite. We did not criticize Mao Tsetung and the Chinese leadership, but expressed a series of opinions to them. However, the truth is that they mistook our comradely remarks for antagonistic opposition and Mao Tsetung himself said that he would not reply to them, because «he did not want to engage in polemics» with us.

Despite this, seeing that China was sliding deeper and deeper into the revisionist quagmire, the Party of Labour of Albania continued to offer the proper comradely opinions to the Chinese leadership and sought discussions and consultations with them. These discussions and consultations were consistently refused by their side. It is more than clear to us that the Chinese leaders acted in this way because their positions were weak and they were quite unable to face up to the powerful Marxist-Leninist logic of the Party of Labour of Albania.

They were not in favour of talks and consultations with us, because they wanted us to accept their views and dictate without any discussions. As you know, the Chinese leadership, through Chou En-lai and company, several times tried to blackmail us in order to impose a military alliance with Yugoslavia and Rumania on us. Of course this alliance was planned to achieve the aims of China against the Soviet Union in the Balkan area and to instigate an imperialist world war. We rejected these attempts of the Chinese. But they continued to plot against socialist Albania, against the Party of Labour and its leadership. They tried to achieve their ends by inciting and

organizing the treacherous sabotage activity of the putschist group of Beqir Balluku, Abdyl Këllezi, Koço Theodhosi, etc., whom our Party and people put in their proper place. So we made the mines explode in the hands of the Chinese. Then, the Chinese leaders were left with nothing else they could do except to resort to their final means, which they thought would have a major effect in Albania and throughout the world: they took the hostile, arbitrary and perfidious decision, cut off their credits and withdrew their specialists from Albania.

With this act they undertook against us, the Chinese leaders thought they could make us give way, that we would be left like «a fish out of water» and be forced to hold out our hand to somebody. This somebody, according to them, would be either the revisionist Soviet Union, or American imperialism and the other capitalists. But they were wrong, as they will always be wrong in their anti-Marxist views. Albania will forge ahead and build socialism relying on its own forces, and will never, never hold out its hand to Soviet social-imperialism, to American imperialism, or to any other capitalist or revisionist State.

Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping found the line of our 7th Congress, where the so-called theory of «three worlds» was criticized and rejected, as an «excuse» for declaring open war on our Party. They accused us of publicly attacking China and Mao Tsetung at our 7th Congress. In fact, the 7th Congress attacked neither China nor Mao Tsetung, it only exposed the anti-Marxist theory of «three worlds», theoretically and politi-

cally, regardless of who was its author, whether Mao Tsetung or Teng Hsiao-ping.

At a time when this «theory» had begun to cause great harm to the revolutionary movement in the world, when the Chinese leaders were seeking to impose it on the Marxist-Leninist movement as its general line, it would have been unpardonable for the Party of Labour of Albania and all the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties to have failed to criticize and denounce it. Now it has become clear that this «theory» was based on the great State chauvinistic views of a State and party which had embarked on the anti-Marxist road, the social-imperialist road.

China, which posed as a socialist country, included itself in the «third world», and it was not without a purpose or reason that it did this. The main reason is that it was not a genuinely socialist country and its leadership was not a leadership with a Marxist-Leninist line; it did not intend to build genuine socialism in China and did not fight capitalism, imperialism, social-imperialism and reaction.

China included itself in the «third world» with the aim of dominating it and becoming a great capitalist power, a superpower. But in order to become such it had to consolidate its influence, in the first place, its ideological and political influence, on the various continents, and through this, realize its objective of establishing China's spheres of influence and finding markets for itself. This reactionary aim was disguised under the slogan that China is a socialist country, that it fights for the liberation of the peoples, and, for them to be liberated, they must unite with China, with the United States of America

and all the capitalists of the world, in order to fight the arch-enemy of mankind — the Soviet Union. Thus, in itself, in theory and practice, the theory of the «three worlds» is a capitalist-imperialist theory.

Why is the Soviet Union the main enemy of mankind, in China's view, when all the world knows that Soviet social-imperialism together with the United States of America, are the main enemies? To China, the social-imperialist Soviet Union is the main enemy not only because it has a great economic and military potential, but also because these two States have been competing with each other to deceive and dominate the peoples, by posing as socialist countries. Besides this, China also has expansionist aims towards Siberia and other regions of the Soviet Union, Mongolia, and Central Asia.

Of course, these aims cannot be realized without war. Therefore, in order to strengthen its own position, China chose as its partners the United States of America and world capitalism which are competing with Soviet social-imperialism. Thus, the two, the United States of America and China, can make the «powerful pair» to smash the Soviet Union and to dominate the world. Later, when the possibility presents itself, China will turn against US imperialism, too, in order to remain the only imperialist superpower.

