

ENVER HOXHA

REPORT

SUBMITTED TO THE
6th CONGRESS OF THE PARTY
OF LABOR OF ALBANIA

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REPORT
ON THE ACTIVITY
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE PARTY OF LABOR
OF ALBANIA

*submitted to the 6th Congress
of the Party of Labor of Albania
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ENVER HOXHA

Dear comrade Delegates!

The 6th Congress of the Party has been called to draw up a balance sheet of the self-sacrificing and heroic work the communists and all our people have done during these five years for the unceasing development of the revolution and the successful construction of socialism in Albania. As the highest forum of the Party, it has the great honor and responsibility of defining the fundamental objectives for the coming period, the tasks of the Party, and the ways of realizing them.

The 6th Congress, like the other Party congresses, will mark a new stage in our triumphant march, another step upwards of all-round progress in our socialist society.

The eyes and hearts of all the working people of Albania are turned today towards our Congress, because the life, aspirations and future of our people are closely linked with our Party of Labor, with its line and activity, because the interests of our Party, our people and our socialist Fatherland are one and indivisible.

Through its work our Congress will fully justify the unshakable confidence and love of our

working class and all our workers in their Party, in which they see their tested leader, the guarantor of the victories attained and of the communist future.

Our 6th Congress is meeting on the eve of a great celebration, the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of our heroic Party of Labor. The thirty years of the life of the Party are thirty years of glorious battles and victories, thirty years of titanic struggle and work for the creation and building of the new Albania. This is the most brilliant and the most magnificent period in the age-long history of our people, when, guided by the Party, they passed from darkness into light, when they demonstrated with unparalleled force their vitality, courage, and invincible freedom-loving spirit, when their creative talents, abilities, and energies burst forth as never before, when Albania emerged as its own master in the international arena, and stands with dignity and merit in the ranks of the advanced peoples and nations of the world.

The glory of all these victories belongs to the heroic sons and daughters who sacrificed their lives for the noble ideals of the Party and people, to those who have merged all their physical and mental energies for the strengthening and prosperity of our socialist Fatherland, to our working class, the laboring peasantry, the people's intelligentsia, to all our people who carry forward the cause of socialism in Albania courageously and with a lofty revolutionary spirit.

Embodied in all the achievements attained

during these thirty years is the consistent and principled line of our Party. Its foundation has always been the life-giving teachings of Marxism-Leninism, which our Party has applied in a creative way and has defended with determination. These teachings have been the compass which has guided us in all battles. They have always illuminated our revolutionary path and will continue to do so.

The Party of Labor of Albania was created for the purpose of liberating Albania, of carrying out the revolution, of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and building socialism in Albania. Today, at the thirtieth anniversary of the Party, we are proud to see this historic mission which the Albanian communists took upon themselves in those difficult days of November 1941, successfully accomplished. Albania is free and independent, the working class holds the power of the dictatorship of the proletariat firmly in its hands and socialism has triumphed in all fields.

The red thread that runs through the entire life and activity of our Party is its stern and resolute struggle against all class enemies, its unbounded confidence in the people and unshakable reliance on their inexhaustible strength, its loyalty to the ideals of proletarian internationalism.

Fierce waves have surged and crashed against our Party and our socialist Albania during these years. The imperialists, revisionists and all the other internal and external enemies have tried in a thousand ways to turn us from the right road, to stop our triumphant march. But our Party and

people have stood like a granite rock and have smashed their attempts to conquer us and force us to our knees.

Our people have always emerged victorious because they have had and continue to have a strong revolutionary Party which has always maintained keen vigilance and kept the edge of the class struggle sharp, because a steel-like and unwavering unity has been wrought between the Party and the people. In our struggle, we have never been isolated and alone. Our Party and people have always had and felt close to them the powerful aid and support and solidarity of the Marxist-Leninist parties, of the peoples of socialist countries, of all the revolutionaries and progressive-minded peoples of the world.

Our Party is always as young and dynamic as in the early days of its life. The thirty years that have elapsed have given it the maturity of a fighter tested in battle, have tempered it politically and ideologically, have formed it into a truly revolutionary Party with its roots deep in the working class and the Albanian people, have made it a shock brigade of international communism.

The great process of all-round revolutionization which developed impulsively, especially following the 5th Congress, further strengthened the positions of socialism in Albania, increased the fighting spirit and enhanced the whole life and activity of the Party, gave an unprecedented impulse to the initiative and creativeness of the masses, to the

rapid development of our people's economy and culture.

This has been a major class struggle to block the way to any possibility of the emergence of revisionism, of a turning back of our society, a struggle to constantly promote the revolution and the construction of socialism.

Our Party comes to this congress with rich experience and great results, with an unbreakable unity of its ranks, ready to undertake new and heavier burdens for the welfare and happiness of the people, determined to carry the cause of socialism and revolution through to the end.

The proceedings and decisions of the 6th Congress will undoubtedly give a new and powerful impetus to our revolutionary work and struggle, to the all-round development of our economy and culture, to the raising of the well-being of the people, so that our Fatherland will always stand as an invincible citadel of socialism, so that our Party will as always hold high and unsullied the victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism.

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

Our 6th Congress is meeting at a time when major contradictions and confrontations exist on a world scale, when, as never before, large class, political, economic, and military forces have been assembled and face one another throughout the globe.

The forces of imperialism, revisionism, and reaction, stand on one side of the barricade, while the forces of socialism, the people's front headed by the international working class, stand on the other. The line of demarcation between them is becoming more and more distinct in all fields.

The correct understanding of these contradictions, the realistic and objective examination of the ratio of forces which are at work on the international arena, the recognition of the basic tendencies of the present world development, have decisive importance in the struggle against imperialism and revisionism, in the struggle for the triumph of revolution.

The tendency of the present world development is revolution and the triumph of socialism

The events which have taken place in the world during these last five years have confirmed the correct assessment which our Party made of the situation and the tendencies of the development of international relations at its 5th Congress. In analyzing the situation in the world now, we must stress not only that it is favorable to the revolution, but also that the revolution is becoming the general aspiration of the peoples.

This assessment of the situation is not merely an optimistic statement, but an expression of the objective reality, of the historical process of world development today, in which the sharpening of social antagonisms and the uninterrupted rise and strengthening of the revolutionary struggles of the peoples, which are shaking the imperialist and revisionist world to its very foundations and which are further deepening its all-round crisis, can be clearly seen.

Today, we are witnesses of the major class encounters between the workers and capital and its state power. The class struggle of the proletariat and the other exploited social strata has assumed such proportions, both as regards the number of participants as well as its intensity, that the present period can be compared with the most critical periods the bourgeoisie of the capitalist countries have passed through. The brilliant battles of the French, Italian, Spanish, English, Belgian,

and other workers, the positive and negative experiences gained, will leave indelible traces in their minds. Fierce battles are being waged between the workers and capital even in those countries which bourgeois propaganda has presented as zones of permanent «class peace». The social-democratic myth about «social evolution», about the creation of general well-being under the capitalist system, has been smashed.

The social contradictions have become very acute in the United States itself. The political, economic and social crisis of the Yankee imperialism has been further deepened and the revolutionary struggle of the U.S. people has been further extended as a result of the failure of U.S. imperialism's external and internal policy. The bastion of imperialism is shaking under the wide-scale revolt of the American colored people for equality and civil rights and of the whole people against the war in Vietnam.

It is important that in these new class battles which are being waged in the capitalist countries, political demands are coming to the fore, the revolutionary consciousness of the workers is increasing, and the breaking away from the influence of social-democrat and revisionist opportunism is becoming ever more marked.

Another feature of the class struggle against the exploiting capitalist system and the imperialist policy is the outburst everywhere of the youth and student movement, which is being turned into a powerful revolutionary force of our time. The

youth of the capitalist world are not content with either their social situation or the system which has closed all the roads to the future. They are now in search of truth, and truth is leading, and will surely lead them, towards unity with the working class, towards revolution.

World imperialism is receiving ever heavier blows from the liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which is being vigorously waged everywhere. The determined anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of Vietnam and of other peoples of Indochina, who have destroyed, once and for all, the myth of the invincibility of the U.S. superpower, of its military machine and modern weapons, is a brilliant example and a powerful inspiration for that struggle.

The anti-imperialist armed struggle of the peoples of Thailand, Burma, Malaysia, and Indonesia in Asia, has assumed new and greater proportions. The revolutionary struggle of the peoples of Brasil and Columbia, Chile and Peru, Bolivia and Argentina and the other countries of Latin America against U.S. imperialism and their local oligarchies for the defence of their national sovereignty and independence, for democratic and independent development, for social progress has developed on a broad scale. A new revolutionary situation is being created in Africa too. The peoples everywhere have been swept into the wave of struggle against old and new colonialism, against the oppressing and reactionary forces, for the de-

fence of their freedom and independence. Neither the policy of dictate and deceit, nor the armed violence of imperialism, can subdue the will of the peoples to fight and take their destiny in their own hands.

Imperialism and revisionism are drawing down on their own heads the hatred of the peoples, who see the U.S. and Soviet revisionist policy as a danger to their freedom and independence. The peoples love freedom, they are against the brutal interference of the imperialists and revisionists, they condemn their policy of hegemony and blackmail. Anti-U.S. feelings are growing and becoming more powerful everywhere, just as the opposition to Soviet social-imperialism is increasing and becoming more powerful.

Great People's China and Albania, the countries which consistently pursue the Marxist-Leninist line and are building socialism, constitute an important factor in the revolutionary movement, an example of inspiration and encouragement for its extension, and an unshakable base of the support for the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the peoples. Their successes in the socialist revolution, their economic, political and ideological strengthening, their determined, uncompromising struggle waged with success on two fronts, against U.S.-led imperialism and Soviet-led modern revisionism, their clear revolutionary policy, their firm support for the liberation struggle, all these things encourage the peoples and revolutionaries everywhere, strengthen their faith in the victory of their

just cause, strengthen their faith in socialism, to which the future belongs.

The role of the People's Republic of China, this powerful bastion of the revolution and socialism, is especially great in the growth and strengthening of the revolutionary movement everywhere in the world.

The triumph of the great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and guided by the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Mao Tse-tung, is a victory and a source of inspiration for the whole world revolutionary movement. The imperialists and revisionists, who by means of their agents endeavoured to strangle the Chinese revolution, were badly disillusioned. The China of Mao Tse-tung remained red, emerged from the cultural revolution a hundred times stronger, the resolute enemy of imperialism and revisionism, the great friend and supporter of the peoples and their struggle.

An important event in the revolutionary movement of recent years is the growth of new Marxist-Leninist parties. Today, in almost all countries of the world Marxist-Leninist parties or organizations have been created, which are arraying themselves in the front ranks of the liberation struggle with increasing success. This is a great historic event testifying to the vitality of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, proving that the perspective of the revolution and of the victory of socialism is becoming ever clearer.

The increase of the revolutionary forces and the revolutionary impulse in the world indicates

that, despite their great and feverish efforts to turn the wheel of history back, imperialism and revisionism have not been, and will never be, able to change the general ratio of forces, which is tipping more and more towards revolution. The historic initiative has finally passed into the hands of the working class and of the peoples. The road of the development of present day human society is opened and determined by revolution.

The successful development and extension of the world revolutionary movement and the people's struggle is the most clear proof of the deepening of the grave crisis which has gripped the most hated enemies of peoples — imperialism and revisionism.

The betrayal by the Khrushchevite modern revisionists, which greatly damaged the revolutionary movement, was a temporary advantage for the capitalist system in general. But it did not rescue capitalism from its general crisis, nor did it change the course of history, its trend of development towards the revolution and the victory of socialism.

In its own plan for the exploiting system, imperialism aimed at eliminating the economic crises and at averting the profound contradictions amongst capitalist countries. Here, too, it suffered defeat. The big imperialist countries, not to mention the smaller ones, are at present passing through a stage when the phenomena of the crisis have become chronic and have created new difficulties for the entire economy. The crisis of the monetary

financial system has become an incurable disease. Inflation and the cost of living are increasing rapidly, while the unemployed are counted in millions. The severe shaking of the ruling positions of U.S. dollar and Nixon's restrictive measures have caused great confusion and chaos in the entire capitalist world. The dollar crisis is not just a crisis of the U.S. monetary system, or of the monetary systems of the other capitalist countries. This is a manifest expression of the general economic, political, military and ideological crisis of the entire capitalist system, of its structures and superstructures, of the capitalist and imperialist regimes and alliances.

All such phenomena have added to and further sharpened the contradictions between the various bourgeois countries, and especially those with the United States of America.

The economic and political struggle between the capitalist countries is taking ever greater proportions. Economic integration and the creation of military blocs have added still more to the ruthless competition between them. Now the European «Common Market» wants to challenge U.S. supremacy in the world market, while the new economic power of Japan, through its intrusion, is seriously cramping the expansion of the U.S. monopolies in Asia. Big squabbles have broken out in the ranks of the NATO and the other alliances of imperialism. The trend of these rivalries and contradictions among the imperialist countries is to become ever deeper.

In order to consolidate its positions, to avert its economic difficulties, political contradictions, and social conflicts, imperialism has endeavored and is still endeavouring to adapt itself to the new conditions of the class struggle both within its home country and outside it. But neither the development of state monopoly capitalism, the concentration, on a national and international scale, of production and capital, nor the militarization of the economy and the technological-scientific revolution have saved it, and such measures will never save it from its inevitable defeat and collapse. The partial and temporary solutions which they might provide, are fraught with new and still more severe contradictions and conflicts, with a still deeper and more tumultuous crisis of the whole world capitalist system.

An equally grave situation reigns now in the the revisionist camp too. Our Party, in the light of its Marxist-Leninist theory, accurately predicted where their road of betrayal would lead the revisionists, predicted their all-round decline and degeneration. The crisis the revisionists are passing through is ideological, political and economic. Not only were the Moscow chiefs defeated in their attempts to establish their domination over the communist movement and the national-liberation movement, but now they are unable to keep even their closest allies, the revisionist cliques in the satellite countries, in captivity.

Among the various sections of revisionism there is neither ideological unity, nor unity of

action. Conflicts and squabbles amongst the revisionist cliques in power are commonplace phenomena and have reached such a pitch of tension that they might explode at any moment. Factions and trends of the most varied kinds have been created in the ranks of the revisionist parties. The betrayal of Marxism-Leninism introduced confusion and disintegration in the ranks of these parties.

The revisionist countries and their boss, the Soviet Union itself, are beginning to suffer from the chronic ills of bourgeois society. The discontent aroused in the masses by the revisionist line is being transformed into open revolt. The events of last year in Poland demonstrated that the working class has lined up face to face against the revisionist state power. The example of the Polish workers, who came out on the field of battle, is inspiring for all the workers and peoples of the countries where the revisionists hold sway. It is a call to battle for the overthrow of the revisionist betrayal.

At the present stage, despite their powerful appearance, imperialism and revisionism are weak. Their decay and degeneration are advancing from day to day. At present they are unable to solve a single fundamental internal problem, or to achieve any of their major external aims.

The ground is quaking under the feet of imperialism, revisionism, and all other reactionaries. In our epoch, there is no force on earth that can stop the victorious march of the revolution and socialism.

We, Albanian communists, like all the Marxist-Leninists everywhere, regard the future of the world with optimism, convinced that it belongs to the freedom and independence of the peoples, to socialism. But at the same time our revolutionary optimism does not prevent us from seeing the threats and dangers to our country and all the peoples stemming from U.S. imperialism and its aggressive policy and from the new Soviet revisionist imperialism, which are jointly claiming world hegemony and domination.

Regardless of the changes that have taken place and are taking place in the world, U.S. imperialism remains the chief enemy of all peoples, the greatest oppressor and exploiter of other countries, the bastion of international reaction. As long as it remains on its feet, its reactionary nature remains unchanged, together with its aggressive and warmongering policy and strategy, which stem from the very essence of its exploiting system. U.S. imperialism cannot live without economic expansion, without political intervention and military aggression, without oppressing and exploiting other people. Otherwise it dies, and the road is opened to revolts and revolutions.

The events of the recent years are the best proof that the imperialism of the United States has not only not given up, but on the contrary is doing its utmost, to undermine the freedom and independence of other states and to establish its world domination. It is brandishing arms, and threatening war everywhere.

The U.S. imperialists are continuing their barbarous war in Vietnam. They extended their aggression into Cambodia and Laos, too, thus inflicting destruction, murder, and grave wounds on the heroic peoples of Indochina. On the incitement and with the active and direct assistance of the United States, Israel unleashed its aggression against the Arab countries and maintains the occupation of their territories. The plots, subversive activities, armed intervention and violence in Libya, in the People's Republic of the Congo or Somalia, in Guinea or in many other countries of Asia and Latin America, have been and are the doing of U.S. imperialists. The United States is the ally and sponsor of all reactionary and fascist regimes, the chief defender of the international system of capitalist exploitation.

Open aggression is increasingly coming to the fore as a principal means to ensure the positions of economic, political and military domination of the United States in other countries. The U.S. imperialists try to realize this strategy through the policy of neo-colonialism and efforts to preserve its technological and scientific monopoly as a means of interference, oppression and exploitation.

It could be said that in practice today there is not a single free and independent country which is not being threatened by U.S. imperialism in some way, which does not feel its pressure and blackmail, which is not affected by its brutal interference.

Facing the peoples, stands a great, insatiable

and barbarous enemy. For this reason the struggle against U.S. imperialism has become the supreme duty for all the revolutionary forces of our time, for all the peoples. The deep contradiction which exists between U.S. imperialism with its aggressive policy, on one hand, and the peoples with their anti-imperialist struggle, on the other, will become ever more severe and acute. In the clash between them there can be neither periods of truce, concessions, nor retreats, as the revisionists preach. Any wavering in the struggle against imperialism is fraught with very dangerous consequences.

But U.S. imperialism is not the only enemy of the peoples; neither should we consider as its allies only the reactionary puppets directly connected politically, militarily, and financially with Washington. Despite their contradictions with the United States, Britain, West Germany, Japan and other imperialist countries remain its chief partners, likewise follow the policy of economic expansion and neo-colonization towards other countries, seek to create spheres of influence, and always come out in support of world reaction. A united Europe, which is being hatched up by the West European capital, aims at becoming a new imperialist superpower with claims to hegemony and domination similar to the United States and the Soviet Union. The struggle against U.S. imperialism will not be effective, unless it is waged against its friends and allies too, against all imperialist powers.

The attitude to imperialism, in the first place, to U.S. imperialism, is the «touch-stone» for all

the political forces of the world. This is not just a tactical question, or a temporary solution in the existing circumstances. The attitude towards imperialism is a question of the content of the political line. It serves as a gauge for assessing practical actions, and, in the end, a demarcation line which divides two warring camps, dividing those who defend the vital interests of peoples and of the future of mankind from those who trample them underfoot, dividing revolutionaries from reactionaries and traitors.

The anti-imperialist struggle has not and cannot have the same extension and the same intensity everywhere. But it is important that the peoples stand up in the liberation struggle against imperialism, not only to make its life impossible, but also to shorten it. Only resolute resistance, the open blow for blow struggle which does not withdraw in the face of difficulties and sacrifices can drive it back and defeat it. The duty of the revolutionaries is to make the masses of the people politically and ideologically clear, to raise their vigilance, to show them where the enemy is, how he acts, how they should organize themselves and fight him.

An enemy just as dangerous, just as cunning and aggressive as U.S. imperialism for the peoples and the revolution is the new Soviet revisionist imperialism.

From the time modern revisionism usurped power in the Soviet Union and in the other socialist countries, our Party assessed the situation cor-

rectly and emphasized that a «second front» was being opened in the world against socialism and communism.

Today all of us are witnesses to the fact that the revisionist Soviet Union has been transformed into a chauvinist and neo-colonialist state. The foreign policy of the Soviet revisionists is the great Russian policy of the old czars, it has the same expansionist aims, the same objectives of the subjection and enslavement of peoples. The appetite of the new Soviet revisionist imperialism is insatiable. Like the United States, the chieftains of the Kremlin have filled the skies with airplanes and the oceans with submarines, they are setting up everywhere they can military bases and economic markets to suck in the wealth of the peoples and to recruit agents in the four corners of the earth. Rubles and tanks, corruption and blackmail go hand in hand. There is no area in the world the Soviet revisionists are not trying to extend their imperialist influence; there is no international question in which they do not interfere in order to extract profits for their own benefit. Following in the footsteps of the U.S. imperialists, they have become the biggest dealers in arms, the most insatiable usurers, inspirers of counter-revolutionary plots and instigators of conflicts among nations.

The chronology of the actions of the Soviet revisionists during the last few years shows that their aggressive course is becoming ever more pronounced. The more the contradictions inside the

Soviet Union increase, the more the squabbles and opposition in the revisionist camp, and, on the other hand, the sharper the competition with its rival and ally, U.S. imperialism, the more military adventures come to the fore in the actions of the Soviet revisionists.

The barbarous aggression against Czechoslovakia was not accidental, it was not an extraordinary situation that cannot be repeated, but the climax of an aggressive and chauvinist policy raised to an official line, the beginning of a large-scale onslaught against the freedom and independence of many countries and peoples. The fact is that, at the same time as the open occupation of Czechoslovakia, the military occupation on the quiet of Poland, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Mongolia was further strengthened. In practice these countries have been turned into military provinces of the Moscow empire where the Soviet generals not only maintain «law and order» but make both the policy and the law.

The irony of all this chauvinist policy, of all the efforts to dominate the peoples, is that the Soviet revisionists even try to justify their policy «theoretically» calling it «proletarian», and even «Leninist». Brezhnev came out with the infamous theory of «limited sovereignty», and his zealous propagandists are striving to convince the world that it was not tanks that the Soviet Union sent to Prague, but its «internationalist aid», that it is not oppressing its satellite countries, but is «streng-

thening the socialist community», that it is not exploiting them, but is speeding up their «socialist integration», and so on.

The theory of «limited sovereignty» is the theory of great power chauvinism and expansionism, the theory by means of which the new Soviet imperialists try to extinguish any sovereignty of the other peoples, and to create for themselves the «sovereign right» to intervene wherever and whenever they want to. By denying the sovereignty of others they are trying to rob the nations and states of that which is dearest to them — their freedom and independence, to negate their national individuality, their indisputable right of self-determination and independent development, their right of equality in international life and their active participation in world relations. With their «limited sovereignty» they are trying to legalise the right of the strongest to oppress the weak, of the biggest to gobble up the small. It is a theory for the justification of imperialist aggression.

The «proletarian internationalism» of the Soviet revisionists, also, has a similar reactionary essence. The Kremlin rulers are trying to speculate and impose on the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces the distorted idea that the basic criterion of proletarian internationalism, its «touchstone», is the attitude to the Soviet Union, that all revolutionary struggles and activities should be subordinated to the interests of the Soviet Union and its policy.

The speculation on the past and the use of

theses, which were correct at one time, convince nobody today when the Soviet revisionists have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and transformed the Soviet Union into an imperialist country. The attitude towards the Soviet Union remains a criterion of proletarian internationalism, but in the opposite meaning from that of the time of Lenin and Stalin, when the Soviet Union was the center of the world revolution and its base. Today a revolutionary and internationalist is he who fights the Soviet revisionists, who exposes their treachery, who opposes their anti-Marxist and imperialist policy and line with all his strength.