China, which aspires to become a new superpower, continues to develop its policy of hegemony over the entire world. This is the context in which the treaty it signed with Japan must be seen, that is, its alliance with one hegemonic power against another hegemonic power, the Soviet Union. Like the alliance with US imperialism and

the capitalist bourgeoisie, this treaty, too, under the present conditions, spells no good for the Chinese people and the other peoples. On the contrary, it incites war, it has a racist character. Only a few days after the signing of the Sino-Japanese Treaty, Teng Hsiao-ping suggested to the rabid Japanese militarists that they should strengthen «their defence potential» and remain under the «nuclear umbrella» of US imperialism, because such a thing is allegedly of «mutual benefit» to both countries, Japan and China!

Likewise, Hua Kuo-feng's visit to Rumania and Yugoslavia is a continuation of the plan of the Chinese leadership, of Chou En-lai and company to create or encourage the creation of blocs of States against Soviet social-imperialism and especially to cause provocations in Europe, where it wants the third world war to be waged, in which the Soviet Union, the United States of America and the European countries are to clash with and destroy each other while China escapes this conflagration. Such an act, which incites imperialist world wars, which Lenin in his time called criminal, is not only anti-Marxist, but also unrealizable. It is unrealizable because world capitalism and the imperialists don't need China to teach them when, how and where they should make war. They have their own fiendish plans.

Only brainless fools can be taken in by the intrigues of the Chinese leadership, and consequently spark off the catastrophe. We Marxist-Leninists must oppose this catastrophe, not only with our vigilance, but also with our active deeds, in order to prevent it from happening, because if it does, the burden of it will fall on the peoples. It is the peoples who pay the price for these

expansionist ambitions of a handful of capitalists, be they American, Soviet, German, Japanese, or Chinese, with their own blood. The plans for war cannot be foiled if the peoples do not make life impossible for the imperialists and for capital, if they do not rise in revolution and do not fight fascism and all inciters to war.

Hua Kuo-feng's visit to Belgrade proves that China has not been and is not a socialist country, that it has not been and is not guided by the Marxist-Leninist ideology. The Chinese leadership is in complete accord, ideologically, with Yugoslav revisionism. It is trying to paint Titoism with Chinese red, just as the Khrushchevite revisionists, the «Eurocommunists», and others, have done and are still doing on their own behalf. For his part, Tito «magnanimously» turned over the page and said that now a new page was being opened in the relations between China and Yugoslavia. Of course, the friendship between them will be developed in the interests of capitalism in these two countries and in the interests of world capitalism.

With its Marxist-Leninist stand towards the Chinese policy, Albania warns the peoples of Yugoslavia and the other peoples of the Balkans to be vigilant against the intrigues of the Chinese leadership, just as they must also be vigilant against the intrigues and plots of the US imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists because if these plots are carried through, they will inflict great misfortunes on the peoples.

During his visit to Yugoslavia, the chief of the Chinese revisionists and friend of generals and marshals, Hua Kuo-feng, came close to

our borders in order to hatch up intrigues against socialist Albania and other Balkan countries.

Besides other things, he also played the part of the provocator against the Albanian nation. He found the question of the Albanian minorities in Yugoslavia, contrived by the Junker Bismarck, the Beaconsfields and Lord Greys, whose secret treaties against Albania Lenin exposed and tore up, to have been «solved very well in the Marxist-Leninist way.» Hua Kuo-feng «forgot» that the Albanians living in Yugoslavia, both as regards the extent of their lands as well as the number of their population, amount to more than two Yugoslav republics taken together. They are only one people, but they have been scattered over two republics and one autonomous region, because this suits the interests of the «just Marxist-Leninist solution», as Hua Kuo-feng assessed it. We want to tell Mr Hua Kuo-feng that the friends who received him did not tell him of the poverty and the lack of constitutional rights, which they do not grant the Albanians, especially in Macedonia, where he saw fit to raise this problem.

We tell him, and this he ought to have understood by now, that the Albanian will tolerate neither bondage nor dictate, and that he is not frightened by blackmail either. Beware of angering the Albanian people! The Albanians are patient, but when they are angered, even the flint will burst into flame.

In his speech at the main banquet, in the presence of Tito and the top Yugoslav officials, Hua Kuo-feng did not mention Marxism-Leninism, and he had no reason to do so, because he does not believe in it. But neither did he mention the

theory of the «three worlds», or China's being in the «third world», while he repeatedly praised the «non-aligned movement». This he did, not as a compliment to Tito, who poses as the leader of the «non-aligned world», but because China and Hua Kuo-feng intend to take the leading position in the «non-aligned movement» after Tito's death. But these calculations of the revisionist leadership of China also will turn out to be mistaken.