The transition of Soviet revisionism to social-imperialism, the intensification of its expansionist policy and activity have faced the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces with new tasks. The ideological struggle against revisionism remains a prime current duty which should be carried through to the end until the complete defeat of revisionism. But today this would be insufficient and would not have a successful conclusion if the present Soviet Union were not considered as an imperialist state power.

The greatest counter-revolutionary force opposed to the struggle of the nations for freedom and socialism is the Soviet-U.S. alliance. In all fields — economic, political and military — the imperialist courses of the U.S. and the Soviet Union are continuously drawing nearer to and embracing each other. In order to realize their aims of hegemony and domination, the two superpowers need

each other, therefore they synchronise their watches, and continually coordinate their plans and concrete activity.

Their strategic objective is to destroy socialism, to strangle the revolution, to establish their rule over the whole world. The edge of this alliance is directed against the People's Republic of China, which is the main obstacle to the realization of their counter-revolutionary schemes. The United States and the Soviet Union are doing their utmost, although it is only daydreaming on their part, to encircle and isolate China with the aim of going over afterwards to the suppression of the revolution and the destruction of the People's Republic of China. All their activities in the field of international relations in Europe, Asia, Africa and Oceania have been subordinated to this joint counter-revolutionary strategy.

The weight of this reactionary alliance makes its presence felt in all the international conflicts and problems. Twenty six years have elapsed since the Second World War ended, but the United States and the Soviet Union still keep their armies stationed in other countries. The two superpowers have recognized their respective spheres of influence accepting them as an accomplished fact, and try not to hinder each other in the domination and exploitation of them.

By means of secret diplomacy and in complete accord with imperialist practice, the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists are now striking bargains behind the scenes, over sharing between

them the former zones of influence out of which the old imperialist powers have been driven, in order to «fill the vacuum», as they say. These «fruits» of the Soviet-U.S alliance are quite clearly obvious in the Middle East, along the north coast of Africa, in the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean, and elsewhere.

Over the big international issues the two superpowers try to come out with a coordinated policy and with a common attitude towards third parties, as in the case of the talks on disarmament in Geneva, the talks over the Middle East in New-York, etc. This coordination and common stand are even clearer in the proceedings of the UNO which has been transformed into an instrument of their hegemonistic policy. In practice, no decision is taken, no suggestion is adopted, in the UNO unless it is acceptable to the two superpowers. What the United States and the Soviet Union are seeking and striving for is to force the other nations to entrust their fate to the two superpowers, so that these become arbiters not only of the foreign affairs of the other countries but also of their internal affairs. The two superpowers want acceptance of their will and the submission to their dictate to be raised to a law and norm of international life.

Strenuous efforts are being made by the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists to preserve the balance of power between them, and to keep the other nations at a certain distance. All the agreements they have reached over atomic weapons, space, the seabed, etc., aim at keeping intact

this new strategic ratio, which also defines the common policy of the two superpowers. In particular they want to preserve their monopoly of new weapons and their technical-scientific superiority in the main branches of arms development, with the aim of keeping the other countries in submission and exerting continuous political, economic and military pressure on them. Nobody doubts that the strictly secret SALT talks, from which even their closest allies are excluded, have been turned into an institution not only for the coordination of military affairs discussed but also for defining concrete political attitudes and long term joint strategy.

Naturally it would be incomprehensible and unrealistic if in the Soviet-U.S. alliance we were to see only the rapprochement and collaboration of the two superpowers, their common interests and actions. As imperialist powers, the United States and the revisionist Soviet Union also have discord, rivalry, and deep contradictions which hinder them from acting in complete harmony and unity always and everywhere. The existence and the sharpening of contradictions lies at the very foundations of this alliance, in the capitalist social system of the two countries, in their imperialist aims. The two partners, while preparing for war, are planning to seize each other by the throat.

Speculating with the contradictions which they have with the United States and with the aim of concealing their betrayal, the Soviet revisionists try to pose as anti-imperialists, as if they,

too, oppose the policy of aggression and war of U.S. imperialism. But the «anti-imperialism» of the revisionists is a hoax, a device to deceive the people, to split their anti-imperialist unity, to sabotage the revolution. Any illusion about the «anti-imperialism» of the Soviet revisionists would be very dangerous, with grave consequences for the revolutionary struggle of the peoples.

As long as the imperialist United States and the revisionist Soviet Union are two imperialist superpowers and come out with a common counter-revolutionary strategy, it is impossible for the struggle of the peoples against them not to merge into a common trend. You cannot rely on the one imperialism to oppose the other.

The U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists are trying to preserve their peace, their status quo and their alliances. They demand that the peoples sit quiet, approve their policy and actions. But the peoples, the revolutionaries, and all progressive mankind wholeheartedly hate oppression and exploitation, which are equally unendurable whether exercised by the U.S. imperialists or by the Soviet revisionists.

They do not want the imperialist «peace» and «tranquillity», nor do they want the present reactionary status quo which the imperialists and revisionists preach. The revolution, the struggle for national and social liberation is not the «destruction of mankind», as the imperialists and revisionists preach, but the destruction of oppression and exploitation, it is the salvation of mankind.

Of course, the revolution will not break out at the same time in all countries, nor will it triumph on the same day. It will have its zigzags, its ups and downs. But everywhere there is oppression and exploitation there will also be class struggle, there will be revolution. Now Marxism-Leninism is inspiring the world proletariat more and more with each passing day, is illuminating the road to victory for all the oppressed masses.

The true peace and the security of the peoples are achieved through struggle against U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism

Our Party and Government have devoted particular attention to some important and acute special problems of international life which directly influence the fate and the future of the peoples on a broad scale.

For twelve years now the heroic Vietnamese people have been waging a life and death struggle against the imperialist aggression of the United States and its Saigon puppets. Although the U.S. imperialists have lost the war in the field of battle, although there is no hope that the situation will change to their favour, they are continuing their aggression and their efforts to oppress the Vietnamese people and to force them to their knees with desperate obstinacy. On top of that, in recent times the U.S. imperialists have extended their aggression to Cambodia and Laos, too. But the ex-

pansion of aggression showed that, today, just as yesterday, armed violence, terror and atrocities cannot offer the U.S. imperialists any way out of the blind alley they have got into. Thanks to the united struggle of the Indochinese peoples, their unity and resolution, the strategic and tactical plans of the Nixon government have utterly failed.

Indochina has now become the main battlefield of the liberation struggle of the peoples against U.S. imperialism, therefore the victories of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, have been a great revolutionary inspiration for all those who oppose imperialism, who fight for freedom and national independence, for democracy and social justice. In particular they have raised the morale, the fighting spirit of the small nations and have strengthened their confidence in their own strength and in their future.

The historic lesson we draw from Vietnam is that the people's war can be counterposed to the aggression of the big imperialist power with great success, that in the present conditions even a small country can defeat a superpower, provided it is determined to make any sacrifice and to march courageously on the road of freedom and revolution.

Nixon's new doctrine of the so-called «vietnamization of the war» and his manoeuvres for «peace talks» etc. cannot have any success. «Vietnamization» means extension and continuation of the imperialist aggression, so that Vietnamese are set against Vietnamese, Asians against Asians while the U.S. imperialists dominate, suppress, exploit

them, and use them as gun fodder in their aggressive and hegemonistic policy. But the Nixon plan for the «vietnamization» of the war in Vietnam failed in the face of the heroic stand of the peoples of Indochina, and it cannot lead its authors anywhere but to new and greater defeats. Neither their friends the Soviet revisionists, who for years on end have undermined the efforts of the Vietnamese people and have exerted pressure on them to quell their anti-U.S. struggle, can save the U.S. imperialists from the disaster in Vietnam.

There can be no genuine peace in Vietnam and throughout Indochina until all the U.S. forces are finally withdrawn from that region and until all the U.S. military bases and installations there are eliminated. The Vietnamese people will certainly win, and this victory will be achieved on the battlefield by the Vietnamese people who are fighting and shedding their blood. It is their right and theirs alone, to decide for themselves, independently, about their own future.

The Albanian people have been and will always be heart and soul with the fraternal Vietnamese people and with the other peoples of Indochina, they are in full solidarity with their just and heroic struggle against U.S. imperialism and its allies. We give our full support to the just stands of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the provisional revolutionary government of the Republic of South Vietnam for the withdrawal of the U.S. troops and the settlement of the Vietnamese conflict.

The Middle East, too, has been turned into a hotbed of tension. The imperialist-Israeli aggression, which aims at subjecting and enslaving all the Arab peoples, has been going on for a long time. The situation has been aggravated also by the interference of the Soviet revisionists in that area, who, by posing as friends of the Arab states, are seeking to occupy strategic positions and to extend their domination there.

The zionists, the imperialists, and the Soviet revisionists are now trying to split the Arabs and to put them at loggerheads with one another, with a view to weakening their common anti-imperialist liberation front and imposing on them a peace against their vital interests. The aim of the two superpowers, which seek to take the fate of the Middle East in their own hands and to play the role of arbiter, is to divide it into spheres of influence and, on the lives and bones of the Arab peoples, build new war bases from which to launch imperialist invasions on the continents of Asia and Africa.

But the Arab peoples have not fought for centuries for freedom and independence, to defend their honour and riches, to sacrifice them now for the imperialist interests of the big powers. The price of the «peace» which the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists are offering them is very high. Furthermore, it is deeply offensive to the glorious traditions, the dignity and pride of all the Arab peoples. They have made it clear that they will not give up even an inch of Arab land

and will do no deals over the Palestine cause. They have risen against the violence of the Jordanian reactionaries attempting to suppress the partisan forces of Palestine, who stand in the front line of the liberation struggle of the Arab peoples, and have rejected the imperialist plot, which is aimed at completely and definitely liquidating the Palestinian revolution.

Our people consider the Arab peoples as traditional friends and brothers and are in full solidarity with their just cause. Our people have been and will always be beside them. We are convinced that the Arab peoples will raise high the banner of the liberation struggle against the imperialists and zionists, against the intervention of the Soviet revisionists and the deceptions of all those who pose as friends, but who are trying to stab them in the back. The Arab lands belong to the Arabs, the cause for which the Palestinian people are fighting is invincible.

The People's Republic of Albania is interested in real peace and security in Europe, in a real and just solution of the problems which have remained unsolved since the end of the Second World War, and, first of all, of the German problem.

But the situation in Europe is not as the Soviet revisionists try to present it, as if the tension has relaxed and the situation become tranquil because the Moscow-Bonn treaty has been signed, because the Soviet Union and Federal Germany have allegedly guaranteed the inviolability of the borders of the European states.

On the contrary, the conclusion of the Soviet-German treaty created a new tension in Europe, which springs from the real threats by Soviet revisionism and German revanchism against the interests, sovereignty and rights of the European countries, from their aims of hegemony and domination in our continent. Already the Federal German Republic has become the most powerful capitalist state in Western Europe, which is challenging the U.S. influence and trying to overshadow the power of France and Britain, not to mention the other NATO partners. Instead of contributing to any solution, the Soviet-German treaty creates new imperialist contradictions, rivalries, and complications, with dangerous consequences for all the countries of Europe.

The aim of this agreement is to avoid signing the peace treaty with Germany and to violate and deny the legitimate rights of the peoples who fought against Hitlerite Germany and won. But those who shed their blood in the war against nazism can never agree to leave the hands of German militarists and revanchists free and create the preconditions for them to hurl Europe and the world again into a new slaughter. The conclusion of the peace treaty with Germany is a right which belongs to all the countries of the anti-fascist coalition, and nobody can rob them of this or deny it. By setting this question aside, the Soviet-German agreement violated the supreme interests of the German Democratic Republic, and these interests have been staked in a deal played behind the

owner's back by the diplomacy of the four great powers and Bonn. This was also clearly confirmed by the Berlin agreement, in which the concessions and compromises of the Kremlin chiefs put the German Democratic Republic in a position where it was grossly disregarded and humiliated.

It is true that the peoples of Europe aspire to and need security for their freedom, independence and normal development. But the security, about which the Soviet revisionists have been making a big fuss recently, is a false security. The peoples of Europe cannot agree to become jointly guilty with the two big imperialist powers against their own supreme interests, they cannot agree to play the game of the two superpowers, which think only of security for their own spheres of influence and the subjection and domination of the European countries. The peoples do not expect true security from the two big imperialist powers, which are authors of the aggressions in Vietnam, the Middle East, Czechoslovakia, and elsewhere, which maintain their bases and occupation armies in many countries of Europe, and trample underfoot the freedom and independence of sovereign peoples and countries.

In Europe there is the NATO bloc, which is an aggressive alliance dominated by the U.S. imperialists and in which the revanchists of West Germany play a major role. Its aim has been and remains the struggle against communism, the suppression of the revolution in Europe and the guaranteeing of U.S. imperialist interests. There is

also the Warsaw Treaty, which has been transformed into a machine for maintaining the domination of the Soviet revisionists over the participating countries and into an aggressive force threatening the independence of other countries. What European security can we speak about when these two blocs keep the peoples of this or that part of Europe under their heel, when they are the main pillars of the domination and dictate of the two super-powers. It is clear that so long as these two blocs exist in Europe, so long as the bases of the U.S. and Soviet armies exist in the countries of Europe, there can never be true European security.

Our country got out of the Warsaw Treaty and publicly denounced its aggressive policy and activity. By this just act we not only defended the freedom and independence of our Fatherland, but also showed that the road to defend freedom and independence, the road of peace and international security, is firm opposition to the hegemonistic and enslaving policy of imperialism and revisionism.

We hold that the peoples of Europe can and will achieve their security only by strengthening their national independence and sovereignty, in resolute struggle against the hegemonistic policy of the United States of America and the Soviet Union, against their efforts to preserve their military bases and zones of influence in Europe, against their efforts to preserve this status-quo and to spearhead the war to Asia.

The People's Republic of Albania, as a Medi-

terranean country, is interested in and fights for the Mediterranean basin to be an area of peace and fruitful collaboration. She resolutely condemns the aggressive policy of the imperialist powers, and in the first place of the United States and the Soviet Union, which with their war fleets seriously threaten the freedom and independence of the Mediterranean countries. It is the duty of the freedom-loving countries and of all the progressive forces of the Mediterranean to demand the withdrawal of these fleets and to fight for this, to oppose any hegemonistic policy in this part of the world. The Mediterranean belongs to the Mediterranean peoples and countries alone.

For a long time a big fuss has been made in the world about the problem of disarmament. This has been raised deliberately by the U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists to lull the peoples while they intensify their aggressive plans. Facts show that while the two super-powers have a great deal to say about disarmament, while they have convened hundreds and thousands of meetings, and have set up countless committees and commissions, they are continuing the unbridled armaments race. The United States of America and the Soviet Union have increased their military budgets, as never before have extended their military bases and the deployment of the invading troops to all the continents and seas, have concentrated their greatest and best technical and scientific forces on perfecting weapons of mass extermination, and so on.

Continuous arming is a condition of the existence of imperialism which stems from the very character of the economic order and its aggressive policy. Therefore, so long as imperialist and social-imperialist states exist, there will never be disarmament in the world. The imperialists and revisionists are arming and increasing their striking forces to occupy and redivide the world between them, to suppress the revolutions, to destroy the socialist countries, and to enslave the peoples. Their «efforts for disarmament» are aimed at disarming the peoples and at imposing their own domination on them more easily. On the other hand this propaganda is a sop to the pacifist theoreticians and all the naive who live on hope and outside objective reality.

The armaments race, which the two super-powers try to develop on a balanced way between them, is fraught with very dangerous consequences. They are preparing for aggressive wars, which they will unleash separately or together against other countries, or even against each other. In these conditions, not only local wars, which the imperialists and revisionists unleash continuously, but also wars on a world scale cannot be excluded. Indeed, the local wars prepare the ground for whichever aggressor for wars on a wider scale. They are tactical advances of the imperialists' aggressiveness in their strategy for a global imperialist war. This is the aim of the conspiracies and patches hatched up by the agencies of the impe-

rialist and revisionist powers in various states without direct outside military intervention.

So long as the imperialist and social-imperialists arm themselves and prepare for aggressive wars, the socialist states cannot sit by with folded arms. Their arming is aimed at defending the socialist fatherland, at opposing the policy of intervention, pressures, and blackmail, of imperialism and social-imperialism. It is directed against their attempts to violate the rights and freedom of the peoples and towards helping the other peoples to preserve or win their freedom and national independence.

The peoples cannot fail to see that the aggressive military groupings, the NATO, dominated by the U.S. imperialists, and the Warsaw Treaty, dominated by the Soviet social-imperialists, constitute the main threat to peace and international security today. Under the pretext of defence from each other, the two super-powers are making the law in these treaties, dividing the spheres of influence, launching separate aggressions, or aiding other aggressors in their service. Taking advantage of the power of the grouping, they are further endangering the freedom, the existence of peoples and states. The peoples throughout the world must look the situation straight in the eye, they must expose this alarming state of affairs and make all those governments which play the game of the two super-powers face up to their responsibility.

Responsibility for the aggressive actions of the

two superpowers rests not only on their governments, but also on their peoples, just as it rests on the governments and the peoples of the partners in the respective military alliances. With regard to the aggression against Czechoslovakia, for example, responsibility rests not only on the Soviet social-imperialists who organized it, but also on the governments of the member states of the Warsaw Treaty which participated in this aggression, on the peoples of the Soviet Union, Poland, Democratic Germany, Bulgaria and Hungary, who stood passive and permitted this barbarous act. The same can be said also for the direct and indirect aid which the U.S. partners give the U.S. aggressors in Vietnam. Participation in the NATO or the Warsaw Treaty, the alliance and friendship with the United States or with the Soviet Union, is justified by their partners with the need for defence. But in this way they strengthen the super-powers, assist them to preserve and divide the spheres of influence, to carry out the policy of hegemony, dictate, and aggression.

The more organized, broad, and powerful the resistance and struggle of the peoples of the NATO countries and those of the Warsaw Treaty against the aggressive actions of the two super-powers and against their governments which support their aggressive groupings, the more difficult will it be for the aggressors to carry out their military adventures against the peoples.

Innumerable military manoeuvres are carried out on the borders of Yugoslavia and Rumania by

the Soviet Union, Hungary, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. It is clear that here we have to do with pressure, blackmail, and threats, which, if not today, tomorrow could turn into open aggression against sovereign countries. Do the peoples of the countries participating in these manoeuvres not see and feel what dangerous plans and plots are being hatched up? History will condemn them heavily if they sit quiet and leave the aggressors' hands free.

The foreign policy of the People's Republic of Albania is a consistent and principled policy in all directions

Comrades,

Today the People's Republic of Albania occupies an honoured place on the international arena, it enjoys the respect and admiration of the freedom-loving peoples and of all the progressive forces. Socialist Albania has not been isolated, as her enemies predicted and desired, but her international ties, her authority, and position in the world have become even stronger.

The sympathy and respect she enjoys with all the progressive countries and peoples of the world, the weight and influence of our country, result neither from the size of its population nor from its economic and military power. The strength and

influence of socialist Albania lie in the Marxist-Leninist ideas that inspire her, which she preserves unsullied and spreads throughout the world. They lie in the true socialist society which is being built in Albania, in the courageous, principled and consistent struggle against imperialism, revisionism and all the reactionaries.

Our country has hundreds upon hundreds of millions of comrades and friends all over the world, for it is a country that respects itself and all the peoples, for just as it resolutely guards its own freedom and independence, it wishes well and a happy future for all the other countries, too.

It is precisely because we pursue this policy and enjoy this respect, that our enemies hate us, curse us, and fight us. But this does not make us change our ways nor conceal our viewpoints and actions. Our Party has never lacked civil courage on the international arena and it will not lack it at any time or under any circumstances.

The Party of Labor and the People's Republic of Albania are and will remain sworn enemies of imperialism and revisionism. Considering their struggle as part and parcel of the general revolutionary struggle of the peoples, they have waged an active struggle against U.S.-led imperialism and against revisionism, headed by the Soviet leadership, they have resolutely condemned and exposed their aggressive policies and activities, their aims to oppress the peoples, to strangle the revolution and to dominate the world. The experience of our country until now has still convinced us even

more completely that the freedom and independence can be defended and guaranteed only by a continuous struggle against imperialism and revisionism, without compromise, everywhere and in every aspect, and this is still as true today as it was in the past.

The correctness of the line of our Party in the struggle against imperialism and revisionism has been fully confirmed by life, it is confirmed by the victories achieved.

Conscious of its lofty responsibility to its people and to socialism, our Party will never stop half-way. It will fight with determination and with all its strength against imperialism and social-imperialism, till their complete destruction and the triumph of the revolution world-wide. Our people and Party regard this struggle as one and indivisible, because one cannot successfully oppose imperialism without also fighting Soviet social-imperialism at the same time, and vice-versa.

The foreign policy of our Party and Government has been and remains principled and consistent in all its directions and components. A fundamental and firm basis of our foreign policy has been and remains the strengthening of friendship, mutual aid, fraternal cooperation, and militant unity, with the socialist countries with which we are united by the ideals of socialism and communism, by the common struggle against imperialism, revisionism, and reaction.

We are proud of having as our allies and friends the 700 million strong Chinese people, the

People's Republic of China and the Communist Party of China, with their great leader, the most respected friend of the Albanian people, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, at the head. The great Albanian-Chinese revolutionary friendship, the unity, and the all-round fraternal collaboration between Albania and China, based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and on proletarian internationalism, forged in the joint struggle against imperialism, revisionism, and all reactionaries, have withstood all the tests and have brought our two countries great successes and victories.

Our Party and people are immeasurably rejoiced at and wholeheartedly welcome the brilliant victories that the fraternal Chinese people, under the leadership of their glorious Communist Party and of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, have achieved in the great proletarian cultural revolution and in the building of socialism. The decisive and historic victory of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's revolutionary and proletarian line over the bourgeois reactionary line of the renegade Li Shao-chi, which was crowned and sanctioned at the 9th Congress of the Communist Party of China, has still further strengthened the revolutionary unity of the party, has consolidated the positions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has raised still higher the militant revolutionary spirit in the country, and has opened to the Chinese people brilliant prospects for their socialist future.

Our Party and Government fully support the

indisputable right of the People's Republic of China to liberate the part of its territory, Taiwan.

For a long period of time the question of the reestablishment of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations Organization has been a major international problem for the correct solution of which the People's Republic of Albania has fought resolutely and consistently.

The approval of the Albanian resolution in these last days by the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization, according to which the People's Republic of China is invited to take the place appertaining to her in the United Nations Organization and the Chang Kai-shek clique is expelled from it, is a great victory for the People's Republic of China and her correct policy. This is a world-wide confirmation of the international prestige and role played by the People's Republic of China in the interest of the cause of peace and security of peoples. This is, at the same time, a brilliant victory for the People's Republic of Albania which for years on end has consistently and resolutely defended the just cause of People's China by courageously fighting against the anti-Chinese policy of the U.S. imperialists and the intrigues of the Soviet revisionists.

The Albanian people, their Party of Labor and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania heartily congratulate the fraternal Chinese people, Party and Government on this historic victory, which is also a victory for all the anti-

imperialist forces, for all the freedom-loving peoples, a heavy defeat for the U.S. imperialism.

Our Party and people are bound by a powerful friendship and socialist solidarity with the Vietnamese people, with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Just as we support their efforts for the building of socialism, we give all our support and backing for their determined opposition to imperialist aggression. We likewise support the Republic of South Vietnam and the provisional revolutionary Government of South Vietnam which are the only and incontestable representatives of all the Vietnamese living south of the 17th parallel.

The People's Republic of Albania, just as in the past, is for the further development and strengthening of the friendly relations with the People's Democratic Republic of Korea on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in the interest of the building of socialism in our two countries. The Albanian people resolutely support the just struggle being waged by the Korean people against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys for the defence of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea and the reunification of their homeland. We condemn the aggressive policy of the Japanese imperialists against the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, as well as the manoeuvres of the Soviet revisionists who encourage their expansionist policy.

Our Party and Government have supported and will always unreservedly support the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America,

for national and social liberation, against imperialism, racial discrimination, colonial oppression and exploitation. They support the just and heroic struggle of the Cuban people against the threats, blockades, and provocations of the Yankee imperialists, for the defence of their national independence and state sovereignty.

Friendly relations exist between Albania and the Arab Republic of Egypt, Algeria, Syria, Libya and the other Arab countries. In the future, too, we shall strive to have good relations and mutual cooperation develop further and become stronger for the good of our peoples.

Our country has always shown good will and has undertaken constructive steps to maintain and develop normal relations with all countries with differing social systems, on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, equality, respect for state sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in the domestic affairs of one another, and mutual advantage.

While struggling against imperialism and revisionism, we strictly adhere to the principle that the internal affairs of each country are questions that should be settled by that country itself, without any imposition or interference from outside. Likewise we defend the viewpoint that all relations between countries, whether small or big, can and must be built only on the basis of equality and non-interference in internal affairs. We have established and are developing our relations with all states on this basis. The establishment

of diplomatic relations between Albania and a number of countries, concluded during this last year, is a visible success of our foreign policy and testifies to the strengthening of the international position of the People's Republic of Albania. It complies with the common interests of the peoples and serves the promotion of understanding and collaboration between them.

The Party and the Government have devoted special attention to our country's relations with the neighbouring countries. Friendly relations are developing normally between Albania and Rumania, which is to the mutual advantage of the two countries and meets the interests of our peoples and of socialism. The Albanian people will always support the Rumanian people's just struggle to defend the independence and sovereignty of their homeland from any outside threat.

Our relations with Yugoslavia too are developing in the spirit of good neighbourliness. Recently, trade, cultural and tourist exchanges in particular, have been extended. Despite our well known ideological differences, we stand for the continuous improvement of state relations in all those fields where mutual interests exist. We are friends and brothers with the peoples of Yugoslavia. We hope that the feelings of friendship, forged in the anti-fascist war, will be developed in a proper way for the common good of our peoples. In the Albanian people the peoples of Yugoslavia will always have friends who wish to see them free, independent, and sovereign, who resolutely oppose all the ma-

noeuvres, blackmail, and threats of the imperialist powers towards our neighbour Yugoslavia.

Good relations exist between our country and Italy and Turkey. The preservation and development of them responds to our common interests. Diplomatic relations were established this year also between Albania and Greece. This is an important event which puts an end to an abnormal situation and which serves the strengthening of peace and security in the Balkans.

The People's Republic of Albania is in favour of the future development of the relations between our country and the neighbouring countries in a positive direction and in those fields that present mutual interest in the struggle against the interference and intrigues of the great imperialist powers.

The friendship and understanding between the Balkan countries must have its foundations among the peoples. We do not intend to put forward or to accept proposals to form Balkan blocs and alliances. The People's Republic of Albania desires and will strive to forge its friendship with the Balkan peoples on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. The regime of each country is a matter for its own people. We do not interfere in the internal affairs of anyone, but neither should others interfere in ours. This does not exclude mutual criticism and polemics. Socialist Albania will never allow herself to violate the freedom, independence, and sovereignty of other countries. The Albanian people have never done such

a thing during their whole history, but neither will they allow others either to violate their freedom, independence, and sovereignty.

The times have changed for us Albanians. If it should happen that the new czars of the Kremlin, like the old czars, various imperialists, or the chauvinist cliques of the Balkans, attempt to violate the borders of the People's Republic of Albania, the Albanians, united to a man, will no longer be found as they were in 1878, or in 1914 or even in the time of Mussolini and Hitler. Clear accounts make for good friends.

The Albanian people who have suffered for centuries from barbarous invaders, who won their freedom by shedding rivers of blood, advise the fraternal peoples of the Balkans to guard against the intrigues of the imperialists of each and every hue, to tell them jointly, «Hands off our countries», to permit no one to abuse our friendship.

The Balkan peoples are completely capable of deciding for themselves and in a sovereign way on the relations between them. They did not make the Balkans a «powder keg». It was the foreigners, the imperialists, who did this, in the past, and it was they who held all the detonators in their hands. And they would like to bring about the same situation today. It is the duty of the Balkan peoples to cut all the fuses with the sword, so that peace and security may really be established in the Balkans.

It is only natural that our peoples need friends. But they should never become tools of foreigners to the detriment of the interests of any one people

or of all our peoples jointly. This is the most sincere and steel-like alliance that can be proposed to the Balkan peoples.

It should be clear that if some Balkan state, prodded by the imperialist powers, undertakes aggression against another Balkan state, it will not be possible to avoid the intervention of the other Balkan states. This would not remain a local war, but would become the cause of a world conflict.

All the states that respect the supreme right of socialist Albania, that implement the recognised principles on which the relations between sovereign states are based, and wish to maintain normal relations with us, will find us understanding and reciprocity in the People's Republic of Albania.

The relations of our country with the East European countries parties to the Warsaw Treaty are on a low level. This is not our fault. Their leaderships, being completely subject to Moscow, and blindly obeying its foreign policy, have followed a hostile policy towards our country, which, as is known, has caused Albania great damage. Although they have failed in their attempts to intimidate us and make us yield, they are persisting in their pig-headed anti-Albanian stand. So much the worse for them.

As to the peoples of these countries, who are not to be blamed for the situation that has been created, we have been, are, and shall remain friends with them. We have always wished them well. Our Party and people, who condemned the

August 1968 aggression, with the same determination support the Czechoslovak people's resistance against the Soviet revisionist occupationists and the local traitors for freedom and national independence, the struggle of the Polish people and the peoples of other countries where revisionist cliques are in power, against the revisionist domination and the policy of dictate and great state chauvinism of the Soviet social-imperialists.

Many times our Party has addressed itself to the people and communists of the Soviet Union, explaining to them in detail and in a documented way the real causes of the breach in Soviet-Albanian relations. Our people and Party are aware of the whole course of events, and it would be superfluous to repeat them.

Recently the Soviet leaders have adopted a pose of desiring the «normalization» of relations with our country. This is demagoguery from start to finish and an effort to gain a certificate of expiation. But we are not falling into their traps. We have not been intimidated by their armed threats, and neither are we to be deceived by the waving of the olive branch. They have great political, ideological and economic debts towards Albania. There can be, and will certainly be, normalization when the Soviet peoples and the genuine Bolsheviks intervene to establish Marxist-Leninist revolutionary justice on these questions.

Our people understand and defend the foreign policy of our Party and Government and they carry it out consistently, right to the end, because it

is a clear, correct and principled policy. The new socialist Albania has been able to cope with the furious imperialist and revisionist storms, to increase her international authority and prestige, to ensure powerful friends and supporters throughout the world, because the Party, the Government, and the people have acted in complete unity, both in analyzing the situation and in the conclusions drawn and stands adopted.

This unbreakable unity, the unabated revolutionary vigilance, the sound Marxist-Leninist attitudes towards the present-day world developments, in general, are a great guarantee that the People's Republic of Albania will march sure of its road and will always stand proudly in the first ranks of the anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist front, an unyielding fighter for the sacred cause of the revolution and the liberation of the peoples.

II

DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY AND THE TASKS OF THE PARTY

Comrades!

The 5th Congress set important tasks for the development of the economy and culture and for raising the wellbeing of the people. Under the guidance of the Party and with lofty revolutionary consciousness, our working class, cooperative peasantry and people's intelligentsia, accomplished all these tasks with honor. Thus, a further important step was taken towards the complete construction of socialism in our country.

The targets of the 4th five-year plan for overall industrial production and investments were achieved in 4 years and 7 months while the workers of the city of Tirana achieved them in 4 years and 4 months. The level of industrial production set for 1970 was achieved as early as 1968. Such mighty works as the «Mao Tse-tung» Hydroelectric Power plant on the Drini river, the new oil fields,

the chemical fertilizer plants, the Rogozhina-Fieri railroad, and others were added to our economy. More than 200 major projects were built and put into operation in industry, agriculture, transport and other branches of the economy. All these increased the potential of our economy, further consolidating the material-technical base of socialism.

Important too are the successes achieved in the socialist development of the countryside and agriculture. On the road to its intensification, our agriculture increased production and, particularly, the crop yields of bread grain from one year to another. In 1970, the average yield of grain was 17.3 quintals per hectare. Such productivity had never been achieved before, even in the best seasons. A great leap forward was made in extending the area under irrigation, in raising the level of mechanization, and the use of artificial fertilizers and selected seeds.

The 5th Congress launched the slogan «Take to the hills and mountainsides, beautify them and make them as fertile as the plains». This directive opened new horizons for the development of agriculture and for the flourishing of life even in the remote mountain regions. Within a short period, collectivization was completed in these regions too. The plan targets set for the cooperative peasantry to break in virgin land during the preceding five-year period were achieved and exceeded ahead of schedule. Bringing this land into use enabled many mountain villages to increase their grain production, to meet their needs for bread by their

own efforts and to sell the surplus to the state. This was the first victory on the road to turning the new prospects the Party opened to these regions into reality.

During the 4th five-year plan, many steps were taken to consolidate the socialist nature of economic-social relations. The entire system of management and planning of our economy was improved. In the countryside, by means of the voluntary amalgamation of the smaller cooperatives with the larger ones, the socialization of property and labor was raised to a higher level. The cooperativists' private plot was reduced, harmonizing the general interest with the personal interest of the members more correctly. The top salaries for Party and state cadres were reduced, and the difference between them and the pay of other workers was narrowed down in conformity with the principles of socialism. Material interest was put into a more correct relationship with the moral incentives, while many material incentives which had become outdated or were excessive were abolished altogether.

The self-sacrificing toil and struggle of the working masses for the development of the economy provided the essential basis which made possible the successful accomplishment of the tasks set in the 4th five-year plan for raising the well-being and cultural level of the people. In 1970, the national income was 55% higher than in 1965, while real income per capita of population rose 17%. The population was supplied better and uninterruptedly with the necessary commodities. A wide net-

work of social and cultural services was set up in nearly every cooperative. The daily life of every rural and urban family was improved.

The extension of compulsory 8-grade schooling throughout the country was completed, making it possible to raise the general educational and cultural training of the youth to a higher level. But the most outstanding victory scored in the field of education was the program the Party put forward for the further revolutionization of the school. The implementation of this program is of extraordinary importance for the sound revolutionary education of the younger generation and for the future of socialism in Albania.

The realization one year ahead of schedule of the great mass action, the electric reticulation of all the rural areas, is a brilliant and truly historic achievement of our socialist order, and further evidence of the constant concern of the Party and the State to bring about the all-round uplift and emancipation of our cooperativist village.

During the 4th five-year plan the state invested large funds in building dwelling houses. But a very important factor which opened up new perspectives for a radical turn in meeting the needs of the workers of the towns and work centers for housing was the outburst of the revolutionary initiative of the masses to build houses with the voluntary labor of the workers themselves. During the last five years in town and countryside, about 73,000 apartments and houses have been built all

told. A great work of construction, in which the unity and socialist solidarity of our people was brilliantly expressed, was done to deal with the serious damage caused by the earthquakes which hit the Dibra and Tepelena districts. With the aid of the state and the contribution of the entire people, 1,600 new houses were built and about 11,000 were repaired in record time.

Our country is the only one in the world where the people pay no direct imports and taxes. The complete abolition of taxation on the population is clear proof of the superiority of our socialist order over the capitalist order.

The results attained in the development of the economy and culture, in raising the well-being of the people and the consolidation of our social order, are outstanding victories of our socialist construction which rightly rejoice our Party and people, which give them new revolutionary energy and the courage to forge constantly ahead. They are a clear indication of the correctness of the consistent Marxist-Leninist line and policy which the Party has pursued, of that enthusiasm, mobilization at work, and high revolutionary spirit which characterize our working masses.

The five-year plan which has been fulfilled will go down in history as the period of the great people's initiatives and mass heroism, when the united forces of the people, under the leadership of our Party, have made the plains and mountains quake. This is the time when old and young rose to their feet, when enthusiasm and revolutionary

drive swept factories and villages, schools and mines. It is the time of conscious heroes whom no obstacle, no difficulties or storms could turn back, for whom to perform their task, to fulfil the people's orders, is the supreme and sacred law. This glorious period gave birth to such heroes as the young girl highlander Shkurte Pal Vata, the worker Adem Reka, engineer Muhamet Shehu, schoolmaster Ismet Sali Bruçaj, soldier Agron Elezi, and many others, who laid down their lives in the course of duty for the ideals of the Party and the interests of the people. Their example and image epitomised the manly stand and boundless devotion which became the inspiration of the whole people.

In this irresistible revolutionary wave the marvellous initiatives of the masses and the spirit of mass actions burst out, and this gave a new content and impetus to the work in all sectors, which showed what colossal forces remain still unrecognised and unutilized within the ranks of the Party, the working class and peasantry, the youth and the women, what inexhaustible strength our socialist order has.

Our people are modest but they have a right to be proud of their sons and daughters who themselves build factories, and install in them the world's latest equipment, who man up-to-date ships plying the oceans, who build such technically complicated projects as the Vau Dejes hydro power station so well and in so short a time. They have a right to be proud of their new men who tackle

scientific and technical problems with such unparalleled courage, overwhelm the academic norms and leave even the most optimistic expectations far behind.

This unprecedented revolutionary enthusiasm, this mass heroism and this lofty spirit of initiative have not fallen like manna from heaven. They stem from that heroic and unprecedented struggle the Party and people have waged to smash the blockade imposed by the imperialists and revisionists, from the ardent patriotism and unshakable confidence of the people in their own strength, in the certainty of the future that socialism is hammering out, in the life-giving impulse which the teachings of the Party inspire. Only a great perspective gives rise to great courage; deep-rooted ideological convictions work wonders. We must preserve and further develop these great moral attributes we have acquired. We must strive with all our might to keep them always alive and unsullied, and make them a driving force in successfully solving the major tasks that lie before us.

The great victories achieved in all fields of socialist construction, the experience accumulated, and the enthusiasm and high revolutionary spirit of the working masses, constitute that powerful foundation on which the whole economic and social development of the country during the years of the 5th five-year plan will be based. The main targets of the plan which this congress will approve stem from the continuation of the complete construction of socialist society, from the present

stage and the prospects for the development of the economy.

Our economy has reached a new and higher quantitative and qualitative level. The further development of industry is characterized by a large volume of production and, especially, by the setting up of new branches of the heavy processing industry. Big complex establishments with advanced equipment and technology have been set up. Wherever handicraft methods of production are still in use, the task has been put forward of going over to industrial methods of production. Science and new technique are being introduced gradually into all branches of the economy. Agriculture is proceeding more and more on the road to intensification.

All this shows that our economy is entering a new stage, that its further development requires a better harmonization between extension and intensification, as well as the solution of problems arising from this harmonization. Under these conditions it becomes essential that the entire development of the economy, its management and organization should be put on a firmer scientific basis.

In compliance with the fundamental guidelines of the policy of the Party regarding the complete construction of socialist society, the main tasks for the development of our economy during the 5th five-year period will be:

To ensure the general strengthening of our people's economy on the road to turning Albania from an agricultural-industrial to an industrial-

agricultural country with a view to raising the independent action of our economy to a higher level, to further strengthening the socialist order, to raising the material wellbeing and cultural level of the people, especially by reducing the essential differences between town and countryside and to increasing the defence potential of the country;

For this:

To strive for a further development of industry by improving its structure with new branches of production, especially of the heavy processing industry, to expand the power and raw materials base, and to utilize the resources of the country more rationally;

To attain a larger increase in the output of agriculture by further intensifying it on the basis of strengthening the scientific organization and management of production and increasing the power of the material-technical base of agriculture;

To rapidly develop technical-scientific progress in all the branches of our people's economy, to constantly improve the socialist relations in production, to deepen the socialist revolution in the field of ideology and culture, to resolutely apply the principle of self-reliance.

The new five-year plan was drawn up by the working masses themselves on the basis of the directives and orientations of the Party and Government. The working class, cooperative peasantry, specialists and technicians, cadres from the grassroots and the center, all together, took part in the dis-

cussions more rigorously than ever before and set the targets for the 5th five-year plan. Their high revolutionary spirit, creative thought, rich experience, self-reliance and their profound sense of responsibility for the fate of the country and socialism are embodied in the draft-directives submitted to this congress on the development of the economy and culture for the years 1971 to 1975.

During this five-year plan period, industry, as it always does, will play a vanguard role in developing the forces of production. Total industrial production in 1975 is expected to increase 61 to 66 per cent above that of 1970. This means that industrial production in 1975 alone will be 12 per cent higher than that realized during the entire 2nd five year plan of 1956-1960. This fact alone is sufficient to refute the banal slanders of the Soviet revisionists, that our economy allegedly came to a standstill when they cut off their aid.

During this five-year plan period our objective will be to strengthen our extracting and heavy processing industry, in particular to further modernize and raise it to a higher level. For this purpose a series of new projects will be built with technological processes and proportions of production unprecedented before in our economy. Such are: the ferrous metallurgical combine with a full production cycle, the plant for the deep processing of oil, the big mines for the extraction of iron-nickel, chromium, phosphorites and coal, the Fierza hydro-electric power-plant, the ore-enriching fac-

tories and others. Steel, cast iron, nickel, cobalt, sheet metal, tubes, high quality hydrocarbon fuels, liquid gas, urea, hydrochloric acid, and so on, will be produced for the first time. During this five-year plan period the necessary conditions will be created for a future development of petrochemistry. As a result of this development the working class will be increased, and its technical-professional level and its leading role in the entire life of the country will be raised.

Great prospects are opened in the new five-year plan also for the development of our socialist agriculture. By 1975, total agricultural production will be 65 to 69 per cent larger than that of 1970 or about 3 times greater than in 1960. The production of grain, milk, meat, eggs, vegetables, and industrial crops will be greatly increased. The number of fruit trees will be 28 per cent higher. By building important land reclamation and irrigation projects, especially in the mountainous regions, about 58 per cent of the arable land of the country will be brought under irrigation. The number of tractors employed in 1975, turned to 15 HP, will be about 40 per cent higher than in 1970, or 3.5 times as high as in 1960. It is envisaged to meet the needs of agriculture for artificial fertilizers and mechanized means, for selected seeds and breeds of livestock of high productivity, better than ever before. During this five-year period, thousands of middle and higher specialists will be trained for this very important a sector of our economy.

A vast program of capital construction will be

carried out in all fields of social activity. Investments allocated for the 5th five-year plan are equal to the total investments made during the past eleven years (1960-70) taken together. The value of buildings and installations for the two major projects, the metallurgical works and the Fierza hydro-electric power-plant alone, is almost equal to the total investments made during the last five-year plan, or about 50 per cent of those of the 2nd five-year plan. Altogether about 270 economic and social-cultural projects will be built.

The revolutionization of our school will be accompanied by a further extension of secondary and higher education. One in every three persons of the population will attend school. During the coming five years 20,000, or 33 per cent more specialists will be trained in institutes of higher learning than during the last 26 years, from the establishment of the People's State Power to 1970. All our socialist construction in every field will be intensified under the banner of a wider use of knowledge and scientific research.

The complex and dynamic development which our economy will undergo will bring about, as always, the raising of the material and cultural well-being of the working people of town and countryside. The life of our brave and hardworking people will become more beautiful, happy and joyful. Suffice it to mention that the apartments and houses which will be built during the 5th five-year plan will accommodate a population equal to the present population of the cities of Korça, Elbasan,

Shkodra, Durrës, Vlorë, Berat, Fier and Lushnja, taken together.

This, in broad outline, is the program for the economic and social development of the country during the 5th five-year plan which is being submitted to the congress for approval. Since Comrade Mehmet Shehu will submit to the congress a special and more detailed report on the draft-directives of this plan, we will dwell here on certain of the more important problems of the economic policy of the Party for the coming five years.

Improve the structure of industrial production and strengthen its material-technical base

During the years of socialist construction our country has traversed more than twenty years of industrialization. The successes achieved have put an end to the age-old economic backwardness inherited from the past. New and brilliant prospects have been opened for the development of this vital branch of our economy. Today, the emphatically agrarian Albania of the past is advancing with firm steps towards becoming an industrial-agrarian country. The present productive potential of industry, together with the working class and the technical cadres, constitute that basis which now permits the industrialization of the country to be raised to a new stage.

Consistently pursuing the correct policy of creating a powerful national industry, in this period the main objective of our industrialization

will be the utilization of the natural resources of the country on a wider scale and with a greater economic effect so that the greatest and most urgent needs for expanded reproduction will be met. In line with this orientation, the development of heavy and light industries, extracting and processing industries, will be continued simultaneously, in the proper proportions according to our needs and possibilities, in harmony, always, with the development of agriculture and the other branches of our economy.

In the implementation of this general orientation stage by stage, the main task of our industrialization remains the expansion and improvement of the structure of our industrial production. This is precisely why our industrialization during the 5th five year plan will continue the development of the existing branches and the setting up of new branches of the heavy processing industry.

The establishment for the first time, of the ferrous metallurgical industry is of exceptional importance to our whole economy. The metallurgical combine which will be built in Elbasan, a gigantic undertaking which will strengthen the independence and self-action of our economy, will ensure within the country the raw materials essential to the development of the engineering industry, and for its eventual transition to a machine producing industry, greatly strengthening the material base of construction work.

In the complex development of industry, priority during this five-year period, too, will be given

to the branches of industry extracting minerals and fuels. This will be done for the purpose of extending the raw materials base for metallurgy and for the chemical industry, for the purpose of increasing exports of minerals, as well as of strengthening the power base which is so necessary for industry itself and for our people's economy as a whole. In line with this, it is planned that production of certain main products in 1975 should reach the following targets: oil 2,700,000 tons, coal 1,250,000 tons, chrome 900,000 tons, copper 600,000 tons, iron-nickel 650,000 tons. Never before have these products had such high rates of growth. Therefore, the Party, state, and economic organs, the workers, technicians and specialists on this front vital to the problem of industrialization, must exert all their strength and ability to realise and exceed them.

In order to realise the plan successfully in the extraction industry it is necessary to concentrate the principal means and forces, first and foremost, in the existing mines, securing most of the increase in production from them. The attainment of this objective requires that the known reserves in these mines, and their rational exploitation, should be increased.