Although China's intentions will be exposed, they are very dangerous, just as dangerous as those of the Soviet Union, the United States of America, and the other capitalist countries. The Party of Labour of Albania is acting correctly by exposing the anti-Marxist theories and activity of the Chinese leadership, which are based on what is called Mao Tsetung thought, which cannot be and has never been Marxist-Leninist. We are proving this, and proving it with facts, with theoretical and concrete facts.

We want and are struggling to ensure that the peoples of the world and the world proletariat are not beguiled by such slogans as the «third world», the «non-aligned world», but base their triumphant struggle against world capitalism, against oppression and enslavement by colonialists and neo-colonialists, on Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Comrades,

In our relations with the foreign world, our Party and Government have pursued and are pursuing an open and correct policy. When our

partners are genuine Marxist-Leninists, then our relations with them develop on the road of friendship, fraternal collaboration and mutual aid. With the capitalist and revisionist States, we develop trade and cultural relations of mutual benefit, on the condition that equality, sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs are respected. Our commercial relations with these countries cannot in any way influence our Marxist-Leninist policy and ideology.

A capitalist country may not want to conduct trade with our socialist country. This fact does not compel us to alter our colour, our policy, or our ideology. If one is unwilling, there are other capitalist countries with which we can conduct trade.

We have clearly defined our political and ideological stands towards the capitalist and revisionist States — we fight their ideology, policy, methods and acts, just as they fight Marxism-Leninism, the revolution, and socialism. We support the liberation movements, we are in solidarity and collaborate with the Marxist-Leninist Parties in order to assist the proletarian revolution and the national liberation struggle, but we do not intervene, either with diversion, or with armed attacks.

Apart from commercial relations, we also have cultural relations with many countries of the world and want to develop them further. Progressive world culture ought to be absorbed, but we are not in favour of opening our doors to every kind of «culture». In socialist Albania, the interests of socialism and the revolution require the dissemination of that progressive culture which serves the all-round communist education

of working people and helps to bring the peoples closer together and develop friendship. We do not fool about with «a hundred flowers» and «a hundred schools», nor do we go from one extreme to another in our assessment of the achievements of the progressive world art and culture. Our Party teaches us not to be xenophobic in regard to progressive world culture.

Of course, the great progressive experience and culture of the world, carefully selected, is a valuable treasure which should be utilized by all. It is important to stress that it is our duty not only to take from foreign culture, but also to disseminate our own culture. We value the progressive culture of others, but we must work so that they, too, know and appreciate the treasures of our ancient culture and our contemporary socialist culture.

The enemies accuse us of having allegedly closed our doors to cultural and scientific communication with the world! This is not true. Our doors are always open to progressive world culture and real science, because we are interested in progress. However, as we have frequently declared, we shall never gratify the desires of those who demand that we open our doors to degenerate and decadent culture, as the enemy of the Party, Fadil Paçrami, endeavoured to do, when he negated and fought against the healthy traditions of our national literature and art and encouraged and supported the spread of alien modernist influences and manifestations. The Party of Labour of Albania and our State of the dictatorship of the proletariat are wide awake to this danger. They know how to defend themselves, how to separate the wheat from the chaff,

therefore they are not bothered about what ill-wishers say about them.

Being in favour of developing trade and cultural relations with other States, and expressing the desire for friendly and mutually beneficial relations with them, does not mean that we should abandon our principles and standpoints. The claim of the Yugoslav and other revisionists and the capitalists that, for the sake of these relations, we must not expose them as long as they allegedly are not attacking us, is absurd. It is by no means true that they are not attacking us. Their attack against us, against socialism, against Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and the dictatorship of the proletariat, is evident and unrelenting. If they give themselves the right to defend their ideas and pursue their own policy, why do they complain when we exercise our rights to defend our ideas and pursue our own policy?

In our relations with the capitalist and revisionist States, the concrete attitudes of these States with regard to our country are taken into account. Proceeding from these attitudes we distinguish between those which are well-intentioned towards us, which are for friendly approaches and normal trade and cultural relations with our country. With such States as the Scandinavian countries and Austria, Belgium, France, Holland, Switzerland and others, the possibility exists for the trade relations of our State to develop with mutual benefit, and for its cultural relations with them to develop better. We are interested that the peoples of these countries should be acquainted with the policy of our Party and State, as well as with the achievements in the construction of socialism in Albania. Likewise, we are

interested, also, in getting acquainted with their peoples, with the fine values which they have created, so that the reciprocal sympathy between our peoples increases.

Among the capitalist States there are also those that, in the past, have acted against the freedom and independence of our country. Towards these States Albania remains vigilant, because the internal situation of some of them is not tranquil. Fascist elements who have inflicted great damage on the Albanian people in the past have been revived there. We think, and this is a lawful thing, that those States which have obligations towards Albania, ought to settle their debts immediately if they want to normalize relations with us.