The guarantee of the realization of the tasks for the extraction of minerals and carbohydrate fuels depends to a large extent also on the special role geology has played and plays in the development of the extracting industry. It must ensure the ever growing needs for raw materials

of the processing industry, both for today and for many years to come. Therefore, a wider knowledge of the underground resources already under exploitation, the discovery and utilisation of new valuable resources, raising the reserves discovered to the category of industrial reserves, as well as the rational exploitation of the existing equipment, should be considered among the most important tasks of our geological workers. The realization of the planned targets for prospect-drilling should never be considered as an objective in itself, but should be assessed by the quantity of the reserves of minerals which are extracted or disclosed for the first time.

As in the past, special attention will be attached to increasing the production of electric power. The electrical industry should have precedence over other industry and over all the other branches of the economy. Therefore its rate of development should be higher than the rate of increase of overall industrial production. Our taking this road is dictated by the need to equip labor with more power as an essential condition for applying the new equipment, to lighten the burden of labor and increase its productivity in all branches of the economy. For this reason, it is envisaged that in 1975 the production of electric power will reach more than 2 billion kWh, that is more than twice as much as in 1970. This quantity will meet the needs of our economy and of our population.

A special role in strengthening the technical base of industry itself and of the other branches

of our economy should be played by the engineering industry. Its primary task has been and continues to be the ensuring of the technical readiness, and the exploitation of the machinery and equipment which our economy has at its disposal without interruption and with high productivity. On the other hand, an equally important and urgent task of our engineering industry is that it greatly, and continuously improve the quality of the spare parts produced. No matter how much production of this branch may increase, if the quality of these products is not raised to a higher level, the burden on our economy of importing spare parts will not be eased.

In the conditions when steel, rolled metal, and cast iron are locally produced, when the question is raised of giving a further impulse to technological and scientific progress, new and greater prospects are opened to this branch of industry. It must not restrict itself simply to the production of spare parts, but the time has come for it to go boldly in to the production of machines as well. This has become an urgent need for our economy, which must be faced step by step but with determination, in line with the new possibilities which will be created. In this so important but complicated a matter, we must start, first of all, on those machines, mechanisms and items of equipment which our economy needs most, which can be produced in series, and which lighten the burden of imports.

It is necessary to further intensify specialization and cooperation in production so that the en-

gineering industry may respond better to its present and future tasks. Regarding this problem, the 3rd Plenum of the Central Committee has drawn up a detailed and long-term program of action. Up to now, however, one notices that there are many delays in the implementation of this program, that many tasks arising from it have not yet been solved. In the future, in order to see this important problem through, it is necessary that better, more coordinated work be done at regional and national level, overcoming all narrow local or departmental interests, and any bureaucratic obstacle.

The development and structure of industry have always been closely linked with the needs of the other branches of our economy. This has made it possible to preserve the balance between the development of industry and agriculture, so that industry can serve directly in the development of agriculture. Proceeding along this correct and tested road, the development of industry during the 5th five-year plan will be more closely linked with the needs of agriculture for its further modernization and intensification. For this purpose, it is planned to raise the production of chemical fertilizers in 1975 77 per cent higher than in 1970, reaching 330,000 tons, and to further expand the production of chemicals used in fighting plant pests and diseases. Parallel with this, the production of spare parts for tractors will be doubled, the production of new agricultural machinery and equipment will be undertaken, measures will be taken to prepare more processed stock foods, to

increase the means of transport and other materials of reproduction which agriculture needs. All this will be a major contribution made by our socialist industry to the development of agriculture.

Although the main manpower and financial resources, and material means will be used, during this five-year period, too, for the development of heavy industry no excesses will be allowed which might impair or slow the development of light industry. In deciding the proportions between heavy and light industries, priority will be given to heavy industry. This has been and continues to be a correct and unshakable principle regarding the development of our industry.

Today, our production of mass consumption goods does not always conform as it should to the buying power of the people.

To correct this discrepancy, during the 5th five year plan period the production of mass consumer goods will be increased at a higher rate than the money incomes of the population. This increase envisaged for mass consumer goods must be regarded as the indispensable minimum and not as the maximum which should be realised. Therefore, the organs of the Party, state and economy should do their utmost to encourage and support every initiative of the workers to increase the production of mass consumer goods, especially, by setting up new sectors and lines for those commodities for which the demand is greatest. In this direction, the collectives of the heavy industry enterprises

should also give greater assistance than they have done until now.

The producers of goods for daily use should take all the necessary steps to fulfil the plan without fail according to assortments and quality and to come as near as possible to meeting the real demands of the market. A situation has now been reached when, without neglecting for a moment the struggle for quantity, unceasing efforts are necessary to produce commodities for the people in greater variety, more durable, more attractive, and cheaper.

These tasks of our light industry have a political significance as great as their economic importance. They have to do with the daily needs of the people. The fulfilment of the demands of the workers, the rapid circulation of money and the increase of its purchasing power are dependent on the quantity, structure, and quality of the goods for use.

The Central Committee of the Party is fully convinced that the workers of this branch of our economy will exert all their strength and knowledge to make a radical turn in this direction in order to achieve successfully and exceed the targets which the 5th five-year plan sets before them.

The principal directions of our Party's policy for the development of agriculture

Although the aim is to turn socialist Albania into an industrial country, agriculture still remains the basic branch of our economy. The firm reliance of our national economy on both industry and agriculture is a permanent principle, an indispensable condition for its rapid and harmonious development, for raising the level of its independent action. For this reason our Party's policy for the development of agriculture has always had the aim that the deepening of the socialist revolution in the countryside must lead to the development of the forces of production in agriculture as well.

And indeed, every year that passes is an ever better testimony to the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist policy of our Party in this field too. The socialist order has already triumphed completely in our countryside and the entire life of our peasantry, their economic and social relations, their mentality and psychology are being ceaselessly transformed on a revolutionary basis. Agriculture has made great and all-round progress.

Our agriculture marked further successes during the 4th five-year plan period. In 1970, total agricultural production was 33 per cent higher than in 1965. Nevertheless, because of a series of subjective and objective factors, agriculture did not fulfill all the targets set for the 4th five-year plan period. This in turn caused difficulties and tempo-

rary disproportions in our people's economy which must be overcome without fail to avoid hindering the rapid, overall development of the country.

During the 5th five-year plan period, the requirements of the population and the economy for agricultural and livestock products are increased in larger proportions than during the past. This raises the urgent need for the rapid development of agriculture, which therefore should be viewed as the decisive link for the successful accomplishment of the five-year plan.

The main objective, the basic task of agriculture during the 5th five-year plan period, too, remains to increase production of bread grain. For this purpose it is essential to see to it that grain production becomes as reliable as possible and increases at a high rate from one year to another. In 1975, as against 1970, it is planned to increase grain production by 50 to 55 per cent. This increase meets the needs of the population and the economy for grain while coping with the needs of livestock for concentrated feed to a greater extent, and further increasing emergency reserves. The accomplishment of this task will be a major victory.

While concentrating our efforts and means of increasing bread grain, we must fight just as hard to develop the other branches of agriculture, industrial crops and animal husbandry, vegetable and fruit-growing. In 1975, as against 1970, it is planned to increase the production of industrial crops as a whole by 80 to 85 per cent, including sunflower by 145 per cent. Major efforts will be

exerted also to develop animal husbandry, especially to increase the production of milk by 68 to 72 per cent.

We are always speaking about changing the structure of the people's food, of making it better balanced and richer, in conformity with the physiological needs of man. For this the production and yields of all kinds of vegetables and fruits must be increased to ensure ample supplies of them for the working people all the year round. In this way, not only will the people be supplied with more products of high nutritive value, but the possibilities will be increased for the use of more grain or wider areas of land for livestock farming.

In order to accomplish the great tasks facing agriculture successfully, it is essential to continue the correct course towards its further intensification. During the 5th five-year plan period, large and all-round investments will be made for this purpose, not only in the lowlands but also in the mountain regions. The objective of this is to achieve such productivity in field crops and the livestock as to ensure the overwhelming part of the increase which overall agricultural production will achieve during this five-year period.

The development and intensification of agriculture will, of course, be greater on the plains. At the same time, the attention and efforts to promote the development of agriculture in the mountain regions as well will be increased. Along with the intensification of agriculture the breaking in of new land is our permanent task so long as

there are areas of land that could be worked and become productive.

The utilization of virgin land and the intensification of agriculture require, above all, a higher level of mechanization of the work processes. Without the complex mechanization of work processes everywhere, on the plains and in the mountains, our agriculture will not be able to achieve the results required of it and the cooperativists will not be able to revolutionize their concepts completely about work and modern agriculture. For this purpose we must strive for the greatest possible mechanization of the work processes in agriculture.

Our agriculture will have everything it needs to accomplish the major tasks it faces in this five-year period. The material and technical base of agricultural production is being expanded from day to day. The cooperativist order has been strengthened by going over from the small-scale and limited property of the group to enlarged cooperatives. Our peasantry is patriotic and revolutionary, always prepared to fight and work for socialism, to carry out the Party's teachings. The workers and cadres of agriculture have accumulated experience over many years.

But from the broad public discussion of the Letter of the Party's Central Committee «On the need for a radical turn in the improvement of the organization and strengthening of the discipline of the work in agriculture» it turns out that, notwithstanding the progress achieved, there are significant shortcomings in the activity of the agricul-

tural cooperatives and state farms. These shortcomings stem from the old conservative views about agriculture, from the old concepts, forms and practices of management, organization of the work and planning. The discussion also showed in a convincing manner that all the possibilities and favorable social and economic conditions exist for the state farms and agricultural cooperatives to be transformed within a short time into developed economies with high levels of productivity.

To accomplish the task of raising the cooperatives to the level of up-to-date economies, it is essential to advance further in their specialization. Our agriculture cannot develop successfully with «mosaic» economies which plant all kinds of crops and raise all kinds of livestock. Neither should it have a narrow, onesided specialization. It needs a specialization which will allow a more correct, more rational concentration and distribution of agricultural crops and livestock, both among the different districts and among the cooperatives of the same district. The final goal of specialization in agriculture is to increase agricultural and livestock products in evergrowing proportions, while continually lowering social expenditure per unit of production.

The specialization of each agricultural cooperative or district should be supported with economic arguments, prepared from an all-sided view and must not be done in a hurry.

In the context of specialization, the solution of the problems connected with the modernization

of animal husbandry requires special attention. Intensive livestock farming cannot be based on either the sheep or the goat which have prevailed traditionally in the agricultural economies of our country. Therefore, the necessity arises of bringing about, within a relatively short period, a radical change in the structure of our livestock farming, giving priority to the increase of cows, and on this basis restricting the number of sheep and goats according to an organized plan. On the other hand, the efforts to intensify our livestock farming absolutely must be associated with ensuring the necessary stocks of feed, both for the cattle of the socialist sector and for the house cattle of the cooperative members. To advance more rapidly in this direction, it is necessary to fight the conservative views which have been deeply implanted among our peasantry under conditions of the prevalence of extensive livestock farming for a very long time in our country.

The complex tasks put forward for turning the cooperatives into economies of high productivity cannot be successfully accomplished without placing all our agriculture on a broader and more profoundly scientific basis. The time has come for the work of the cooperativists to be combined better and more closely with scientific knowledge, for science to be introduced to a greater extent in all the branches of agriculture, for strengthening the discipline of scientific agronomy, for carrying out its demands at the proper time and to the letter,

in every process of production. Therefore, our Party calls on the workers, cooperative members, specialists and all the leaders of agricultural economies to study persistently and apply zealously the conclusions of science and agronomic technique.

The realization of the many great tasks in agriculture demands that every able-bodied person in the countryside, man or woman, boy or girl, throw himself into work all the year round, in summer and winter, in good or bad weather. It is essential, likewise, that every job in agriculture should be tackled with strict socialist discipline. The loss of a even one working hour must not be permitted. Everywhere and at all times work should be done on the basis of well established work norms based on scientific criteria and on advanced experience which will serve to measure up the work done with just as much accuracy as in industry.

At the present stage of development, our agriculture stands in great need of specialists and cadres, of qualified people who love agriculture heart and soul and who are closely bound to the village. To fulfil these needs as quickly as possible steps will be taken to set up throughout the country a wide network of technical-vocational schools to be attended by the village youth, the cooperative peasants, and all those who want to put all their efforts and ideas in the service of agriculture. In addition, it is necessary to look for more suitable forms of remuneration for the working

people of agriculture which will stimulate increased production and better quality work, and which must take into account their experience at work, their level of qualification, the difficulties of the job, and so on.

At the present stage of the complete construction of socialism, we should further intensify the work of reducing the essential differences between village and town. The results achieved in this respect are great, but they must be pushed ahead, firmly based on the real situation of our countryside, on our specific national characteristics and economic possibilities.

The Central Committee of the Party has reached the conclusion that the present economically strong cooperatives of the plains should be turned into cooperatives of a higher type, the state taking a direct part in them with non-returnable social means. These cooperatives will continue to be the collective property of the group, while the state will assist them to make capital investments of proportions bigger than their indivisible funds permit and will provide them with more machinery, pedigree livestock, selected seeds, and so on. Although the relations of distribution resulting from the property of the group will be preserved in these cooperatives and the members will keep their private plots, the forms of management, of organization of the work and payment will be similar to or the same as those of the state farms. The cooperative members will be paid according to

their work with a guaranteed wage based on the income of the cooperative.

The setting up of the cooperatives of the higher type is of major theoretical and practical significance for the present and the future of our socialist agriculture, for the complete construction of socialism in the countryside. The immediate aim of this measure is to achieve a more rapid development of agriculture in our country's most fertile fields and to ensure a stable increase of production of those agricultural and livestock products of which our people's economy stands in greatest need. On the other hand, these cooperatives will represent a higher level of the socialization of the property of the group, bringing it closer to the property of the whole people. Life, the revolutionary practice of our socialist construction, will show us later the other stages through which this process will have to pass. It will indicate the measures that should be taken to gradually eliminate those differences which exist today between these two forms of socialist property.

Our Party has always considered the improvement of life in the countryside as a principled problem of primary importance for strengthening the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, for reducing the differences between town and countryside, and for improving the general wellbeing of the people. Our Party has always viewed any stand which does not take into account the needs and interests of the peasantry as an unconscious hangover of the underestimation

of the countryside, as a manifestation of bourgeois ideology.

Resolutely following the correct Marxist-Leninist road regarding the economic links between the agricultural cooperatives and the state, the system of compulsory deliveries of grain to the state has been abolished, the system of voluntary deliveries, with a price differentiated between the mountain zones and the plains, has been established. It has been decided also that industrial products which are used for reproduction in agriculture are to be sold to the cooperatives at prices the same as for the state farms. In order to bring the living conditions in the countryside nearer to those of the town, the supply of the rural areas with industrial and food products will be improved. The needs of the rural areas for education, culture, and health services, will be met to a great extent than heretofore with social funds. A major victory of our socialist order is the establishment of the system of pensions for all the cooperative members using the funds of the state and of the cooperatives themselves. This measure is of great political, economic and social importance to our laboring peasantry. This is a further step ahead towards improving the well-being of our cooperative workers, towards bringing the living conditions in the countryside nearer to those in the towns, and will serve as a powerful stimulus to the progress of agriculture and our socialist countryside.

The tasks assigned to agriculture by the 5th

five-year plan are great and difficult but realizable and inspiring. Their aim is to turn our plains, fields, pastures and mountain into flourishing gardens from which to take ample production to make the life of the people richer and more prosperous. We should utilize everything judiciously and frugally. Nothing should escape the eye, the keen mind, and untiring hand of our cooperative peasant, from the soil to its products, from animals to the grass, from the bees to flowers.

The Central Committee of the Party is fully convinced that the tasks that lie before us will be transformed into a militant working program for our cooperative peasantry and all the agricultural workers. The problem of agriculture, of its speedy development and modernization, should become more and more the concern of all our people, of our whole national economy.

Raise the effectiveness of investments and capital construction

The practical implementation of the majestic program for the economic and social development of our country during the 5th five-year plan period requires that we provide the appropriate financial and material means for investment and capital construction. During this five-year period too, the overwhelming bulk of these means will be provided by our internal resources, following, as al-

ways, the correct revolutionary course of relying on our own efforts. In these circumstances, raising the economic effectiveness of these investments and tightening up the savings regime assume special importance and significance.

During the 5th five-year plan period, it is envisaged to increase capital investments by 70-75 per cent as compared with the 4th five year plan. The volume of investments during this five-year period will be greater than the investments made during the 21 years from 1946 to 1966. Investments for the development of industry are nearly 2.5 times greater than in the 4th five-year plan and represent 66 per cent of the total investment for the development of the economy and culture.

Such large investments are unprecedented in our economy and an indication of its ever growing strength. It is a great success for our economy to provide them. At the same time, we are conscious that they constitute no small burden for the present level of our national income and call for a considerable increase in the fund of accumulation, raising its norm 34 to 37 per cent. The maintenance of the norm of accumulation at such a high level is dictated by a series of internal and external economic and political factors, which make it essential to carry out during this five-year period that magnificent program envisaged for the development of our economy, especially of industry, to create a powerful and stable economy capable of independent action regardless of any unexpected developments that may arise.

Our task of coping successfully with this need is made much easier by the great, unsparing, and internationalist aid which the fraternal People's Republic of China is giving our country for this five-year plan. This is a further tangible expression of that sincere and revolutionary friendship which links the Albanian people with the Chinese people, which unites our two Marxist-Leninist Parties. The Albanian people and their Party of Labor are profoundly grateful to the Chinese people, to the glorious Communist Party of China and to Chairman Mao Tse-tung for the fraternal aid they are giving us for the construction of socialism, to make our socialist Fatherland prosperous and powerful.

With the aim of achieving the maximum fulfilment of the needs at our economy, we must see to it that every project, factory, sector, line of production, newly built or reconstructed, is planned with minimum expenditure, fighting any demand in excess of the plan, and enforcing a strict regime of savings in raw materials, electric power, and so on. All the projects designed for capital construction should be viewed from this angle. Very much greater care than heretofore should be devoted to economising financial and material means and especially secondary investments.

All organizational, technical and designing measures must be taken to build the projects on time and put them into operation by stages, without waiting for them to be absolutely complete. Any delay or prolongation of the schedule for their

completion ties up means and creates other undesirable consequences.

During this five-year plan period, the construction workers are faced with a great task. To carry it out, they must take all the necessary steps to introduce industrial methods on a broader scale in construction work and to increase the mechanization of work processes from the very simple to the very complicated, especially on big jobs, to save manpower as much as possible. Organization of the work and technical discipline must be raised to such a level as to turn building sites into assembly yards to implement the Party's militant slogan: «To build faster, better, and cheaper».

Experience has shown that the effectiveness of capital constructions cannot be raised without improving the designing work. Despite the improvements made, steps must be taken to simplify designs, fighting any trend to unnecessarily heavy construction, as well as to spread the use of the lightest possible structures. The problems of architecture deserve still greater attention, to make it more attractive and more variegated, so that our towns and villages are built to be more beautiful and adapted as well as possible to a cultured life for the working people.

For the successful implementation of the great program of capital construction a special role must be played by the building materials industry, the development and modernization of which is essential if it is to cope with all the construction in the

towns and rural areas. It is high time for this branch of industry to step up the production of prefabricated elements in general and in particular those which are easier to assemble, and to begin the production of those materials which can replace materials in short supply.

The various kinds of transport will be further developed in order to cope with the large volume of movement of the social product and of capital construction during the 5th five-year plan period. In particular railway transport, which, under our conditions, offers the greatest economic advantages, will be further intensified. For this purpose, the network of railroads will be extended and the most important industrial projects will be linked by railway lines. As a result railway transport will increase about 3 times and will represent about 41 per cent of the total volume of transport planned for the system of the Ministry of Communications. In compliance with the territorial conditions of our country, road and sea transport will be further expanded.

The productivity of labor must be increased unceasingly at the highest rates

With the present proportions which social production has taken in our country, the maintenance of its high rate of development cannot be thought of without, at the same time, raising the productivity of labor. Therefore, for the development of our economy we will follow the same course as we

have done until now of harmonising the increase of the number of new workers with the increase of the productivity of social labor. This remains a question of principle for extended socialist reproduction. In the final analysis, this has to do with the correct solution of such economic and social problems as the increase of the nominal wages of workers, reduction of costs and increase of accumulation, avoiding the wholesale withdrawal of labor power from the rural areas to the cities, etc. Therefore, the uninterrupted increase of the productivity of labor should increasingly become the main way to advance the development of our industry and the economy as a whole. Our workers and cooperative peasants, specialists and cadres should always be racking their brains to find ways of increasing the productivity, of saving and lightening the work of man as much as possible.

The successes already achieved in raising the productivity of labor in our economy are not small. But during the 4th five-year plan period there were some deficiencies, with planned targets for the increase of productivity not achieved. As a consequence of the slow rate of increase of the productivity of labor, the increase of industrial production was due almost entirely to increasing the number of workers above the planned limit. This caused a disproportion between the increase of production and the wages fund. Of course, this should be regarded as a temporary phenomenon in our economy, but still one that must be overcome and as soon as possible.

There are great, all-sided, and inexhaustible possibilities and reserves for a rapid increase of productivity in our economy. Proceeding from this reality we must see to it that during this five-year plan the increase of the productivity of labor should account for about 70 per cent of the increase of social production, 56 per cent of the increase of industrial production. Ninety per cent of the increase of the volume of construction and about 80 per cent of the increase of agricultural production will come from the increase of productivity of agricultural and livestock production. This is one of the most important tasks of the plan which should be appreciated in all its seriousness by the organs of the Party, the state and the economy, by the working class, the cooperative peasantry, and all the cadres and specialists.

In order to accomplish the task regarding the uninterrupted and rapid increase of the productivity of labor, our main efforts should be concentrated on deepening the technological and scientific revolution. Technological progress in our country has already become the order of the day and has turned into a broad movement of the working masses in town and countryside. Our task is to extend this movement and carry it constantly forward, waging a determined campaign against conservative concepts, bureaucratic practices and everything else that hinders its progress. The thing is that the technological and scientific progress should include all those material factors on which the increase productivity of social labor depends,

and, first and foremost, the implements, machines, equipment, and instruments, with the aim of introducing a higher and more complex stage of mechanization of the work processes and a more perfect technology and organization of production.

Good results have been attained in mechanizing the work processes since the 3rd Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party and the struggle to carry out its decisions. However, progress has been very slow in solving this problem and we are still far from achieving those objectives which the 9th Plenum of the Central Committee sets for us. Therefore, it is essential for the Party, state and economic organs to take this job properly in hand, and for each ministry, enterprise, workshop, factory, mine, agricultural cooperative and state-farm, individual plans for mechanization must be drawn up because manual work is still widespread in all sectors of our economy.

The bringing in of highly efficient machines and mechanisms from abroad will continue to play an important role in mechanization, but this will always be done within the possibilities of our economy. The problem is that the mechanization on a wide front must be done through our great internal reserves and possibilities, with the funds at our disposal and with our marvellous people, from the simplest mechanisms for mass use to the modernization of whole factories and workshops, as is being done in many cases.

There is a big internal reserve for raising the

productivity of labor also in the continuing improvement of technological processes. Any radical improvement or change in the existing technology, throws a heavy burden on the technological bureaux, those of construction, and the laboratories, which should work to a program and with perspective. In this respect, it is necessary that scientific research, designing and teaching institutions extend their assistance and all-round participation.