We shall continue to carry on mutually beneficial trade with Italy, and develop our cultural relations, but historical facts force us to keep a very vigilant eye on all the events which occur there, and which threaten our country, too.

With the Yugoslav revisionist leadership we have irreconcilable ideological and political contradictions, therefore we are always vigilant towards its policy. Nevertheless, on the basis of respect for sovereignty, non-interference, good neighbourliness and mutual benefit, we are for the continuation of normal commercial and cultural relations with Yugoslavia. With the peoples of Yugoslavia we want to live in friendship and within our rights. We tell them openly of our views. Our intentions have been and always will be good. Our declarations do not change.

With Greece we have friendly relations. We have always wanted to live on good neighbourly terms with the Greek people. The present Greek

government has responded to our desire for peace on the border between our two countries. This realistic stand of theirs is fine. Relations in the fields of trade and culture are developing in a satisfactory manner. We are ready to continue on this road, which is to the benefit of our two peoples, and it is our wish that we should be sincere friends with one another always. The Albanian people observe that the Greek people are for this friendship, too.

With Turkey, also, we have friendly relations, good trade and cultural relations, which we would like to develop further. We are pleased to see that the Turkish people and the Turkish authorities have warmly and enthusiastically welcomed the performances of our artistic ensembles in their country, which strengthen the friendship between our peoples.

A traditional friendship links our country and people with the Arab countries and peoples. Our relations with them are developing in a normal way. We support their just and resolute struggle to liberate the territories occupied by Israel. We support the just and heroic struggle of the Palestinian Arab people to gain their national rights.

The State of Israel is a State artificially created by Zionism and international imperialism, at the expense of the Arab peoples, especially the Palestinian people.

To attempt to gather together the diaspora of centuries and to liquidate a nation and nationality thousands of years old, while creating a new diaspora and a «modern» tyranny, to practise genocide, to abolish the rights and freedoms of a nation in the name of a nationality of dubious authenticity, this is condemned by the

progressive nations and peoples of the world, and sooner or later the latent hatred will result in a bloody national liberation war, just as it has done with the heroic Palestinian people.

It is impossible to conceal the persecutions and atrocities perpetrated against nations or part of a nation, as is the case with the Arabs and the Palestinians, by covering up these condemnable acts which reek of oppression, with false tales about «irredentism», «chauvinism», «nationalism». The Albanian people, who have fought against tyranny through the centuries, will always defend the freedoms and rights of the peoples, and those of the fraternal Palestinian people in particular. The Albanian people never infringe upon the rights of anyone else, but they defend their own rights and the just rights of others stubbornly, with courage and valour.

The Arab peoples are constantly facing the Zionist-imperialist aggression, and the savage and very dangerous plots of the two superpowers and the other imperialist powers. Now, all-round efforts are being made to split them more deeply, and to pit them one against the other, because this is the only way the imperialists can readily achieve their hegemonic objectives in the entire region of the Middle East, and secure the borders of what international Zionism calls the «Great State of Israel», so that the big American, Soviet and other monopolies can continue to plunder the oil of the countries of the Middle East.

However, the Arab peoples, who have ancient cultural traditions and who have bravely fought for their freedom and independence through the centuries, will know how to cope with the new situations and will assuredly defeat every

anti-Arab plot, will strengthen their unity and, on this militant basis, will forge ahead in their struggle to complete victory over the Zionist and imperialist enemies.

Our Party and people, as in the past, are in solidarity with and support the just struggle and bold efforts of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America against imperialism, social-imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, against racial discrimination, exploitation and oppression, for their national and social liberation, and the consolidation of their independence and sovereignty. We support the liberation war of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania against the racist regimes and imperialist interference.

The Albanian people condemn the intrigues and plots concocted by the Chinese social-imperialists against the Vietnamese people. We think that the conflict between Vietnam and Cambodia, between two fraternal peoples should be resolved on the road of negotiations, and without external interference, in the interests of the independence and sovereignty of the two countries.

The Advance of Our Economy and Culture Raises the Wellbeing of Our Working People and Strengthens the Defence of our Homeland

Dear comrades,

With the development of the productive forces, the perfecting of socialist relations of production and the methods of management and admini-

nistration of the people's property, our economy has made continuous progress, while the well-being of the working masses and their educational and cultural level have steadily improved.

The two main and decisive branches of our socialist economy, industry and agriculture, have been developed to the level where they are able to fulfil the needs of the masses of working people in a satisfactory manner.

Our industry is modern. For it to be set in motion, our socialist State has had to construct a series of hydro- and thermal power plants, which have been or are being brought into full production, along with the various industrial plants.

The building of hydro-power plants has reached the level at which it has not only created the necessary energy base, but has also greatly increased the abilities of the workers, technicians and engineers, who are fully capable of building the powerful hydro-power plants which it is planned to do with our own forces. Our State will continue this work in the future, too, with the aim of increasing electric power production and utilizing the hydro-power potential of the country to the full.

Our heavy industry has been strengthened and is making progress. This fact has very great importance, because it is known that the development of heavy industry opens up possibilities for rapid progress in all branches of the economy. This success has been achieved by relying on our internal material and human forces. As is known, heavy industry consists, first of all, in the extraction and processing of minerals. Our country has a great wealth of different minerals, ranging

from oil to chromium and the polymetals. We are exploiting this wealth, which supplies the economy with very valuable and irreplaceable raw materials, in a rational way. At present, minerals sufficient to last us several decades have been discovered in our country. We shall discover further deposits of minerals, our underground resources of which are rich, both in regard to reserves and quality, and in regard to their variety, and we shall open up even greater prospects for all of them to be processed within the country in the future. Thus our industry will be built up and further strengthened and exports will increase, which will bring about the strengthening of our socialist Homeland and guarantee its defence against any danger.

The people know about the many mines which have been opened up in all parts of the country. Together with the different specialists, the people themselves take part and help in prospecting for and discovering minerals. Albania is among the few oil-bearing countries of Europe, a country which has a great wealth of chromium, copper and many other minerals. Working to extract this wealth are tens of thousands of workers and experts, who are steadily acquiring special abilities in the discovery and processing of minerals. It is a great success which rejoices the people when they see their own sons, with their skilled hands and resourceful minds, extract the great underground riches of the country and transform them into valuable assets for the people's wellbeing. The progress and prosperity of our socialist economy require, amongst other things, technical and scientific knowledge, a high level of discipline, conscien-

tious performance of duty, patience and maturity, therefore the Party has set the task that people should learn continuously, assimilate knowledge and science thoroughly, and apply them rationally and in the general interest.

Besides the extraction of minerals, we have also built different combines and factories, which process these minerals. In the first place, we have set up the iron-nickel processing industry, part of which has been completed and has commenced production, while part is still incomplete, because of the difficulties created by the perfidious and hostile activities of the Chinese leadership against our country. However, the Party has taken all the measures to ensure that the Metallurgical Combine «The Steel of the Party» will be completed.

Relying on our own forces we have also built other factories for the processing and upgrading of minerals. We shall multiply all these branches of industry on the basis of the raw materials we know, the present reserves, and those that will be created in the future. The perspectives are such that we should have our own copper and iron, which our future industry will need, more cement, more tractors, more sugar, etc.

Together with these factories and combines, we have also set up an advanced and powerful mechanical engineering industry, which is in a position to maintain the factories we have built, to modernize them further and to produce complete new factories and production lines. We plan to build complete new factories with our own forces.

The Party and State have created and

educated a conscious working class, with a high political and ideological level, which, under the direction of the Party, is leading our society on the road to socialism. In order to carry out its historic mission better, it is essential that the working class should properly master the Marxist-Leninist theory and the teachings, advice and instructions of the Party, and put them into practice. It must understand that the strengthening and purity of its class consciousness, its bold actions on the political, economic and defence platform, have special importance for the unity of our nation in the face of the great tide of imperialist and revisionist hostility and corruption all over the world.

Agriculture is the other very important and basic sector of our economy. It is advancing and flourishing, because, in its development on the socialist road, the Party has applied the Leninist line of collectivization. As you know, we have succeeded in becoming self-sufficient in bread grain, in achieving high yields in wheat, maize and other agricultural crops. Yields in agricultural production will steadily increase because of the bringing together of large tracts of land, the organization of collective work, the political-ideological uplift of the cooperativists, the extensive mechanization of work processes, the use of chemical fertilizers, improvement of services to the crops, the development of live-stock raising, and so on. These factors have created and will create greater possibilities in the future for the ceaseless development of our socialist agriculture.

In our cooperativist countryside, in the first place, a healthy outlook on the great importance

of the common property and the need to defend and develop it, has been created. The strengthening of such an outlook has great political and economic importance. All the decisions of our Party and State connected with agriculture are based on the teachings of Lenin and Stalin on the organization and strengthening of the cooperatives and the stimulation of the interests of the cooperativists in this organization. Everything in the agricultural cooperatives has been so organized that the socialist common property predominates in the countryside and influences the psychology, thinking and actions of the cooperativists. Under the Constitution of the agricultural cooperatives, the members are allowed a small plot of land for their personal use, as well as a limited number of live-stock. The existence of this plot and this number of live-stock, today, does not impede the progress of agriculture.