But for any change in the material factors of productivity to yield the maximum effect, it is essential that it be associated with an increase of the role of the workingman as the decisive factor in production. Our most immediate reserves and possibilities for increasing the productivity of labor should be sought in the improvement of the utilization of working time, in the establishment of sound proletarian discipline at work, by intensifying both the state supervision and the direct control by the working class.

To set this problem on the right path, the organs of the Party, state and the economy must take all the concrete organizational measures to strengthen the large-scale and detailed socialist organization of the job. A splendid example of the perfect organization of work and conscious revolutionary discipline has been set by the actions with concentrated blows. We must extend this good experience to every enterprise and cooperative, sector and brigade, to every job.

The rapid development of our economy, the

speedy introduction of advanced equipment and technology, the application of new and more efficient methods of work and production, raise more and more new demands in regard to norms of work and remuneration. If these demands are faced squarely in the light of the present situation in this field, a number of urgent problems which need solution will be seen. In the first place, the problem arises of extending working to norms everywhere, and of reducing to the minimum the number of workers working without norms. All the necessary measures should be taken also, for the earliest possible establishment of technical work norms based on scientific criteria. As regards remuneration for work, it is necessary to further improve its forms, always keeping in mind the socialist principle «to each according to his work», differentiation according to qualification, and the incentive to increase productivity and production without impairing quality.

The great task of raising the productivity of labor more rapidly cannot be accomplished without raising the qualification, the technical-professional level of the working class, the peasantry and of all the working masses. On the other hand, this is dictated also by the rise of the level of the material and technological base of production, by the modern machines and factories which are coming into use and which cannot give the desired results in quantity and quality without qualified manpower.

**The standard of living of the people must
be constantly raised**

All our economic, political and social development has always aimed at serving the interests of the people, at ensuring for them a life of happiness and prosperity, of freedom, democracy and independence. Therefore, during the 5th five-year plan period, every effort will be made to meet the ever greater material and cultural requirements of the people as fully and as well as possible.

Our Party will continue to pursue its correct policy with regard to raising wellbeing: to attain the general wellbeing of the whole people; to meet the most urgent and widespread economic, cultural and social needs of the workers; to continually reduce the differences in levels of income and standards of living between town and countryside, between the various groups of the population.

The practical application of this policy during the 5th five-year plan period is embodied in the increase of the national income and its ultimate use. In 1975, as against 1970, the national income will increase by 55-60 per cent, the consumption fund 50-55 per cent, the income per head of population 14-17 per cent, while the volume of retail trade circulation will increase by 36-39 per cent.

The social consumption fund has been set at such a level as to meet the requirements of the population for education, culture, health services, social insurance and certain other social needs. In 1975, per capita expenditure by the state for these

needs will increase about 60 per cent above that of 1970 and will represent 22-27 percent of the total consumption fund. This expenditure, which is very high, expresses not only our ever growing economic potential but also the superiority of our socialist social order over the capitalist and revisionist order. Only the socialist order completely frees the workers from that continuous anxiety and the difficulties they encounter in meeting their needs for education, culture, and health services in the capitalist countries.

In the struggle to fulfil our task as well as possible in raising the people's wellbeing, our socialist trade must play a major role. All our commercial activity should be directly adapted to providing the people regularly and uninterruptedly with the goods they need and demand most, to distributing every thing that industry and agriculture produce and which the people need, and dispatching them to the consumer on time, to serving the working people in the most cultured way. The economic-social mission of trade is to play a greater role and exercise a more active influence than it has done up to now in stimulating the production of high quality goods, in extending the range of them, as well as in preventing production of those commodities which are of poor quality or unattractive to the public. Therefore, the organs of trade and all their workers should continually study and become acquainted in detail with the consumers' demands, with the differences

that occur in these demands among various groups of workers and in different districts.

It is of major principled and practical importance to get a good and all-round understanding of how workers live, of making their lives easier, of the services, both collective and individual, which should be set up for them. In this context more efforts than heretofore should be exerted to expand and improve public catering and communal services, to create better conditions for the people to spend their free time, and so on. Above all, steps must be taken to raise the cultural level of services, to improve their quality and shorten the time required to carry them out as much as possible.

Special efforts should be made to improve drinking water supplies to the villages, and to link them with motor roads. For the solution of these two problems all our cooperative peasantry should be rallied, the state should give greater aid than it has done so far in providing financial and material means, cadres, specialists and technicians, while the towns should give all the help they can. The great revolutionary experience that was accumulated during the mass action for the electric reticulation of all the villages should be utilised and further enriched for the solution of the above mentioned problems.

The turn which has begun in the construction of dwelling houses will become more apparent during this five-year plan period. With social investments and the direct voluntary labor contri-

bution of the workers during the 5th five-year plan period 40,000 new apartments will be built in the towns and work centres as against 29,000 built during the 4th five-year periods. This will greatly assist to normalize the housing problem of the town workers. This is a bold undertaking which highlights the superiority of the socialist social order over that of capitalism and the concern of our Party to solve this acute problem of the life of our workers.

A happy and joyous life for our people would be meaningless and unattainable without protecting their health. Therefore, care for the health of the people, for prolonging their life-span, has been and continues to be an integral part of the policy of the Party in raising their well-being. All-round care to protect the health of mother and child by radically improving their dietary and medical treatment will be the object of special attention on the part of our whole society, our Party and the state.

Further improve the management of our economy

The stage reached in the socialist construction and the new tasks before us, call for a further improvement of the organization and management of our economy putting them on a sounder scientific basis. Though this problem is neither new nor unrecognised, today it constitutes one of the

fundamental links we must seize on to give a further powerful impulse to the development of our whole economy.

Our efforts to improve the management of the economy proceed from sound Marxist-Leninist principles and are completely the reverse of the revisionist concepts and practices. Experience to date shows that the so-called workers' self-administration or the economic reforms of the Khrushchevite revisionists lead to the capitalist degeneration of socialist economy, to the reestablishment of capitalism. The whole world is well aware of the negative consequences of the revisionist concepts on the organization and management of the economy. They are an indisputable public exposure of the revisionist theory and practice of economic-social development.

Many matters which have to do with the improvement of economic management were put forward correctly in the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee and many of them are now being carried out with success. In order to forestall any pronounced manifestation of excessive centralism and bureaucratic tutelage the competences of the base have been extended. The Executive Committees of the People's Councils and economic enterprises have been vested with more financial and material competences, both for drawing up and for carrying out the plan. The management of the economy has become more flexible and more self-acting, the responsibility of the base, of the enterprise, has been increased. However, to further

strengthen it, not only is it essential for the measures taken to be carried out in a creative spirit, but it is also essential to find new, better, and more efficient ways and forms.

Which are the main problems that should attract our attention most for a better management of our economy at the new stage of its development? They are: the raising of the level of the managerial work of the economic organs to a higher level, putting it on a sounder scientific basis, improving the method of management of production on the basis of a deeper knowledge of economic laws; and the further extension of the participation of the working masses in the administration of our economy.

The further improvement of the management of the economy requires, first and foremost, that the organizing role of the state must be strengthened to the level of the new tasks. The tasks of the state organs which direct our economy are now greater and have become more complicated and complex. Any reducing of them, as sometimes happens, to the management of operative problems only, is one-sided and of harmful consequences.

The state organs and their cadres cannot direct our economy effectively without doing more and better work in the analysis and explanation of the economic policy of the Party, its directives, and orientations, without seeking and finding the best and most effective ways of putting them into practice. It is essential that they should pay more

attention than heretofore to the study of the urgent, and perspective fundamental problems regarding the economic-social development of our country.

The improvement of economic management has raised the question of strengthening the scientific character of our planning as an acute current issue. The solution of many economic and social problems at the stage of the complete construction of socialist society requires more than one five-year plan. Therefore, parallel with the five-year planning, we should draw up long-term forecast plans. The main objective of these plans should be to predict the main directions of the development of the economy as a whole, of its individual branches, of the most important kinds of industrial and agricultural products, of the directions for the development of education, culture, science, etc.

For the five-year or longer term plans of economic development to be as realistic as possible our social needs must be very carefully assessed on the basis of systematic, detailed and all-round observations, studies, analyses and generalizations, in different variants, and on technical, economic and financial calculations. The aim of all this is to enable the Party and state organs to select the optimal variant.

Strengthening the scientific character of planning dictates the need for a wider use than heretofore of the familiar analytical methods of comparison, standardization, and weighing up. In ad-

dition efforts should also be made to introduce the new methods which are based on mathematics, programming, and modern computer equipment into the practice of planning and economic calculations.

The present stage of development of our economic enterprises raises the task of combining the methods of administrative management better with the methods of economic management. This absolutely demands knowledge and conscious application of the objective laws of socialism. The increase of the proportions of production in every branch of our economy, the need to turn our attention more to quality, to apply new technique and up-to-date technology, time after time reveal defects and shortcomings in the management of production. To overcome these shortcomings, it is important to step up the initiative and independent action of the base, to strengthen the system of economically self-supporting enterprises, the use of economic levers, the discipline of the plan and financial discipline. The calculation of costs and profits, the comparison of labor consumed with results achieved, should become an indispensable criterion by which to evaluate the planned allocation of quotas and their realization. The need to step up the combination of the administrative management of production with economic methods has raised the problem that the structure of organization and direction of the enterprise itself should be brought into better conformity with this combination.

The improvement of the management of the

economy can not be thought of or achieved without the participation of the masses, of the working class, the cooperative members, and of all the workers, without their supervision of the activity of the economic organs. This is not a matter of mere desire but a logical consequence of that mass line which is faithfully carried out among us, and is the guarantee that production will increase and that the social basis of socialism will never change its nature. In the future more should be done to encourage and give greater freedom of action to the participation, check-up, initiative, and creative thought of the masses in drawing up and carrying out the economic plans, in allocating and deciding the technical economic indices, productivity, norms of work and consumption of materials, enforcing order and discipline at work, in increasing production and improving quality, in everything, from the smallest to the very-largest things.

The increase of the participation and check-up of the masses, especially of the working class, should always go parallel with an increase of the moral and financial responsibility of every one for the fate of the production, the enterprise, or cooperative, with the precise and timely implementation of the decisions and directives of the state organs, of discipline and order at work.

Comrades!

The tasks of the 5th five-year plan are a further great and important step on the road to

the complete construction of socialist society. They are bold, but well thought out and correctly weighed up. We are optimistic, certain that they will be accomplished with success.

When viewing the accomplishment and over-fulfilment of the tasks of the 4th five-year plan, which were also very solid and daring, one cannot but be astonished at the colossal strength of our Party and people.

We are embarking on the realization of the new five-year plan with great enthusiasm based on the assurance that the magnificent results of the past have given us and on the inspiration which our brilliant future engenders.

The heroism, wisdom, and knowledge of our people combined with their realistic optimism and enthusiasm, will turn the indices of this five-year plan too into material goods for the people, the Fatherland and socialism, will perform new miracles and raise the prestige of our heroic Party and the glory of socialist Albania even higher.

III

THE STRENGTHENING OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

Comrades,

A key problem of the revolution has been and will remain till the attainment of the victory of communism, the problem of the state power, of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Whatever the field in which the class struggle between the two roads — socialist and capitalist, is waged, whether political or economic, ideological, cultural or military, it is, in the final account, a struggle around the question of whether the dictatorship of the proletariat will be preserved and strengthened, or will degenerate and be overthrown as occurred in the Soviet Union and several other countries. Our Party always has in mind this vital lesson of Marxism-Leninism fully confirmed by life.

The years that have elapsed since the Party's 5th Congress are years of all-round struggle by the

Party, the working class and the whole people for the further development of the socialist revolution in the political field. This has been a struggle for the preservation, strengthening and perfecting of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for purging it of traces of the influences of the old society, for avoiding the danger of its revisionist-bourgeois degeneration, for the growth of the active role of the state in all spheres of the complete construction of socialist society.

The edge of all this struggle has been directed against bureaucracy, for the further development of socialist democracy. Its results can be seen and felt in all fields of our national life. The links of the state power with the masses have been further strengthened and extended. The state apparatus has been freed from a considerable bureaucratic burden and has become more efficient and more operative, it has been brought closer to the base and its problems. The initiative and self-action of the masses, their interest and active participation in state affairs have increased as never before. The control of the working people, in the first place of the working class, over the apparatus and the leaders, over the whole life of the country, has become a powerful and effective means for the improvement of work in all directions. Relations between the cadres and the masses have been put on a more correct basis, a thing which has further strengthened the mutual confidence and close collaboration between them. The work of the elected state organs at all levels has been greatly enlivened.

ned, and these bodies are exercising their competences and control over the executive organs and administrations better and better. A more correct concept of these matters has been created and a strong blow has been struck at bureaucratic, intellectualist and technocratic concepts and practices.

Our experience, and especially that accumulated in these recent years of rigorous political life, full of originality, has shown that in circumstances where the Party is giving correct leadership the dictatorship of the proletariat can withstand all tests and successfully perform its historic mission.

But we are conscious that the results achieved in the implementation of the orientations and measures adopted by the Party have not eliminated all the dangers once and for all. The fight against bureaucracy and all its manifestations, as one of the most important expressions of the class struggle in the conditions of socialism, remains a permanent task of the Party, of the socialist state and of all the working people. It must be said that in practice, in many cases, this question is not understood in all its seriousness. Herein lies the source of the fact that in the fight for the implementation of the orientations of the Party we have continually encountered restrictive concepts, conservatism and bureaucratic resistance, we have frequently encountered formalism, which shows that the essence of bureaucratic distortions has not been understood in all its profundity, and the fight against them is often simplified and reduced to at-

tacking some partial manifestations and side issues.

Therefore the party organisations and the state organs should have the struggle against bureaucracy at the center of their attention, must strengthen their educative work, and be continuously in search of ways and means which should be implemented in order to carry this fight through to the end, resolutely smashing obstacles and restrictive trends, whenever, and in whatever form, they may appear.

This fight is of vital importance to the future of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for bureaucracy is a great and deeply rooted evil. As the negative experience of the Soviet Union and of some other countries shows, it leads to the separation of the state power from the masses of the people, to placing the leading organs and cadres above the masses and beyond their control, to the erosion of socialist democracy, to the creation of bureaucratic centralism, to the degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The general road to the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the entire socialist order is the development of mass democracy. Without socialist democracy there is no dictatorship of the proletariat, just as there can be no real democracy for the working people without a dictatorship of the proletariat. Under the guise of extending democracy the Khrushchevite revisionists liquidated the dictatorship of the proletariat, and in its place they have established their

bureaucratic dictatorship, as a weapon of the domination of the new bourgeois class over the working masses. Just as in the classical bourgeois countries, the so-called «democracy» in the countries ruled by the revisionists is a privilege of the exploiting minority and a shameless fraud for the masses of the people.

The broadest possible drawing in of the masses into running the country has been and remains the unwavering line in the whole activity of our Party of Labor and our proletarian state for the building of socialism. We consider this participation as the main direction of the deepening of socialist democracy in action, as an indispensable condition to secure the experience of the broad working people ever more conscious that they multiply the strength of the state apparatus of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to make the working masses in the building of socialism, to themselves are the absolute masters of the country, that they ought to have the decisive say about everything.

The arming of all the citizens with such an understanding of their role and place in political and social life, training them to play this role properly, has required and continues to require, in addition to a great educative and explanatory effort on the part of the Party, many practical measures in order to create the necessary conditions for the working people to take part on the broadest possible scale in the exercise of state power, so that the adoption and implementation of decisions

should come more and more under their direct judgement and control.

From this viewpoint the implementation of the method of consulting the masses, of listening to them, of relying on them, which has already become an integral part of our practice, must be developed and deepened unceasingly. It would be a mistake to slip into complacency with ourselves and remain at the point we have reached. It is indispensable to continue our efforts even more persistently to overcome any obstacle that restricts the effective participation of the masses in the management of the affairs of society, that curbs their creative initiative. We must invigorate and further enrich the forms of democracy. In particular we must enhance the role of the mass organisations as important centers of the organisation of the working people, as tribunes of their voice and their revolutionary self-action.

Reliance on the masses for the verification of the correctness of decisions in the vivid practice of life is especially important. The continuous verification, the uninterrupted critical and self-critical re-examination of all previous work and experience in every sphere of activity, with a view to preserving and developing what is soundly based, and changing what is not justified by practice or that life has passed and left behind, with a view to finding new ways and means for the solution of problems, — this constitutes a law of the socialist revolution, which, as Karl Marx used to say, is invincible because it continually criticizes itself.

This method is incompatible with the bureaucratic and conservative tendency to make a fetish of everything issued by the apparatus, with petrified schemes and practices which no longer respond to the new tasks and conditions, which do not conform with the great revolutionising ideas of the Party and become obstacles in the way of their implementation in practice. To this question we must give serious attention, because, as Lenin teaches us, the contradictions between the new and the old in the development of the revolution manifest themselves with special force and are preserved for a long time in this field.

«In the whole field of social, economic and political relations, — Lenin writes, — we are «terribly» revolutionary. But in the field of hierarchy, of observing the administrative forms and procedure our «revolutionism» is nearly always replaced by the mouldiest routine. Here a very interesting phenomenon can often be observed: how in social life the greatest leap forward is associated with the most monstrous fear of the smallest of changes»¹.

The Party organisations, cadres, and all the working people must always be dialectical revolutionaries, they must look reality in its uninterrupted development, right in the eye, they must ca-

1) Selected works, Alb. ed. Vol. II, p. 925.

nonize nothing, they must not fear changes, but must courageously overthrow everything obsolete in the concepts, methods, laws, forms of organisation and management.

The check up by the masses from below, as a question of principled importance and one of the main aspects of the development of socialist democracy, has been continually in the center of attention of the Party. But its deepening and improvement in the most suitable forms always remains a current, primary task.

The direct control of the working class is decisive in this. The worker control from below is a necessity and a basic principle of social life during the whole historic period of socialism. This control, which is carried out under the leadership of the Party, is one of the concrete expressions of the leading role of the working class and of proletarian democracy in action. It constitutes a sharp weapon in the fight against bureaucracy and alien influences in social life and in the consciousness of the working people, a very effective form of the proletarian education of the working class itself, and is a powerful incitement to carry socialist construction forward. We regard the worker control as one of the fundamental guarantees to avert the danger of revisionism and turning back to capitalism.

Our practice of the direct control by the working class is being confirmed by life. In the period following the Party's 5th Congress the implementation of the worker control led to a fur-

ther growth and enlivenment of the revolutionary activity of the working class in all fields. The role of the working masses in the solution of various problems, has increased appreciably, their concern and feeling of responsibility for the affairs of the enterprise and for the country's life in general has greatly increased and the spirit of criticism and self-criticism towards alien manifestations has been strengthened.

The worker control is a long process of struggle against various bureaucratic trends which strive to restrict it, curb it and place it under tutelage, against fear, doubts, and equivocation in its application. Its further perfection requires that it be understood by everyone as an indisputable right of the working class to preserve and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist order. It is the control of the working class over the entire activity of their party, state and economic organs and organisations, of the apparatus and cadres, which extends over everything and everybody, in both town and countryside. The worker control is not an administrative check up on minor, superficial matters of the moment. It is an expression of the opinion and stand of the working class on the key political, economic and social problems.

The party organisations, the trade unions, the workers themselves ought to be continually seeking out ways of enlivening the existing forms and finding new ones, swift and effective in the exercise of the worker control. Rigid frameworks and petrified forms mutilate and paralyze it.

The aim of the worker control is, not only to observe and note, but to settle and carry through to the end the questions it raises. It is a duty of everybody, of the party organisations, of the state organs and of the mass organisations to fight persistently for the application of the remarks and proposals made by the workers, to solve the problems which emerge from the worker control rapidly and with the greatest seriousness. This is indispensable for the very development of the ideas, revolutionary action, and active participation of the workers in the affairs of the state, for the encouragement of their initiative and for the further development of the worker control itself.

It is of special importance to the working class that it itself should understand in the first place, not only its role as the decisive productive force, but also its political role as the vanguard class in our society. With its struggle, stand and example, it draws in behind it the whole mass of the rest of the population, induces in everybody the proletarian spirit, discipline and culture in work and life. In order to live up to this mission it is indispensable that the worker control should develop as self-control of the working class also, as criticism and self-criticism in its ranks, as a persistent struggle against manifestations of self-complacency, indifference, and of running after narrow personal interest, against any spirit of becoming reconciled to the phenomena which hinder our forward march.

The worker control is part and parcel of the

check up of the masses on the activity of the state organs, of the economic, cultural and educational organisations of town and countryside. The exercise of this check up is a right and a duty of everybody: of the peasant on the cooperative farm, the student at school, the intellectual in his sphere of activity, of every citizen in the whole of social life.

With a view to opening a wide vista to the control by the masses and creating the most suitable conditions for it, it is necessary that the working people should be continually informed of the activity of the state and social bodies and institutions. Control by the masses becomes possible and is facilitated the more the struggle is waged against the tendencies of the state and social apparatus and organs to forms of work behind closed doors, and the more the publicity given to their activities, which must be as open as possible and easily controllable by the working people. The ever better acquaintance of the broad masses of the working people with the mechanisms of socialist social life, with the laws of the state, coming before the masses and rendering accounts, as a permanent method of the functioning of the whole of our system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, also constitute indispensable conditions for the exercise of control by the masses. It is up to the press, which is duty-bound to keep the masses well abreast of the situation and the problems, to play a more active role in this respect, to promote criticism, to become to a more pronounced

extent a tribune for the rigorous thrashing out of ideas, of the deep reflection and summing up of the experience of the masses in the socialist construction.

In the fight against bureaucracy and for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat the relationship between the cadres and the masses is of first importance. The negative experience of the revisionist countries shows that when incorrect relations are established between the cadres and the masses, when the cadres cut themselves off from the masses, from their life and struggle, when they are not subject to the control by the masses, when the cadres are given unlawful privileges and favours, they become bureaucratized and they degenerate, their relations with the masses are changed into relations of domination and submission.

Our Party and our people's power, enlightened by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, especially during the period following the 5th Congress, have adopted a series of political, ideological and economic measures for the improvement of relations between the cadres and the masses so that the cadres will always remain consistent revolutionaries and devoted servants of the people. The systematic circulation of the cadres from the leading posts to the base and from administration to production and vice-versa has been established. Now about 56 per cent of the principal cadres of the central and local apparatus and 50 per cent of all the cadres of the apparatus and administration

have been less than 5 years in these positions. The participation of the cadres and of all working people of mental work in manual work has been implemented on healthier criteria. At the same time, adjustments have been made in the pay of the cadres, to prevent disproportions between their living standards and those of the working masses. We have also aimed our efforts so that the ideopolitical, educational-cultural and technical-professional training of the cadres should not be done separately from the uninterrupted elevation of the all-round standard of the broad working masses. These measures, along with the broad educative work of the Party, serve to combat manifestations of bureaucracy and careerism in the cadres, to strengthen and deepen their ties with the workers and peasants, to combat and eradicate the influences of the intellectualist concepts of under-estimating and despising the masses, to bar the road to the revival of dangerous feelings of arrogance, subjectivism, etc.