The modern revisionists have abandoned the road of collectivization, because it hindered them in the restoration of capitalism in the countryside. The revisionists have set out on the course of creating the large-scale property of the rich peasant bourgeoisie. In Poland, real agricultural cooperatives were never set up, whereas in the Yugoslav countryside they have long been destroyed, giving way to large-scale capitalist property.

We older people have seen and remember the misery of Albania's agriculture and of the Albanian peasant, with the land lying unused under the fetid swamp waters. We have seen it when grain yields never exceeded 5-6 or at best 8 quintals per hectare, and when no industrial crop at all was sown. Now, wherever you turn

your eyes, wherever you set foot, you see nothing but land tilled and sown, thriving land planted in trees, healthy live-stock, and so on.

The young people who see this beautiful countryside and our agriculture so greatly advanced, must not forget that their fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters have poured out rivers of sweat to turn these plains, these hills and mountains into fertile fields, and have shed their blood to defend them. Therefore, their well-deserved admiration and respect for the older people and for their work, alone, are not sufficient. Militant feelings and love for untiring work in the countryside must be created and encouraged. It is a patriotic duty in the service of the Homeland, and not a sacrifice, for the city dweller to go to work in the countryside. The feeling of pride and joy in the work in the countryside must be imbued in the Albanian boy and girl. The young people must have the will and desire to settle down in our collectivized countryside and to contribute their sweat and knowledge in order to continue the work of former generations with greater strength and achieve still greater results, so that production is modernized and higher yields are secured.

The Party and the People's State Power do not negate the people's personal interests. On the contrary, when these interests do not come into opposition with the laws and rules of socialist coexistence, they are defended within the context of the general interest. The general interest must predominate, must be placed above the personal interest, because in this way everyone will improve his own economic and cultural situation, and will cleanse his consciousness of every alien

remnant. It is essential to carry on such wide-ranging educative work continuously in the process of the construction of the socialist economy, so that people do not oppose their personal interests to the general interest.

Comrades,

The moulding of the new man with a pure proletarian consciousness and world outlook, with the feeling of proletarian love for his comrade, has required a great political struggle, a sound ideological and moral education. However, the work and struggle we have carried out up till now must never be considered sufficient. People can build a factory and bring it into production within a given time, but the question of the consciousness and uplift of the new man to the level the Party demands, needs continuous political and ideological work, because the hangovers in the human consciousness persist for a long time. They are connected with the feeling of private property and with the existence of the corrupting influence of the capitalist-revisionist encirclement.

We are proud of our heroic youth, who are marching according to the precepts of the Party and pouring out all their energies in factories, fields, schools, in the ranks of our People's Army, in all sectors of the life of our country. The boys and girls of Albania, who are increasing and supplementing the great army of our working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, are the future of the Homeland. Therefore, the Party and the entire society

take special care that they grow up ideologically sound and politically pure.

The Party has raised the educational and cultural level of our people very high. The fact that many villages now have secondary schools and numerous cities have higher institutes and branches of the university, is a great victory which testifies to the special care of the people's State. The boys and girls of the people, their own sons and daughters, are learning and teaching in these schools which they themselves have built.

Unprecedented progress has been achieved in the field of art, in literature, music, cinematography, painting, theatre, etc. A clear reflection of our people's love for their art and of the passion with which they cultivate it was the Folklore Festival of Gjirokastra. Through their beautiful songs and dances, our people expressed their joy over the new life, their love for the Party, and their confidence in the future.

The development of the economy and culture has resulted in a continuous rise in the people's wellbeing. In our socialist society people live happily in their own families and in the bosom of society.

We observe with satisfaction that our population is increasing. Albania is the country with the highest rate of population increase in Europe; it is a country with a high birth rate and a low death rate. The People's State Power has taken all measures to ensure that the rates of increase of the population will rise. Ours is a prosperous country and, with the inexhaustible resources of its economy, it is in a position to support millions more people.

In the countries around us, and all over the world, there are millions unemployed, millions of others who have nothing to eat. There are hundreds of thousands of people who emerge from their hovels or homes in the morning with no certainty they will return in the evening.

In the capitalist-revisionist world, the working people are saddled with heavy taxes which fatten the bourgeoisie and the rulers who live in fabulous luxury; there the prices go up, the currency is devalued, suffering and hunger are increasing and society is degenerating. These are the consequences the detested order of capital in decay and revisionism have brought upon the working people.

The situation in our country presents an entirely different picture. Taxes no longer exist in Albania. Here conditions have been created for people to enjoy schooling, holidays, and medical care and treatment all free of charge. The State defrays the cost of many services with the aim of freeing the incomes of the citizens from any deductions.

Our shops are full of manufactured and industrial goods, foodstuffs, etc. Prices have never gone up in our country, while in the capitalist and revisionist countries the opposite is the case. House rents in our country are merely symbolic. In everything it does, our People's State Power aims to benefit the people, to raise the level of well-being and standard of living. This excellent situation encourages us and gives us even greater strength to go forward on the road of progress and socialism on which the Party is leading us.

Our friends and enemies alike are aware of

this splendid situation in our country. Our friends rejoice over our successes, and we thank them for their good wishes. While our enemies, who judge things according to capitalist and revisionist concepts, are unable to understand our situation. They do not like the progress of our country, or the regime that has brought about this progress, because our development and our system are a clear reflection of the future for the peoples who want freedom, true independence and sovereignty. At the same time, since our reality negates the capitalist system, they fight us with propaganda, and try to fight us with acts of diversion, and by every other means. In these circumstances, we must always be vigilant, must strengthen and develop our economy so that it becomes an even more brilliant reflection of the genuine socialist order.

In the concrete conditions of our country today, the continuous strengthening of the defence of the Homeland, by relying on our own forces, assumes special importance. In order to perform their supreme duty, our people are organized in the armed forces and undergo military training. We have faithfully applied the teachings of Lenin on the merging of the army with the people, so that every soldier is a citizen and every citizen a soldier. In elaborating the people's military art, the Party has based itself on Marxist-Leninist military science, on the experience of our own people's wars, especially that of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, as well as on the experience of other peoples' wars.

The defence of the Homeland is closely linked with the development of the economy, and this development is closely linked with raising the

political-ideological level of the people, with the tempering of their consciousness, with a high level of organization and strict discipline at work, as the norms of the Party and the laws of our State require. In order to continuously strengthen the defence of our country, it is necessary that we keep the military preparedness of all structures at a high level and perfect it day by day.

Being militarily prepared, our people are fully capable of defending their Homeland if aggressors attack it. They are convinced that they will emerge victorious over the enemy, because they are led by their Marxist-Leninist Party, because when it comes to defending their land, honour, dignity, freedom and independence, the Albanian does not spare his blood. This exemplary and heroic stand of our people occupies an important place in the history of peoples' wars for freedom.

Various scholars and historians have written that Scanderbeg, knowing the virtues of bravery and sacrifice of his fellow fighters, told them that no enemy or attack of the opponent would be able to harm them if they were linked together and united. And in fact that was how things turned out. Although small in numbers, the united Albanian people were able to face up to the vast force of the Ottoman Empire, thus making a valuable contribution to the defence of European civilization.

Appreciating the great power of unity, the Party, in the first months after its founding, laid the basis for the fighting unity of the Albanian people, which in the war against the nazi-fascist occupier, brought about the complete liberation

of Albania and the victory of the people's revolution. Today, the unity of our heroic people, achieved under the leadership of the Party, has been steeled more than ever and constitutes one of the basic factors for the defence of socialism and the socialist Homeland.

The successes achieved, especially those in the strengthening of our economy, should not give rise to feelings of self-satisfaction, which lead people to think that we can do no better than what we have done already. No, such an attitude cannot be recommended. Our development should not stop us seeing that we also have mistakes and shortcomings in our work. There are tasks we should have accomplished, but haven't. There are certain reasons for these shortcomings which we must examine seriously. We must correct the weaknesses we discover from this examination, must not repeat the shortcomings. Self-satisfaction, or being content with little, are always obstacles in the road of development. There is no end to perfection, the people say, therefore we should by no means put restrictions on this process towards all-round improvement. If we are to achieve constant progress towards perfection, all the working people organized in the Party and the Democratic Front, must set to work more seriously than ever, to fulfil the State plans for the development of the economy, culture, education and defence.

The struggle for the construction of socialism, the ardent desire to defend the freedom, independence and the sovereignty of our people, the need to defend this most progressive democracy so that our citizens can be the freest peo-

ple in the world, impose all those imperative tasks upon us. We must never forget that our struggle is of great importance, not only because it strengthens our internal situation, but also because of the fact that it serves as an example of a country on its own, building socialism in the epoch of decay of imperialism and the advance of proletarian revolutions and people's national-liberation wars.

However, in our work, in our joy, we must never forget the internal and external enemy. These two enemies are always in unity with each other. Their unity is based on their common desire to attack socialist Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania. Our enemies have always co-ordinated their actions, but they have failed and always will fail in face of the unity of the people with the Party.

Their failure is the result of the strength of our unity, our healthy economic, moral and political situation, the result of the correct line of the Party and the consistent waging of the class struggle. As long as remnants of the exploiting classes and the imperialist and revisionist encirclement, whatever its form, exist, the class struggle does not cease for a single moment. Therefore, nobody can be permitted to forget the danger posed by our enemies, not only in theory but also in practice. Each one of us must be vigilant everywhere, in life and at work, because the external and internal enemies carry on propaganda and try to have it take root and be concretized in hostile activities, against the People's Power and socialism.