Our Party is constantly concerned with the problem that all the cadres should be developed and tempered as revolutionaries, that they should think and work as such till the end of their lives. Socialism does not need bureaucrats and technocrats who believe only in their own «genius», in technology, in the power of decrees, but it needs cadres that merge themselves and live with the masses, think and feel in the same way as the working class and cooperativist peasantry. In the party line, in the majestic work and spiritual world of the working class and cooperativist peasants the

cadres will always find strength and inspiration.

In order to carry further the experience gained in the relations between the cadres and the masses, it is necessary to combat any subjectivist, departmentalist, or localist stands, as well as the petty-bourgeois attitudes of some cadres, so that the circulation and direct work in production will be understood as a measure of educative and ideological importance and not as an aim in itself, that it should be understood as a measure for the continuous revolutionisation of the cadres themselves and of various organs and apparatuses.

The Party devotes special attention to the principle that the cadres, of every link and level, should have a two-fold dependence: both on the organs of the party and the proletarian state from above, and also from below, directly on the working masses. Upholding to this principle, it is necessary that in the future we should fight any trend towards making a fetish of the competences of various organs for the appointment of the cadres and closed door work, so that the voice, the opinion and the appraisal of the masses about the cadres and their activity will be heard ever more forcibly.

For the further deepening of democracy and enhancement of the role of the masses, in the period between the two congresses special attention has been paid to the strengthening and improvement of the work of the elected organs of the people's power. In this respect, an important role was played by the recent elections to the People's Assembly and People's Councils, which were, to a considera-

ble degree, renewed with capable, revolutionary, new people, closely linked with the masses.

Despite the results achieved, there still remains a great deal to be done so that the people's councils of every level, as direct representatives of the working people in power, can perform the functions entrusted to them, avoid any manifestation of formalism in their work, prevent any taking over whatever of their role by the executive organs, administrations, or economic organisations. We should not allow any disrespectful stand by anyone with regard to the elected representatives of the people and the problems they raise. What the deputy or councilor has to say must be listened to with attention and respect.

The further improvement of the work of the executive organs is connected with the fierce struggle against manifestations of bureaucracy, technocratism and shallow practicism in the style and method of their activity, in the constant strengthening of their links with the masses. We should never forget for a single moment that the evil of bureaucracy is found, in the first place and above all, in the executive organs and administrative apparatus. The vigilance of the party organisations, of the cadres working there themselves and the working masses, is a sharp weapon to fight successfully and nip in the bud any bureaucratic trend or distortion.

The measures that have been adopted recently for a more correct distribution of competences have relieved the central organs of excessive bur-

dens and of an unnecessary concentration of many affairs in their hands. In particular, this has increased the responsibility and initiative of the state power at the grassroots level.

Considering the vigorous development in breadth and depth of national economy and culture, the increase and constant elevation of the level of the cadres, the growth of the participation of the masses in all social and economic life, tendencies to codify everything from above, to tutelage over the lower organs, would be anachronistic and harmful. Proletarian centralism in our country rests on unshakable foundations, for it is based on the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, on the unified laws governing all social and state relations, on the unified plan of the development of socialist economy and culture, on the centralized use of financial means through the state budget, on the unified price policy, on the unified and centralised pay system, on the state monopoly of foreign trade, etc. Therefore there is no reason to fear that with the development of initiative and self-action of grassroot level, with the extension of its competences, centralism will be violated.

Comrades,

The building of socialism in our country is being done in conditions of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement. Therefore the defence of the Fatherland, of freedom and national independence, without which there is neither people's power nor

socialism, has always been and is considered by our Party as its supreme and permanent duty. If little Albania has continued to stand firm and unshakable as a granite rock, this is due above all to the fact that the enemies are well aware of the unity strength and determination of our people to defend the victories of revolution to the end, to cope successfully with any danger.

Preparation for the defence of the Fatherland is a permanent and continuous task which is carried out in good times and bad, irrespective of the events occurring in the world. We base the defence of our country not on international political conjunctures, but mainly on the internal factor which we consider decisive. We base it on the strength, heroism, and iron resistance of our people courageously led by the Party of Labor, on the fighting readiness of our country to cope with any situation or aggressor.

To perform this lofty historic duty successfully the whole people, old and young, united to a man around the Party, must be raised to a high ideological and political level and clearly understand the line of the Party, its tactics and strategy, carry them out in practice conscientiously and with a steel-like discipline, with a fiery patriotism at any moment and in all circumstances regardless of the sacrifice involved.

The Fatherland and socialism, the life and work of the people, are defended arms in hand, by equipping the army and the people with up-to-date means, training them continually so that they

know how to use these means perfectly and with the greatest effectiveness. The Fatherland belongs to the whole people, therefore it is defended not only by the regular uniformed army, but by the entire people, armed, organized, and militarily trained.

Guided by Lenin's instruction to make «every citizen a soldier and every soldier a citizen», we strive to have everyone work, learn, and prepare for defence at the same time. The whole country is a huge construction site, a great school of communist education, and an impregnable military fortress.

The Party and the Government have always devoted the greatest attention to the increase, education, and tempering of the armed forces. Our People's Army is prepared, at any time and in any situation, however difficult it may be, to perform with honour its lofty duty of the defence of the socialist Fatherland.

Ours is an army of a new type, an army of the people, an army of the revolution. Strongly preserving the glorious traditions of the partisan army, it is qualitatively different from the armies of the bourgeois and revisionist countries. It is not a barracks square army, a closed caste that stands apart from the people and over the people, but an army merged into a whole with the entire armed people. Reactionary bourgeois and revisionist viewpoints about the army, manifestations of arrogance, haughtiness, commandism, standing apart

from the rank and file, etc., are alien to its cadres who are sons of the people.

On the road of the further revolutionisation of the army, the measures taken by the Party for purging it of many organizational forms and structures, of many foreign regulations, inappropriate to an army like ours, have made it truly an army of the dictatorship of the proletariat, capable of performing its mission with honour in conformity with the conditions and tasks of national defence.

During the whole existence of the army we have consistently adhered to the principle of the priority of ideological and political work over military work, of the priority of man as the decisive factor in relation to weapons. It is the political work that, by raising the consciousness of men, gives the army life and makes it capable in all the other work it does. Political work makes the army stand as a faithful weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the vigilant protector of the people's victories.

The Party has devoted all its care, and it will continue to do so, without permitting any sort of vulgar stand to sound military training, a profound assimilation of the military art of people's war, the perfect mastering of modern arms and equipment by the fighters, the strengthening of proletarian military discipline and order.

The Party has been and remains the spirit of the army, the brain guiding it on the right road, the life-giving force which makes it invincible.

In our army, at the head of our defence, the Party is in command.

In every action they carry out, in every problem they solve the party committees and organisations in the field should never forget their duties concerning the strengthening of the defence of the Fatherland. They should carry out intensive ideological and political work for the education of all the working people in the spirit of vigilance, a high level of preparedness and the greatest seriousness in military training, bearing in mind in a most realistic way the conditions and exigencies of the war of today.

The party organs in the army and the military commands, on their part, must improve their style of work to raise the political training and fighting readiness of the armed forces. They must especially strengthen and perfect the forms and methods of education and military training of the whole people in compliance with the present-day organisational structure of the army.

In as much as the problems of defence, of the army and military training are the problems of everybody, it is necessary to promote and further improve the collaboration and coordination of the work between the party organisations and commands in the army, and the party organisations and state and economic organs in the field.

Under the constant care of the Party, the organs of State Security, the People's Police and the Border Guards have been developed and strengthened. In all their activity they have always relied

on the active help and support of the working masses. They have carried out the teachings of the Party to the letter, have courageously fought to defend the socialist legality and the interests of the state and of the people.

The further strengthening of the organs of State Security, People's Police and the Border Guards requires the raising of the ideological, political and professional work, to a higher level, increased revolutionary vigilance and conscious discipline for the strict application of the norms laid down, and the further extension of links with the masses. The continuous enforcement of the leading and controlling role of the Party in their entire activity is an indispensable condition and a sound guarantee that these beloved organs of the Party and the people will perform their mission with honour.

In strengthening and perfecting the dictatorship of the proletariat a very important role is played by our revolutionary legislation. In accordance with the directives of the 5th Congress, with the active participation of the masses, a big job has been done in re-examining the whole body of state legislation, in simplifying it, to adapt it to present-day conditions. This, along with the re-organisation of the organs of justice, drawing them closer to and placing them more under the control of the masses, has had an obvious influence on the revolutionisation of their work. The continuous improvement of the legislation, the acquaintance with the laws on the part of the masses

of the people, in order to make them as conscientious as possible in their implementation, the further strengthening of the ties of the organs of justice with the working people and reliance on them for the defence of the laws, is a great party task.

Comrades,

27 years have elapsed from the time when our people, under the firm Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Party of Labor, in armed struggle overthrew the hated power of foreign imperialists and of the local reactionary exploiting classes, and, for the first time in their long history, established the people's power in Albania. After the first free, general democratic elections in December 1945, from which emerged the Constituent Assembly, the true representative of the aspirations and interests of the people, the fundamental law of the new state — the Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania was approved.

At that time our country had just emerged from the great National-liberation War and was taking the first steps on the road of socialist construction. In those circumstances, the approval of the constitution was a notable historic event and another great political victory of the people. Its importance consisted in the fact that it legalized that profound and radical overthrow which was carried out in the life of our society as a result of the triumph of the people's revolution. It sanctioned from the juridical viewpoint all those great

political, economic and social gains that the people had attained through their heroic struggle, and opened clear prospects for other revolutionary transformations in all the fields of life on socialist foundations.

The Constitution became the backbone and source of all the legislation of our new people's democratic state which expressed the will of the people and defended their interests. It played a great role, not only in the defence and consolidation of the state power and of all the other gains of revolution, but also in the all-round development of the social-economic order on the road of socialism.

From that time a quarter of century has elapsed. This is the period of the great revolutionary transformations to lay and consolidate the foundations of the new order in all fields. The great ideas of Marxism-Leninism about the new society, free from any sort of oppression and exploitation, and the programme of our Party for building the foundations of socialism became a reality. The people's power, born from the partisan rifle, was consolidated as the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the undivided leadership of the Party of Labor. The means of production, which were formerly in the hands of the local capitalists and foreign imperialists, became common property of the people. The capitalist sector of the economy was completely liquidated. A radical revolution was carried out in the countryside, the collectivisation of agriculture transformed the very foundations of

the small peasant production and placed it on a socialist footing. The place of the multiform economy was occupied by the single system of the socialist economy. Together with private property the exploiting classes were liquidated too, along with all the other antagonisms between town and country, between mental and manual work, which arise on the basis of capitalist exploitation. Entirely new relations, of the alliance based on socialism, of mutual support and aid, have been established between the working class, the labouring peasantry and the people's intelligentsia. The differences between them are being continually reduced. On this basis the social, economic, and ideological-political unity of the people has become more and more steel-like.

With the building of the economic base of socialism, which is the second greatest victory after the establishment of the people's power, our country entered a new historic stage — that of the complete construction of socialist society. In struggle for the implementation of the tasks of this stage, new great victories have been achieved. This struggle was raised to a higher level following the 5th Congress of the Party. The great process of the revolutionisation of the whole life of the country, which aroused the entire people, has led to the consolidation and further development of profound economic, social, political and ideological transformations, to the strengthening and improvement of the economic base and of the entire superstructure of society. New experience of great

value has been accumulated concerning how to bar the way to revisionism and the restoration of capitalism, how to ensure the march of the revolution constantly forward till its complete and final victory.

Viewed through the prism of these deep revolutionary changes, the Constitution in force, in spite of later amendments and additions, has become outdated in many fundamental aspects and no longer reflects the socialist reality in Albania today. Therefore, the Central Committee of the Party proposes the drafting of a new Constitution appropriate to the present stage of the country's development, to the new reality, so that, as a component part of the political superstructure, it may serve the economic base, the whole socialist development of society, better.

The reframing of the Constitution will be a step of great theoretical and practical importance for the strengthening and further improvement of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country. The new Constitution will serve as a juridical basis for the state organisation and legislation required by the present stage of our socialist construction. It must be a juridical, political, and ideological document which completely reflects the line of the Party embodied in our revolutionary practice, and inspires the working people in the struggle for the complete construction of socialist society.

The drafting of the new Constitution is a job of great responsibility. It will be the Constitution

of socialist Albania, of a country which stands loyal to the principles of scientific socialism and which implements and develops them in a creative manner. In drafting it we must take into account both our own rich revolutionary experience, and the experience of world socialism. This Constitution must present the true features of socialism distinguishing it from all the distortions and deformations of it by the modern revisionists. It will be the reflection of a whole glorious road and experience, under the wise leadership of the Party of Labor, which will inspire us, fill us with optimism, and spur us on to new battles and victories.

IV

THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AND THE EDUCATION OF THE NEW MAN

The development of the revolution in the field of ideology and culture has been characterized by a frontal class struggle against all forms of alien ideology, beginning with the old hang-overs from distant centuries and ending with the present-day influences of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology. The basic aim of this struggle is the revolutionization of the minds and consciousness of people, of their entire spiritual world, to affirm the Marxist-Leninist ideology, proletarian morality and socialist culture. This is a broad mass struggle, which is being carried out with the active participation of all strata of the population, and is being realized in practice through revolutionary movements and actions, through broad popular discussions and open public criticism and debate, in which the old reactionary thoughts and customs are confronted with the new revolutionary ideas and morality.

The struggle for deepening the ideological and

cultural revolution, as a component part of the process of the all-round revolutionization of national life, was prepared by the entire 30-year struggle of our Party. On the basis of the results achieved, our Party fights for the uninterrupted advance of the work for the formation of the new man of the new socialist society, equipped with deep Marxist-Leninist convictions, with lofty revolutionary communist moral qualities, with broad cultural horizons and a rich spiritual world.

Further strengthen the socialist consciousness of the working masses in struggle with all the remnants and influences of alien ideologies

Though our revolution overthrew the old relations of production and thus liquidated that material basis which gives birth to, keeps alive and nurtures the various forms of ideology of the exploiting classes, we still encounter many traces and influences of them. The new socialist society and its further development can no longer reconcile itself with these alien hang-overs. They not only hinder the forward march of revolution, but contain in themselves the danger of turning back. The bitter experience of the appearance of revisionism in the Soviet Union and other countries has confirmed that to fail to undertake the deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution with all our might, would mean to abandon the socialist revolution half way, to endanger its achievements

in the economic and political fields, and to pave the way to bourgeois degeneration in all fields.

The intensification of the ideological class struggle is dictated also by the need for the all-round emancipation of the physical, mental, and spiritual energies of all the working people, especially of women and youth, to liberate them from the heavy burden of old prejudices, make it possible for their revolutionary drive to burst out with incontrollable force in all fields of life. The ideal of socialism is to liberate the working people, not only from the social and economic yoke, but also from spiritual enslavement to alien ideologies. Socialism is the only social order which creates all the conditions and is able to achieve this all-round emancipation of man.

The struggle which our Party is carrying out for the education of the new man is broad and complex. This education is done not only through propaganda work and agitation, it is not confined to the struggle against old ideas and concepts on the academic plane. It is realised also through the creation of such economic, social and political conditions, that cultivate socialist concepts and norms among the people. It is realized in the process of the practical activity of men and women, in their struggle and work for the building of socialism. During the recent years, our Party has been fighting with rare courage to work out Marxist-Leninist guide-lines in all these fields and to throw the masses into revolutionary actions. In the process of the deepening of the socialist revolution our

Party has now accumulated valuable theoretical and practical experience.

An unprecedented attack is being launched, especially against the most antiquated forms of the ideology of the exploiting classes, patriarchalism and conservatism, religion and backward customs, which for the known reasons of the profound backwardness inherited from the past still have roots and have not been absolutely wiped out.

One action with great results is the fight to smash the influence of religion. Within a very short period, this struggle succeeded in definitely stripping of their functions all the institutions and preachers of religion, who spread and kept alive the most profoundly obscurantist and anachronistic mysticism and idealism. Albania became a country without churches and mosques, without Christian or Muslim priests.

Of course this does not mean that the complete liberation of the working people from the influence of religious opium has been achieved; on the contrary, a long process of education and reeducation is needed for this. However, this was a decisive blow and a victory which creates a new and powerful premise for the further emancipation of people's consciousness, for their complete liberation from religious beliefs and prejudices.

This victory did not come of itself, nor was it achieved by administrative measures. For this all the conditions were brought to maturity and the working people of their own free will decided the fate of the religious institutions, which have always

maintained an antinational stance, have served the bourgeoisie and foreign occupationists, irrespective of the fact that there have been patriotic clergymen of all beliefs who have fought for the freedom and independence of Albania. This antinational and anti-popular stand of religion and its institutions had long been in opposition to the patriotic and freedom-loving feelings of the Albanian people. The National-liberation War deepened this contradiction still more. The great socialist transformations in the entire life of the country, and the all-round and uninterrupted propaganda work done by our Party, made the masses still more conscious of the futility of religious beliefs and of the incompatibility of the new socialist reality with the religious institutions and preachers of religion.

Our Party has never permitted the feelings of the people to be trifled with. But as a Marxist-Leninist party, it is quite clear that during its triumphant march, when all the objective and subjective conditions have matured, the socialist revolution must not fail to cut and root out all those threads which keep the masses bound to the old world and hinder their march ahead.

Look what is happening in the countries where the imperialists are in power! On the general background of bourgeois degeneration, for the sake of internal and external political conjunctures and even using the church for social-imperialist aims, religious propaganda is being extended, churches

and clergymen are being increased, the reactionary and obscurantist rubbish of medieval times is being activated.

At the present stage of the revolution, life has forcefully raised the very acute problem of the complete emancipation of women. Of all the forces of our society women and girls more than any others have been oppressed by the laws of religion and by the norms, canons and customs of patriarchalism.

With the establishment of the people's power and the creation of the economic base of socialism the Albanian woman, side by side with all the working people, escaped from capitalist exploitation, won political freedoms and rights equal with man, possibilities were created for her to throw herself with all her strength onto the great front of the country's socialist construction. In our country today there is no activity in which women do not militate. There is no new project in which their physical and mental work is not embodied. They constitute about 45% of all the people employed in town and countryside.

In the country, where women and girls were once the most backward masses, despised by society and by men, today hundreds of thousands of them manage the affairs of the state at all instances up to the People's Assembly, carry out important functions in mass and party organizations, direct production and other sectors of national life. The Party and all the people feel real joy and pride in our heroic women and girls, who, though they

still have conditions more difficult than men, work and fight with wisdom and courage no less than their husbands and brothers. Despite the results achieved in the struggle for the emancipation of women, the problem of securing a full and true equality of the woman with the man in social and family life remains a matter of concern. The main obstacle has been the backward, feudal, and patriarchal concepts on the estimation of the woman as an inferior being, and to some degree these still exist. Without breaking these concepts which oppressed and distorted the personality and energies of the woman, without surmounting this wall, her progress and that of our entire society on the road of socialism could not be ensured.

That is why our Party spearheaded its struggle for the complete emancipation of the woman mainly at the ideological front, at the struggle against conservatism, against the enslaving norms and customs, the disparaging and offensive concepts about women.

The successes are great. But the complete emancipation of the woman still remains for the future one of the most important tasks of our Party. The emancipation of the woman means not only liberated woman, but an entire society finally liberated from prejudices and alien concepts about the woman. This emancipation also implies the creation of all the material and spiritual conditions for the establishment of an effective and full equality between the man and the woman in all fields of life. Therefore, while a great deal of persistent

work should be done for the ideological uplift, and for raising the cultural, educational and technical-professional level of the women themselves, so that they can have an equal development with their male comrades and have their say on all problems and with competence, just as persistent work should be done to have society in general, the other members of the family, and the men in particular create equal conditions of development for them so that they will be given the possibility to learn and create. Their social work and activity must not be interrupted by the daily wearying tasks of household drudgery, which they usually cope with alone. Today we have the possibility to socialise much of the household work, step by step, and this we shall continually increase.

Here we are faced with another very important question: the creation of a truly democratic life within the family. The struggle for the extension and deepening of socialist democracy in our social life has also penetrated into the family, where the manifestations of inequality are stronger. Before our eyes the foundations of patriarchal life are being shaken and destroyed, and the principles of communist morality, the spirit of socialist ideology, are penetrating ever more widely into the family. New democratic and socialist motives have now begun to operate in matrimonial ties and in family relations. But these new motives have not yet become dominant. It is a recognised fact that the family lags relatively behind the general development of society. Therefore we should fight to dimi-

nish this backwardness day by day, so that life in the family too can keep pace with the times, and parallel with the great changes that are taking place in the life of the country. The Albanian family as a hearth of education has cultivated valuable patriotic and moral qualities. But many traditions of its educational work cannot fulfil our requirements, and in some directions they are even opposed to the present day reality. There should be more active work to revolutionize life in the family, so that it is gradually stripped of conservative remnants and the patriarchal mentality and becomes a hearth for the education of the people in the spirit of the ideology of the Party.

Our society cannot remain indifferent to family problems, regarding them as personal and private. On the contrary, it will always seek appropriate forms to influence it while at the same time condemning as alien, vulgar and tactless, unnecessary interference in intimate family affairs.

Our Party has carried out a continuous struggle also against petty-bourgeois mentality and psychology. But now the time has come to sharpen the edge of our attack on them. Petty bourgeois ideology has deep roots in the consciousness of the people. This is linked with the fact that in the past small peasant property and artisan private enterprise prevailed, and it was on this basis that all the types of relations between people were built and their views were formed. There is no doubt that the great economic-social transformations and the all-round work for the education of the masses

have dealt powerful blows also at petty-bourgeois ideology, have narrowed the sphere of its action in the work and life of our people.

But we must look facts right in the eye. Petty-bourgeois concepts and inclinations are still preserved and kept alive. They manifest themselves not only in the countryside, but also in the city, to this or that extent, in all strata of the population. Petty-bourgeois vestiges are interwoven with all forms of the ideology of the exploiting classes, with backward and patriarchal customs, as well as with bourgeois and revisionist influences.

As comrade Mao Tse-tung says, «petty-bourgeois ideology has a conservative character, its influence serves as one of the main sources of opportunism and adventurism in the working class movement». It is a fact that the petty-bourgeois wave combined with bureaucracy, and the allround pressure of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, was one of the main factors that made possible the process of capitalist degeneration in the Soviet Union.

From this it emerges with even greater clarity that the struggle against petty-bourgeois ideology and its manifestations is one of the most important tasks of the Party's all-sided work, and especially of its ideological work.

In the first place, we should fight to strengthen proletarian discipline at work, against being satisfied with little, and against the peasant and handicraft mentality, to increase the requirements of productivity in every social work. But this is not

merely a problem of education. It is a complex social and economic problem. Only on the basis of the definition of correct socialist criteria in the field of organization, setting of standards, rewards, and check-up on the work, on its quantity and quality, can educational work be carried out successfully for implanting the socialist qualities essential to carrying out any social work conscientiously, in the proper time and with high productivity.

A resolute struggle should be waged against petty-bourgeois individualism, which is expressed in the narrowest of narrow views on things, in running after personal interests, which are opposed to the common interests of society, in shutting oneself within a small mean world, which diverts one from the great ideals of the time, develops indifference and apathy to anything not directly related to narrow personal and family interests, and which make man chase after material interest and personal ease.