Revolutionary vigilance does not mean sec-

tarianism. In judging people, the Party and our State of the dictatorship of the proletariat make a clear distinction between those who are linked with the people and, without any hostile intention, make mistakes in their work, and those who are declassed elements or who, without being such, have degenerated and, through their actions, harm the socialist Homeland. Towards the former, the method of persuasion and education is used, while towards the latter, the dictatorship of the proletariat strikes with its stern justice.

We Albanians are strong and are happy and joyful when we work and fight. Each of us has a proper understanding of revolutionary thought, revolutionary creativeness, revolutionary work and struggle. The mountains, the high pastures and the broad fertile plains are the habitat of the Albanian. He loves the clean fresh air, but hates the quagmire and swamps, hates deceivers and liars. It is known world-wide that when the Albanian pledges his word of honour and strikes a friendship with a true friend he will lay down his life for him, and this he does to defend the truth and justice, which have always been second nature to him. And we see this marvellous nature of our people everyday, in their work and their lives, we see it in their heroism, courage and patriotism, and see it also during the elections for deputies to the various instances of State Power.

On polling day, the faces of our people shine with their happiness and joy at their fine socialist life, their eyes, with an eagle glint in

them, reflect their firm determination to defend the victories achieved. The electors pour in a torrent past ballot boxes, to express their boundless love and support for the People's Power and the Party. The brilliant results in the polling for the candidates of the Democratic Front prove this love and support.

Astonished at the results of our elections, people in the capitalist countries ask: is there no one in Albania who does not like the regime in power? Proceeding from their bourgeois views in their judgement of us, they cannot conceive that the overwhelming majority of our people are linked with their own State of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is the most democratic and progressive State there can be on earth. Socialism has brought the Albanian people so many blessings that no other order could have done. In these circumstances, even some of those few electors who may be against our socialist order, retreating before the great force of the people, who stand absolutely for their State Power, realize that their voting against the Democratic Front would be in vain. In our country, there is not the slightest obstacle to the free expression of one's will at elections. On the contrary, freedom is complete and guaranteed by law.

The Party and the organizations of the Democratic Front organize a big campaign for the elections to the different organs of State Power. The open propaganda of the Party and the mass organizations aims at strengthening the unity and alliance between the working class and the cooperativist peasantry. The alliance of these two

friendly classes, under the leadership of the Party, has brought all the material and spiritual blessings, all the happiness, which all our people, without exception, enjoy. There are no privileged people in Albania.

Because antagonistic classes with irreconcilable interests no longer exist in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, because private property and the exploitation of man by man have been done away with and are prohibited in our country, in the election campaign there is no fighting like wild beasts in the jungle as in the capitalist and revisionist countries. The votes in our country are not manipulated by people or parties intending to enrich bourgeois capitalist groupings, but are inspired by the Party of the proletariat, which aims at raising the economic wellbeing and the cultural and educational level of the people, at strengthening the defence capacity of the country, and safeguarding our freedom and independence.

In this brilliant revolutionary situation which prevails all over our country, in the atmosphere of this great mass enthusiasm which has erupted everywhere for the fulfilment of the tasks of the historic 7th Congress of the Party, and the recent plenums of the Central Committee, as well as to attain the targets of the 6th Five-year Plan, each of us feels proud of the glorious road we have traversed and that we still have to traverse to ensure the further flowering of the Homeland.

The total participation in the elections and the unanimous vote for the candidates of the Democratic Front will be another expression of

the ardent approval by the working masses of the general line of the Party, of the majesty of the unity of the people around the Party, and their unwavering confidence in their ability to carry our triumphant revolution forward. This will contribute to the further strengthening of the international position and prestige of socialist Albania in the world.

Comrades,

I thank you whole-heartedly for your kindness in approving my candidature as the deputy to the People's Assembly from your constituency. I am very grateful to you for your esteem and the great honour you do me, as a member of our beloved Party, your son and brother, working together with you as a fighter for the great cause of the construction of socialist society and the defence of our beloved Homeland.

The great trust you expressed in the Party of Labour of Albania by your approval of my candidature, has deeply moved me. I assure you that, as always, I will fight untiringly to serve the Homeland, the Party and the people, that, together with you, I will devote all my strength to honourably fulfilling my lofty and responsible task as your deputy to the People's Assembly, that I will try to represent you in a worthy manner in the supreme organ of State Power and to warrant your great trust.

Once again thanking you for your conside-

ration for me personally, allow me to cheer from my heart:

Long live the Albanian people!

Long live the People's Socialist Republic of Albania!

Long live the Party of Labour of Albania and its Central Committee!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