The running after narrow personal interest is an expression not only of the petty-bourgeois ideology, but also of all the ideologies of the exploiting classes which stems from the very private property, on which these ideologies are based. This tendency, which is manifested in most varied forms, is one of the most serious evils we have inherited from the past and one of the greatest dangers for the fate of socialism. Therefore we must consider the struggle against any manifestation of putting personal interest above public interest as a funda-

mental question in all the ideological work of the party.

In the struggle against petty-bourgeois ideology we should have in mind that its manifestations are interwoven with various conservative and liberal stands and they nurture lack of principle and wavering from one extreme to another. They have a wide range of action in the attitude towards work and social property, and especially in the way of life, in various habits and customs, in the family in particular.

The continuous enhancing and tempering of the socialist consciousness of our people is brought about not only by combatting the remnants of the old patriarchal, conservative and petty-bourgeois ideologies, but also by waging a continuous and irreconcilable struggle against the influences of the present-day bourgeois and revisionist ideological trends. Our country does not live isolated from the surrounding capitalist and revisionist world, which, as Lenin teaches us, in the process of its decomposition spreads all sorts of lethal germs in the air.

As revolutionaries and Marxists we understand the danger of the replacement of an old enslaving ideology with a new enslaving ideology, of an old poison with a new one, which, no matter how much of a sugar coating it may have, or what disguise of «modernization» and «liberalism», is always lethal. In the present conditions this is a great danger. While smashing the influences of alien ideology from the far-back centuries, while liqui-

dating the old social and ideological wounds inherited from the old feudal-bourgeois society, our Party fights to prevent the creation of new social and ideological wounds, which are characteristic of the present capitalist and revisionist world.

The whole of our struggle of recent years, the whole process of the revolutionization of our country's life are, at the same time, powerful blows at bourgeois and revisionist ideology. Their aim is to form an active barrier to the penetration of this ideology. But it would be inexcusable if it were thought that in the future we are guaranteed against any influence of bourgeois and revisionist ideology, that our people are now immune. One of the main directions of the hostile imperialist and revisionist strategy against our country is precisely the ideological pressure, which they can exert by exploiting today's numerous information channels and especially their cultural influence, which assumes all sorts of forms. Therefore, it is a task of first importance that in the future, too, we should organize a continuous struggle against bourgeois and revisionist ideology, always keeping our ideological vigilance and revolutionary militant spirit at a high level.

The struggle on the ideological front, as our Party has always emphasized, is a very important component part of the class struggle, which continues uninterruptedly in all the fields — political, economic, ideological and cultural. The successful development of the revolution, the defence and consolidation of its victories depends on this

struggle. Life has already fully confirmed that any deviation from the class struggle, any weakening of this struggle, any misconception and distortion of it, is fraught with very serious consequences. Here we should seek and recognise one of the most important causes of what happened in the Soviet Union and in some other countries, the very essence of the revisionist treachery.

It is important that we should not only accept the class struggle, but that we should also have a correct and broad understanding of it, as a struggle which continues during the whole historical period of the transition from capitalism to communism, as a struggle which develops not only against foreign and internal enemies, but also within the ranks of the people and the Party, as a struggle that must be waged continuously, everywhere, and by everybody.

So long as the class struggle continues, and this is not instigated artificially, but exists objectively as a struggle between the two roads of development — the socialist and the capitalist roads, there is no room for any spirit of placidity, self-satisfaction, or liberalism, because we have allegedly done away with all evils and have escaped any danger. On the contrary, the edge of the class struggle should always be kept keen, because it is our powerful weapon, which defends us from the enemies, cleanses us of evils, and tempers us as proletarian revolutionaries. We must wage this struggle consistently, while always making clear

the character of antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions and relying firmly on the masses.

In our country political power is in the hands of the working class, which, through the party and the proletarian state, leads the whole life of the country. Its leading and controlling role is decisive. Without it there is no dictatorship of the proletariat, no socialism. For this reason our Party has devoted and devotes its full attention to the all-round education of the working class, to the enhancement of its political consciousness and to increasing its capability, to make it fully capable not only of understanding its mission as a leading class in power, but also of realising it in practice.

Over the past years there have been important successes in this direction, which are clearly apparent in the growth of the militant spirit of the working class, in the marvellous results at work, in the outburst of revolutionary initiatives and creativeness, in the strengthening and extension of direct worker control, in the raising of the ideological, cultural and technical-professional level, in the fact that, by its example and its work, the working class is more and more setting the tone for the whole life of the country. These results are a sound basis for carrying the education of the working class continually forward. In this work the first place, as always, should be occupied by ideological and political education, the arming of the working class with Marxist-Leninist theory and with the teachings of the Party, closely linked with every-day life and struggle. No less impor-

tant is the work for its professional and cultural education.

These two sides of the communist education of the working class and of all the working people are closely linked with each other. But our Party has given and will give priority to ideological, political and moral education because we do not regard the working class as the bourgeois and the revisionists do, merely as a productive force, which should just work and produce, while the bureaucrats and the technocrats rule, make the law, suppress and exploit the working class, in the interest of the capitalist and revisionist bourgeoisie.

The bourgeois technocratic theories which try to deny the necessity for the socialist revolution of the proletariat and replace it with the technical-scientific revolution, which aim at rejecting the consistently revolutionary character and historic mission of the working class are absolutely alien to us. The technical and scientific revolution can not change the nature of either capitalism or socialism, nor the objective laws of the development of society. In our country the technical and scientific revolution develops under the leadership of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The bureaucrats and the technocrats can not be and will never be in power, but the working class and the laws of the dictatorship of the proletariat will rule until the withering away of the state, until the complete victory of communism.

In our country the specialists, the technicians, the intellectuals who, in general, have emerged

from the ranks of the working class and the working masses, educated by the Party in the spirit of socialism, have a well-earned place and play a great role in all fields of activity, as the auxiliaries to the working class, as servants of the people. While fighting bureaucratic, technocratic and intellectualist concepts, our Party fights at the same time against vulgar concepts that deny and disparage the work and the role of the intelligentsia. The aim of our Party is to keep the intelligentsia pure and revolutionary, to link it closely with the workers and peasants, to make it able to cope itself with foreign bourgeois and revisionist influences, so that it can fight resolutely, as it has fought until now, for the great cause of the working class and the people.

The Party has done fruitful work in the struggle for the education of the new man, especially for the communist education of our youth. Our youth are closely linked with the Party, politically clear and morally pure, correctly orientated and secure in life, bold and courageous fighters, who pour out their precious energies for the benefit of the socialist revolution and the all-round progress of the people.

We see quite another picture in the capitalist and revisionist world. There, the problem of the youth today is one of the most disturbing problems. The youth feel the crisis of this rotten society and seek a way out. Time after time they throw themselves into various revolutionary actions in this struggle. But they are benumbed,

fed with the feeling of spiritual emptiness and futility, led on to the road of dissipation and degeneration, their energies consumed in a life devoid of ideals or prospects. The bourgeoisie uses all its means, from children's toys to the press and literature, from the school to the church, to corrupt the masses of the youth and the people, to give this corruption the appearance of an alleged «free» and «modern» life, to divert the youth from politics, from the struggle for the future, from revolution.

The bourgeoisie and its propaganda machine consider honour, the life of modesty and dignity, lofty and pure morality, loyalty to the working people and the Fatherland, all the fine revolutionary virtues of the people, anachronistic and archaic. They are combatted directly and obliquely, demagogically distorted and adapted to the interests of the bourgeoisie and to the detriment of the working people, to quell revolutionary revolt, to cope with the influence of Marxism-Leninism, which is the defender of this great spiritual wealth of the people.

The bourgeois and revisionist ideologists try to convince the youth and the masses that it is useless to fight and seek a way out from the deep contradictions eroding their society. The only alternative they offer is to plunge into pessimism and corruption. Herein lies the source of the unscrupulous incitement, with disastrous social consequences, to alcoholism, narcotics, sexuality,

and many low and beastly instincts which have become the fashion in the capitalist and revisionist world.

In absolute contrast to this situation, the younger generation, rallied in our country round its own militant organization, the Labor Youth Union of Albania, under the leadership of the Party, has come out on the arena of ideological class struggle as a courageous initiator and unyielding fighter, as a revolutionising shock force, driving ahead in the field of social, ideological and cultural transformations. Our heroic youth, guarding itself against the influences of bourgeois and revisionist ideology, has at the same time marched and is marching boldly in the front ranks of the struggle against all those traditions of the old world, which have become outdated, against everything alien that hinders our advance. In this struggle the personality of the youth has increased and is increasing every day, its courage and revolutionary initiative are growing, its experience is being enriched.

But we should always see and understand our youth in its impetuous development. This development is accompanied with difficulties of growth and with contradictions. A great obstacle which our youth always encounters at work and everywhere is the manifestations of conservatism, which curb the revolutionary impetus of the youth, underestimate its energies and creative capacities, keep it restricted, especially in the field of social, ethical relations, in the family, and to a considerable

degree, at school as well. Besides this, our youth is influenced by liberalism and a certain indifference of the social opinion and, in some cases, of the family, too. We should not forget that the bourgeois and revisionist ideology is spearheaded in the first place against the youth, which, from lack of experience, may become more vulnerable. Therefore our Party will fight, in the future, too, to throw the youth into struggle against any influence of alien ideology, to nurture it consistently with the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist ideals, to widen the scope and horizons for its inexhaustible energies in every field, to encourage its initiative and self-action on a large scale.

This demands the all-round enlivenment of the life of the youth, extension of its sphere of interests and activity, recognition of its requirements and wishes, and that its possibilities and its forces should be properly evaluated. In this direction better qualified work should be done, fighting any manifestations of formalism and bureaucracy, of dictate and tutelage, which do not take account of the interests and the requirements of the youth, which ignore the psychological peculiarities of their age, etc. Such manifestations can be seen on many occasions, not only among parents and teachers, but also among party organizations, and even the cadres who work with the youth. The old conservative and bureaucratic traditions become an obstacle especially to the further democratization of school life and the creation of

the possibilities for the youth to take an active part in the all-round revolutionization of this life.

Our task is to enable the youth itself to organize its own life in a vivid and dynamic way, to be skilful in helping it on this road. For this the Labor Youth Union of Albania organization must play a special role, it should enliven its activities, taking into account the impetuous changes caused by the development of the life of the country and of the youth itself, adapting its forms of work to these changes, as well as to the new needs and demands to which they give rise among the youth.

Our society is in a period of impetuous ascent. Centuries old traditions, norms and customs are being overturned, the ideologies of all the classes whose star has waned are being attacked, new norms and customs, which liberate the minds and consciousness of the working people are coming into being, the ideology of victorious proletariat is triumphing. The all-round revolutionization of the country's life and the sharp ideological struggle waged during recent years have created a new and more compatible relationship between the demands of socialism and the consciousness of man. But naturally, it would be a mistake to think that all forms and manifestations of the old ideologies have been smashed completely, that all contradictions in this field have been solved. No matter how strong our attack may be, it cannot be, and in fact it is not, all over. The positions

won by the socialist ideology need to be further consolidated and deepened, until they are dominant everywhere, throughout our whole society.

While fighting persistently for the all-round revolutionization of our social superstructure, while strongly emphasising the need for the intensification of the ideological struggle, we always have in mind that the decisive factor which determines our advance is the uninterrupted increase of socialist production and the all-out impetuous transformation of our society. On this basis alone can the revolutionization of the mind and consciousness of man be achieved. Therefore, our ideological struggle can be developed successfully by carrying socialist production forward and by combining the revolutionization of the mechanisms of social, economic and political life with the communist education of the working masses, with throwing them into continuous revolutionary actions and movements.

The ideological struggle as one of the most complicated and sharpest forms of class struggle is a life and death struggle between our ideology and hostile alien ideology, between the new and the old, between the revolutionary and the reactionary.

In this struggle, to the old, which we negate and want to smash, we always counterpose the new which is arising and asserting itself. To the bourgeois and revisionist concepts and ideas we counterpose our Marxist-Leninist views. To the old petty-bourgeois psychology we counterpose,

the new socialist psychology. To the manifestations of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois individualism and indifference we counterpose socialist collectivism and solidarity. To bourgeois liberalism and patriarchal conservatism, we counterpose our sound progressive spirit. To the trends of personal ease and arrogance we counterpose the spirit of sacrifice and action, the practical spirit, modesty, and demands upon oneself.

In the deepening of the ideological class struggle, the formation of the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook assumes first-rate importance. Now, new objective and subjective conditions have been created, which enable us to raise the whole work for a creative mastering of Marxism-Leninism by the communists and the working masses, for putting the struggle against idealist and metaphysical concepts on a still more scientific basis, for achieving the mastering of the Marxist-Leninist theory in still closer connection with revolutionary practice, to a higher level. Great work has been done in recent years for studying the history of our Party and its main documents. In this study attention has been concentrated on the fundamental thing, on the principles from which it has proceeded and on the method and ways which our Party has used for solving various problems in the concrete conditions of our country, and efforts are being made to learn from this, to solve the current problems in new historical conditions. The development of numerous revolutionary actions and movements also, especially of ideological ones, is

being associated with the study of Marxism-Leninism and the theoretical elaboration of the respective problems. In this field, the work of the press and other means of propaganda work and mass culture has also been enlivened.

These results are a sound basis for working more persistently and in a more qualified way, so that all the communists and the working people master Marxist-Leninist theory. This requires deep and continuous study of the ever actual works of our great classic teachers, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and of our Party documents and materials, in which the experience of the international communist movement is generalized. This study is not and cannot be an aim in itself, but is closely linked with the present revolutionary practice and should serve this practice. We should not study anything that comes to hand, but we should have a definite aim, selecting the respective literature for this purpose. The study of Marxist-Leninist theory should help us to gain a deep knowledge of the Party's policy in every field of activity and to carry it out correctly, to understand and successfully wage the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, to know the laws of class struggle, of the relations between the conditions of material life and the consciousness of man, of the economy and politics, to understand and solve correctly, the contradictions and problems to which the development of the life of our country gives rise.

This cannot be achieved by simply learning

some formulae and theses by heart, but only when the fundamental principles, the Marxist-Leninist methodology, are mastered; when the dialectical materialist method of interpretation of phenomena and the solution of questions is assimilated, when both dogmatic attitudes and subjective views are combatted.

Marxism-Leninism is a theory which is revolutionary to the end. Throwing light on the new problems emerging from life, it is developed in struggle with the views of its ideological opponents. Only in the process of this struggle can it be thoroughly mastered, can the living Marxist-Leninist ideas be implanted and transformed into conscious militant conviction. The confrontation of views and debate should be used on a broad scale within the Party and the whole of society, in struggle against any manifestation of conformism, against tendencies to cover up contradictions. Only in this way can we lay the basis of an active immunity to alien ideology, can we achieve a truly revolutionary education.

But in our methods of education there are routine and old forms of work, which hinder the achievement of these aims. In our press and publications, on the radio, in various lectures and conferences that are held, there is still a great deal of formalism and officialdom. The spirit of the confrontation of ideas is not felt as it should be and the method of debate is not used widely. Outworn, standardised methods are used there, and there is little creative work. Such methods hin-

der the fruitful propagation and creative mastering of Marxism-Leninism and the policy of our Party. Therefore our struggle against them should be much more determined. We should not lack the courage to give up all those outdated forms of work, which no longer respond to the present political, ideological and cultural development of our people, with the requirements that have arisen on the basis of this level, with the need to raise it higher and higher.

Education, culture and art must be made to serve socialism and the people ever better

During the recent period, a tremendous job has been done to further revolutionize education and culture, literature and the arts, to put them ever better in the service of the cause of socialism and the people.

The further revolutionization of the school is one of the biggest actions undertaken by the Party. The broad popular discussion which was held on this question made a great contribution to combatting bourgeois and revisionist concepts and influences and to the elaboration of Marxist-Leninist concepts on the school. Now a frontal struggle is being waged to carry out the Party's instructions in this field, and life itself is confirming their correctness day by day. The new educational programs are being implemented successfully. A major job, in which thousands of teachers have

been activated, is being done in drafting the new school text-books. Likewise, work is going on to revolutionize teaching and educational structures, methods, and forms. The aim of these measures is to achieve the Marxist-Leninist ideological axis in the whole teaching-educational work of the school, in the application in unity of its main components — teaching, productive work and physical and military education, in its close and all-round connection with revolutionary practice.

The measures for the further revolutionization of our school touch the very essence of the whole of its life. Besides the further development of education in breadth, the Party's attention has been drawn particularly to its development in depth, to the all-round strengthening of the socialist content of our school. Of course, in the future, we shall have further extensions still of the school in various ways, and it will have an increasingly mass character, especially of secondary and higher education. But, questions of the content always remain the fundamental ones. Therefore, the full carrying out, at the highest rates possible, of the tasks we have laid down, the further theoretical working out, on the basis of practical experience, of ideological, scientific and pedagogical questions, of the content of the teaching and educational work, especially of the school programs and text-books, constitutes our main concern.

Now that the extension of the eight-grade school has been completed throughout the country, the need for its all-round qualitative consolida-

tion and strengthening becomes still more acute. This is a fundamental premise for achieving a higher level and quality of work in all categories of school. Our school today is faced with the important task of the scientific-pedagogical modernization of the whole teaching process, of its content and method. This cannot be realized without current processes and trends of the technical and scientific revolution being reflected properly in the teaching, without going deeply into the study of science and modern technique, without using modern pedagogical methods. For this, important and more rapid changes are required, not only in programs and text-books, but especially in the teaching and didactical basis, in the gradual introduction of modern technique in teaching, in the qualification of the teachers, in the securing of literature for the pupils and teachers, in the raising of what is required from them. A problem of great importance is the use of active methods which stimulate the independent work of the pupils and students, and the development of their capacities, inclinations, and talents.

In our socialist school the elevation of the scientific and methodical level of teaching is being achieved also as a close linking of theory with practice and productive work. Despite the complicated organizational and pedagogical problems, the participation of the school youth and students in productive work in the factories and cooperatives, in local and national actions, is being carried out successfully. But still there are many diffi-

culties that result from the misunderstandings and obstacles which emerge in its practical organization and application by the directors of the schools and of the economic enterprises.

Special attention should be paid also to the application of the programs of the military training of the youth as another very important component part of our new school. This training should be done in all seriousness, in conformity with age, combatting any manifestation of underestimation of this duty, which has to do with the strengthening of the defence of the freedom and independence of our Fatherland.

It is clear that the struggle for the revolutionization of our school requires the raising of the whole work to a more scientific level. Unless we undertake serious studies, unless we develop the pedagogical sciences, the tasks that face our school cannot be carried out successfully.

The new programs on physical and military education in schools, which are being put into effect successfully, have caused a further enlivening of physical culture and sport. However, this is still a backward sector of our work. The principles laid down, according to which the fundamental thing is the mass movement for physical culture, general physical culture and the basic sports through which it is attained, are not being applied consistently, and there is much one-sidedness in practice. The physical culture movement of the youth and the masses is limited and is not in the centre of the attention of the organs of the party

and state, of education and physical culture, of the youth and trade unions. Material obstacles and shortages are not the main thing here, though there are such and they must be solved. The fundamental thing is to fight the distorted concepts that are expressed in the underestimation of the mass physical culture movement and basic sports. For us who want a strong, healthy, and tempered youth and people it is necessary to make a radical turn in this field, too, and to put it forward as an important party duty.

We should take more care also for the life of the youth and the working people, for their all-round culture, for their rest and recreation, for games, for sports grounds, and equipment for the publication of books, for the artistic movement, etc. The better harmonization of the work at school with the whole system of out of school education and mass culture, as well as the formation of a correct concept on the broadness of the content and means of cultural work, are very important and actual problems. The publication and the wider distribution of books, the extension of cultural and artistic centres throughout the country, the great increase of the amateur artistic movement, the setting up of the television service recently, as well as the revolutionization of the content of all this work, are important indices of a quantitative and qualitative leap forward. In this field we are engaged in an intensive struggle to accentuate the socialist features of our culture and to smash alien and obsolete

influences. But the ever-growing demands of the masses for culture are very great, and the fulfilment of these demands is not proceeding at the proper rate. The numerous means of mass culture have still not penetrated as they should into the family and have not yet been put into every day use on a large scale by the individual at work and during leisure time. Therefore, in many cases, the knowledge acquired at school is not supplemented, developed, or consolidated. Our task is to take measures to prevent the further deepening of this contradiction.

Our socialist life is and should be culture. This means that parallel with the school, the book, artistic activity, etc, the whole of life, production, the way of living and behaviour, the creation of environments in the plants, schools or the countryside, the way we build and arrange our villages and towns, our architecture and town planning, road maintenance, even the way of serving the people, all this, everything in our country, should serve the cultural formation of the new man. It happens that there are narrow understandings or underestimations of one or another field of culture. Less attention is shown especially for the culture of life. All attention is concentrated upon questions of production, and this is understandable, but more attention should be paid also to the conditions of work, the rest and the leisure time of the working people, to the rational exploitation on their part of all the means of socialist

information and communication, to their all-round cultural development.

In struggle to overcome these weaknesses, it is necessary to increase the all-round state and social interest in educational and cultural work, in the perfection of the method of this work, in the full and rational utilisation of the existing means, as well as in the creation of the possibilities and ensuring the necessary material means.

Considerable results of great educational value have been achieved in recent years also in the development of literature and art. The heroic struggle waged by our Party and people against the imperialist and revisionist blockade, the all-out revolutionization of the country's life, the demands of the Party for a militant culture with an actual and national revolutionary spirit, as well as the more correct understanding of and attitude towards publications and repertoires from foreign literature and art, gave a powerful impulse to the development of our literature and arts. They acquired greater ideological maturity and a higher artistic level. The artistic creative work has increased as never before and all genres of art and literature, prose and poetry, music and fine arts, theatre, cinematography etc. have developed successfully. New talents have been and are being added to the recognised talents day by day. Besides the qualitative rise of professional creative work, there has been an unprecedented flowering of the people's creative work and of the amateur artistic movement. Our socialist art is thus march-

ing powerfully on both feet. Consistently following the principles of socialist realism, our revolutionary literature and arts will certainly see new and greater developments in the future.

Our Party, at the head of the masses, fights persistently to affirm that which is socialist and to remove any obstacle that restricts our advance. It discloses contradictions with courage and fights to overcome them, criticises shortcomings, and never loses its perspective. Day by day it carries out the well known process of the building of the new and the destruction of the old, transforms the life of the people, and forms the new man. These aims should always be kept in mind by our literature and art. This is the brand they, too, should bear. The reflection of the new socialist reality in its revolutionary development, with the contradictions of the time, which give literature and art the necessary drama and conflict, herein lies the new content that gives force to our literature and art of socialist realism. And such a content will certainly lead to seeking and finding new forms. All this, as well as firm reliance on the national soil, on the progressive cultural creative work and heritage of our people, give our socialist literature and art that originality and innovation, which distinguishes it from others, not only as the creative work of a certain people and nation, but also because of the features which this creative work acquires from the conditions of the struggle against imperialism and

modern revisionism, and for the revolutionization of the whole life of the country.

It is precisely the militant revolutionary character of literature and arts that the revisionists deny. After proclaiming that socialist realism is «restrictive», or rejecting it as a creative method, as well as the principle of proletarian partizanship, they opened the door to the most varied reactionary and decadent trends, which led to the degeneration of their literature and arts, turning them into vanguard tools of capitalist restoration. When art is the vehicle for the ideas and aims of the counterrevolution, when it becomes the mouthpiece of bureaucratized and bourgeoisified elements and is opposed to the aspirations and the struggle of the masses, it can never be true art.

The further flourishing of the arts of socialist realism will be achieved by consolidating the positions won in struggle against any alien influence which is incompatible with our socialist ideology, against both modernist trends and conservatism, by reflecting still more deeply from the ideo-artistic point of view, the all-round life and struggle of the people for the construction of socialism, by centering the creative work on the heroes of our time, by strengthening the proletarian partizanship and the popular character of our arts, in struggle against any influence of bourgeois objectivism and abstract humanism, by continually increasing the educational role of literature and arts.

Extend scientific work, raise the level of its organization and direction

Time has come to pay much more attention than has been paid up to now to the extension and development of scientific research work and activity, to their organization and direction. This necessity is dictated by the great importance of science at the present epoch, as well as by the objective conditions and tasks of the development of our country at the present stage. Today science has become a very important factor in the development of production and all the other sectors of social activity. It has been transformed into a direct productive force, on the results of which the increase of the country's economic power depends to a considerable degree. The progress of present-day science is colossal and any negligence in this field would be reflected negatively on the overall rate of the country's construction. The ever more intensive development of the national economy and culture can be stepped up further only by relying on modern science and technology, by promoting the technical and scientific revolution. At the present stage of our country, there is no field in which we can advance rapidly unless profound immediate and prospective scientific studies are made, which clarify the objectives we want to achieve and the ways through which they can be realized. This demand for raising the management of all work to a still higher scientific level can be carried out successfully if we base

ourselves firmly on science and utilise its achievements intensively.

We put forward the new tasks in the field of science, relying on our possibilities and achievements. The material and technical base of the national economy is being constantly improved and modernized. The educational and cultural level of the masses is rising unceasingly. A system of higher schools and several special institutes has already been set up, and organized scientific work is being carried out in them. In recent years, a broad movement for mass scientific experimental work has developed. As a result, the efforts of the scientific workers and of all the creative intelligentsia have been united with those of the masses. Many problems which are important and vital to the country, its economy and culture, have been solved on this basis. Our task is to consolidate these successes and to carry this work forward uninterruptedly.

To achieve this aim it is necessary to reject all those vulgar and primitive concepts, which underestimate the role of science, of scientific institutions and workers, and which draw their source from the lack of necessary experience in this field and from the lack of a deep understanding of the great role which science in general plays today. At the same time, we should intensify the struggle that is being waged against all intellectualist concepts, the aim of which is to hermetically seal scientific work, to give it an academic character detached from the revolutionary produc-

tive practice of the working masses, to underestimate the role of the masses in the development of scientific experiments and of science in general.

Proceeding from correct concepts, we shall be able to overcome that relative backwardness which is apparent today in the field of scientific studies and research as compared with the aims and objectives set for a rapid and intensive development of our socialist economy and culture. In this way we shall be better able to acquaint ourselves with, to master and apply the advanced achievements of international science and technology in production and in scientific research. In this way, the rate of the struggle to pass from narrow handicraft concepts and methods of the organization and direction of production to modern industrial concepts and methods, will be sped up.

It is essential that in the future we give priority and pay more attention, allocate more means and forces, to those branches of science that are most decisive in the all-round progress of our country today and in the future, and which precede this progress. In this respect, in the general organization of scientific work the various technical and agricultural sciences, which are directly linked with the intensive development of the main branches of the economy, should have precedence. The building of a modern agriculture in particular requires organized and complex studies, not only by the specialists in agriculture, but also by the workers in biological, chemical, physical, mechanical, and other sciences.

At the same time, research work will advance also in the field of economic and social sciences. Studies for perfecting the socialist relations of production, and for other problems of the development of the national economy require special attention. In recent years, studies on the ways of development of our revolution and its experience in various fields as well as on numerous sociological problems, have assumed a mass character, and these have enlivened, enriched our Marxist-Leninist theoretical ideas and have created premises for a sounder organization of the whole of this activity. In the sciences that deal with the study of the history of our people, their material and spiritual culture, the already created traditions have been consolidated and new horizons have been opened to the intensification of these studies, to go more deeply into the most cardinal problems of the past and into the most acute present-day problems.

These tasks that are laid before us in the field of science require a radical improvement of the organization and direction of the entire scientific work at all levels and in all fields, beginning with the planning of development and ending with the organized application in practice of its results and recommendations. While working to strengthen the study centres at the basic level, of technical, technological and designing bureaux, of experimental plots, various laboratories, scientific circles and commissions, as important means for giving scientific work more of a mass character,

we should at the same time gradually go ahead more rapidly in the extension and strengthening of the existing special scientific institutions, as well as in the creation of the necessary new institutions, at the same time taking measures for a more coordinated and concentrated organization and direction of the scientific work and life on a national scale, in compliance with the present possibilities and future tasks.

It is evident that such a development of science also requires a gradual extension of the necessary material basis for this work. Still more urgent is the problem of the training and specialization of cadres. This specialization should be all-round and of every sort. It should begin partly at the higher school, it should be deepened at work, and realized through post-graduate studies, through the solution of various scientific tasks, and when necessary, it could even be done abroad. Delays and negligence in solving this problem will have negative results in the future.

The organs of the Party, the state and the economy, should support and rely more actively on the scientific thought of our specialists and the working people. They should assess every positive experience and encourage every useful proposal by courageously opening the way to the new, by giving up routine and the old manner of work, by opening the path to the impetuous creative energies and spirit of innovation of our people.

V

WE MUST CEASELESSLY STRENGTHEN AND REVOLUTIONIZE THE PARTY

Conscious of its historic mission as leader of the struggle of the whole people for socialism, at its 5th Congress the Party laid down important tasks for the further revolutionization of its life and activity. For this purpose the Central Committee has taken a series of concrete measures for the political and ideological education and tempering of the communists and cadres, for the correct understanding and revolutionary implementation of party principles and norms, for the strengthening of the proletarian character of its ranks and leading organs, for the further deepening of the mass line in the activity of the Party.

The Party comes to this congress stronger than ever before, with a steel-like Marxist-Leninist unity of its ranks, linked as close as flesh to bone with the working class and working masses, ready to undertake still greater tasks, and determined to carry them out honorably as it has always done.

Without a revolutionary party of the working class, a party loyal to Marxism-Leninism, organized and capable of leading and mobilizing the working masses, neither the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, nor the successful construction of socialism can be thought of. Precisely because we have always kept this principle in mind and remained loyal to it, the retrogressive process that occurred in the Soviet Union and in some other countries, where the emergence of revisionism and the re-establishment of capitalism began with the degeneration of the party, with the alteration of its class character, with the loss of its revolutionary qualities and spirit, did not take place with us. Precisely because we have followed the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the Party consistently, and fought relentlessly for its uninterrupted tempering and revolutionization, in our country the dictatorship of the proletariat stands steel-strong and invincible, socialism marches ahead, ever triumphant.

The Party of Labor of Albania is a strong, organized Party tested in battle, a party ideologically and politically pure, determined and able to carry the cause of the working class forward successfully. We are proud of our heroic Party, of its struggle and successes, of its courage, clear-sightedness and vitality. But we should never forget that the class struggle continues, both inside and outside the country; that the pressure of bourgeois and revisionist ideology exists. We should devote our full attention, efforts and abili-

ties to the work for the continuous strengthening of the Party, for its revolutionary education, for the enhancement of its leading role in the whole life of the country.

And this becomes all the more necessary if we keep in mind the majestic and very important tasks this congress is putting before the Party and the whole people. The successful realization of these tasks, the impetuous development of our whole economy, the transformations in the entire life of the country, demand the total engagement of the mental and physical energies of all the communists and cadres, and the raising of the Party work to a higher level.

**The leading role of the Party is ensured through
the activity of all the communists and their
vanguard example**

Our Party upholds the Marxist-Leninist principle, that with the development and consolidation of socialism, far from being weakened, the leading role of the Party becomes ever more strengthened and perfected. This is dictated by the fact that the process of socialist construction becomes more and more extensive and complex. In this process the leading role of the working class is continually enhanced. On the other hand, the participation of the masses in the socialist construction of the country, in the entire social, economic and state life, becomes more and more active.

All these factors make it indispensable to raise to a higher level the leading, educative, organizing and mobilizing role of the Party, which, relying on its ideology, makes the objectives clear and illuminates the road to their attainment.

In our country the leading role of the Party in every aspect of life has been and is indisputable. All the historic victories our people have achieved during these 30 years, the liberation of the country, the establishment of the people's power, the construction of the new socialist society are indissolubly linked with the Party and its wise and farsighted leadership.

The strengthening and perfecting of the leading role of the Party is a permanent and vital task. A profound understanding of this principle, and, especially, the correct implementation of it in practice is especially important.

The leading role of the Party as the guiding force of the entire life of the country extends to every field: ideology, politics, organization, the economy, education, military affairs, and so on. These sectors of the life of the country, which together make up a whole, are led by the Party through all its members, wherever they work, be it in Party or state apparatus, in the mass organizations, in production, or in the scientific and cultural institutions.

The work of the communists in each sector has its own special characteristics, but it also has one thing in common: every communist, wherever he works, should fight to carry out the line of the

Party and ensure its leading role. The roots of many of the shortcomings and weaknesses observed in our work lie in confusion of what is specific with what is common.

The communists in the Party organs should be conversant with economic problems, the problems of industry and agriculture, of education, culture and the army, independently of the fact that the comrades who work in the respective branches of the state apparatus are directly involved with them. The comrades of the leading Party organs should have a good knowledge of all the problems, of course, without going into details, because without this they cannot give proper guidance to the state and economic organs in the performance of their tasks, or to the Party organizations in mobilizing the masses.

When we say that Party organs and apparatuses be acquainted with and take up all the problems of the country's life, we mean that they should view these problems from the angle of specific Party work, without going into the technical or material details of day to day issues and without duplicating the work of the State and economic organs. Fundamental in their work is the education and mobilization of the communists and the masses working in different sectors to carry out the tasks they have been charged with to the letter, putting the party organizations and, through them, all the other state, economic or social organizations onto militant positions for the consistent carrying out of the policy of the Party everywhere.

The communists and cadres appointed by the Party to work in state and economic organs, be they technicians or specialists, are first and foremost political people. While engaged in the management of state affairs, in the organization of production, in taking technical and economic measures for the fulfilment of the plan, which is their main duty, they do not and should not see these tasks with the eyes of a technocrat. As communists, responsible to the Party for the implementation of its line in their respective sectors, they should strive tirelessly to develop a political and ideological understanding of these tasks among the working people, to organize and mobilize them fully.

This is how the leading role of the Party in the whole life of the country is realized, this is how the Party as a whole gives guidance, in an organized and centralized manner.

The leading role of the Party is not achieved through decrees, nor is it imposed through administrative measures. It is won through its correct line, which expresses and defends the vital interests of the working class and the masses as a whole, and through its resolute struggle to carry this line out in actual life. This role is ensured through the revolutionary activity of every communist who, by his personal example and activity, inspires, educates and mobilizes the masses in the struggle for socialism. The Party is made up of its members, and the vanguard role of the Party is

meaningless and cannot be carried out without every communist playing his vanguard role.

But are all the communists in the vanguard position of the Party? Each party member should ask himself this question. This question should concern every party organization. It is a fact that although they are not many, within our ranks there are a few unenterprising party members lacking in initiative who harbour backward concepts on work and life, and who, far from setting a personnel example and standing in the vanguard, frequently trail behind the masses, just as there are also some who have been left behind by the impetuous development of our life.

Such people sound a discordant note amongst the overwhelming majority of the members of our glorious Party, amongst those who have carried and are carrying heavy burdens on their shoulders, who have performed and are performing mighty deeds, who have fought and are fighting with heroism and self-sacrifice for the all-round progress of our socialist Fatherland, who deservedly stand on the head of the masses and enjoy their boundless respect and confidence.

The Party should do its utmost to educate these communists, who have lagged behind, to put them in a militant position, to have them march in step with the times and the revolution, so that they may be worthy of and keep the title of a member of our heroic Party.

In our country the whole atmosphere is such as to impel our people forward. Here everything

is moving, developing. Our life is active, dynamic, it does not tolerate the passivity and routine that keep people marking time. One of the most important tasks of our party organizations is to find ways, methods, and that revolutionary style of work so that all the communists will be put on vanguard positions, to throw them into battle, actions, into which by their example they draw all the working masses after then.

The fundamental and decisive link that ensures the leading role of the Party in every aspect of our life is the basic organization. Through the basic party organization, all the instructions and directives of the Party are analysed, explained, and put into practice, the direct connections of the Party with the masses are ensured and the masses mobilized for the achievement of definite objectives, and check-up is exercised on the activity of every communist, irrespective of where he works or the position he holds.

If they are to play their leading, inspiring and organizing role in the sectors where they work, the basic party organizations should go deeply into the main problems and not let themselves be swamped by day to day details. They must arouse all the organizations and put them into motion, not allowing themselves to be transformed into mere levers of the economic and state organs, not concerning themselves only with the figures of the plan, but, first and foremost, with carrying out the policy of the Party in every field. They should fight against bureaucracy, indifference and any

other alien manifestation, and especially step up their work with the people, because it is the people who turn the Party directives and state plans into reality.

The proletarian composition of the Party and the quality of the communists — a fundamental prerequisite for the Party to remain always revolutionary

The Party, as a living political organism, which grows and is strengthened in struggle and revolution, reflects in its ranks the changes that take place in the social-economic sphere, in the class structure and in the spiritual life of society.

This is an uninterrupted process but by no means spontaneous. It is consciously organized and directed by the party itself in conformity with the stages of the revolution and the problems it has to solve, relying always upon the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

During these last five years, thanks to the great all-round political, ideological, and organizational work for the further revolutionization of the whole life of the country and of the Party itself, important quantitative and qualitative changes have taken place in the Party.

The considerable growth of the Party membership and, especially, the further improvement of the class composition of its ranks testifies to this. On October 1, 1971 there were 86,985 communists

in the ranks of the Party, including 18,127 candidate members, compared with 66,327 communists at the time of the 5th Party Congress. Thus, during this period 20,658 communists have been added to the Party.

It is a great joy and victory for the Party and all the people that now, for the first time in the history of our Party, the worker communists occupy the first place in party membership. At present they make up 36,41 per cent of all the communists.

This fact testifies to the deep love of the working class for their Marxist-Leninist Party and their boundless confidence in it. It testifies to the correct organizational line consistently and resolutely followed by the Party, which has resolutely upheld the principle that a party of the working class must be proletarian not only in regard to its ideology but also in regard to the class composition of its ranks.

The working class has sent its finest sons and daughters to the Party, those who have distinguished and tempered themselves in revolutionary battles and actions. This new blood has brought the determination and iron will, the discipline and revolutionary impetus of the working class into the Party.

In order to preserve and continuously strengthen its proletarian class character the Party has devoted special attention to the improvement of the composition of its leading organs with workers. Today 55 per cent of the members of the plenums of the party committees in the districts, 85,2

per cent of the members of the bureaux of the basic organizations in the economic enterprises and 86,3 per cent of their secretaries, are workers by origin, background, or present position. It is a very positive and significant fact that now taking part in the leading organs of our Party, there are many workers who, even after being elected to these organs, continue their jobs as workers in production. This is of great principled importance. The evil turn that occurred in many communist parties which degenerated to revisionism stemmed from the fact that while there were many workers in their ranks, their leading organs were deproletarianized, filled with specialist technocrats, bureaucratic intellectuals and officials.

By opening the way for workers to enter the Party, to take an active part in its leading organs, our Party has put its roots deep into the heart of the most revolutionary and progressive class in society, the class to which belongs the historic mission of being in the vanguard of the struggle for socialism and communism.

In the future, too, we must fight to increase the ranks of our Party with workers who should have priority over all those from the other classes and strata. Real possibilities for this exist now, because the working class is rapidly growing and developing, parallel with the development of the economy and especially of industry. Special attention should be paid to this question in some districts where, although there is a relatively developed working class, the number of workers in the

Party is still below the average for the Republic. Another shortcoming is that there is not a correct ratio between the number of communists who work in the more important and mechanized sectors and those who are engaged in auxiliary sectors.

The admissions of the young workers to the Party should be made especially from the most important branches of the economy, in mineral extraction and processing, in the metallurgical, engineering and chemical industries, on the big projects and in new branches of industry, everywhere the need is felt both for the present and the future.

Along with the admission of more workers to the Party, the Central Committee has devoted particular attention to the extension of the Party to all the sectors of the economy and culture. The new admissions and the extension of the Party have been done according to the actual needs, taking carefully into account the size of the territory, the importance of the ideo-political and economic problems to be solved, the matters that require direction and organization from the Party.

The growth of the Party in the agricultural cooperatives, from the 5th Congress onward, has gone normally in conformity with the tasks arising from the socialist construction in the countryside. Communists from the agricultural cooperatives make up 29,70 per cent of the party membership. Today there is no village without communists, and we have organized basic party organizations in all the sectors of the agricultural cooperatives.

But there are still brigades without Party groups and even some without a single communist.

The great tasks facing agriculture for increasing production and modernization, the major role it plays in our economy as a whole, as well as the fact that the greater part of our population lives in the countryside, demand the admission of more cooperativists to the Party, with the aim of further strengthening the Party in the countryside and the improvement of its leadership in the agricultural cooperatives, by bringing the Party as close as possible to the basic unit of production, the brigade.

The great revolutionary struggle that has been developed, especially in recent years, for the complete emancipation of the woman, for setting free her inexhaustible creative energies, has been successfully reflected in the composition of the Party. The fact that women comprise 22,05 per cent of the total party membership as against 12,47 at the time of the 5th Congress, cannot but arouse our enthusiasm.

Women are a colossal force and play a very important role in the all-round development of the country. Great numbers of women have now graduated from the 8-year schools, have been educated in the party spirit and tempered on the anvil of mass actions and various revolutionary movements. Today a correct and healthy opinion about the role of the woman in society is being formed in our country. All this creates the possibility and dictates the need that in the future, too, we should

forge ahead boldly and rapidly in admitting women to party membership.

For our Party, as its entire history proves, the quality of its members, their political and moral characteristics, their ideological formation and revolutionary tempering, their determination to defend and carry out the line of the Party always and under any circumstances, are of decisive importance. Big numbers do not always show the strength of a party. But when numbers are accompanied with high quality, when more and more conscious elements who are ready to carry out the tasks which the Party puts before them enter its ranks, people who at all times put the general interest above everything, then it is transformed into a colossal force. Such people make the party invincible, keep it always revolutionary, a vanguard and leading force of the entire society.

The demands the Party makes on the communists are continually increasing, parallel with the development of socialism and the emergence of new, more difficult and complex, problems and tasks. Each stage of the revolution demands new qualities and virtues from all the working people, qualities and virtues which should be embodied, first of all, in the communists. Besides their political loyalty and devotion to the cause of the party, besides their untiring work for the good of the people, besides their internationalist convictions and hatred of the enemy, today it is more than ever necessary for the communists to be advanced people, with new concepts about work, life, family,

society, people who love knowledge and culture, who have a thorough understanding of their profession and support technical and scientific progress with all their might, who do not tolerate routine and ignorance, who wage a courageous struggle against anything that becomes an obstacle hindering the impetuous march of socialist society.

The sound composition and the good qualities of those who are admitted to the Party are not everything. In order to have a strong revolutionary party capable of playing its vanguard role, it is indispensable that all its members should be educated constantly with the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the policy and teachings of the Party, uninterruptedly tempered in the fire of revolutionary struggle and work. This is a vital necessity if the communists are not to become sclerosed, bureaucratized, and degenerate as in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, but are to remain always resolute and consistent fighters for the cause of communism.

Everyone needs this education and tempering, not only the young communists but also those with a long period in the party, not only the men of production, but also those of mental work, not only those of a relatively low ideological and educational level, but also those who have graduated from schools. Although they are selected from the most revolutionary and progressive section of society, the communists are not divested of the hangovers from alien ideologies, just as they are not guaranteed immunity from the danger of bourgeois and revisionist infection.

The educative work of the party should aim not only at arming the communists with the laws of development of society, at equipping them with the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook, but also at tempering their consciousness, keeping the revolutionary spirit, the moral figure of the party member high so that thought and action constitute an indissoluble unity, so that the communists think, live, and act everywhere and always as revolutionaries. It should make them capable of rapidly and correctly finding their bearings in any situation, of clearly grasping the reality in which they live, of achieving a profound knowledge of the problems which emerge from the internal development of our country or from the international situation and of responding as they should to the tasks facing them and the masses of the people.

Since the 5th Congress, the work for the education of the communists has been enlivened, has been more closely linked with the problems and tasks facing the country and the Party. A wider range of more effective forms have been used, the initiative of party committees and basic party organizations, which have taken these matters in hand better, has been further developed. Theoretical education has been associated in a more organic way with the mobilization of the communists in mass actions and revolutionary movements.

The education of the communists has not been and is not an aim and a question in itself. The Party has never considered it as detached from the education of the masses, as the education of an

élite, but, on the contrary, as the education of a vanguard to make it capable of educating the masses. Any severance of the education of the Party from the education of the masses, as the bitter experience of the Soviet Union shows, leads to the cultivation of intellectualist concepts in the Party and to indifference towards political and ideological questions among the working people. In the final analysis, it leads to the weakening and undermining of the Party's links with the people.

Great work is being done in the Party for the study of Marxist-Leninist theory and the documents of our Party. This work should be continued and improved to help the communist not only to correctly understand but also to carry out the Party directives and state laws, the norms of our socialist society. Marxist knowledge should not remain an intellectual adornment, but it should guide the communists in every step of their lives. And we can perform this work still better, because our possibilities are now greater, the Party has gained rich experience and trained a large army of cadres who are able to carry on qualified work for the education of the communists and the working people.

The Party should show special concern for the education of its candidate members who now make up one fifth of the party membership. They are young communists, energetic and full of drive, people who have emerged from the waves of the struggle for the revolutionization of the country's life, especially girls and women who need to be educated and formed as militants, to gain Marxist

knowledge and the qualities of a member of our heroic Party.

Appreciable changes have taken place also in raising the educational and cultural level of the Party. At present about 70 per cent of the communists have 8-year, secondary, or higher schooling. This is a very good indication of the persistent efforts of the communists to acquire culture and become ever more capable. But these efforts should be continuous, because there is no end to knowledge. Despite the successes the fact should be noted that 30 per cent of the communists have only elementary or uncompleted 8-year schooling. Included in this are many elderly communists and those living in remote mountain areas to which 8-year schooling has been extended only these last few years. By encouraging these communists to raise their cultural level now that 8-year schooling has become compulsory throughout the country, it is possible that in the future the Party should make it a rule to admit only people with a minimum of 8-years schooling.

Invigorate the internal life and raise the initiative and self-action of Party organizations

The enhancement of the leading role and the uninterrupted revolutionization of the Party cannot be conceived, much less achieved, without invigorating the internal life of the organizations of the party, without the initiative and the active partici-

pation of all the communists in the struggle for the working out and implementation of its line.

The Party of Labor of Albania was born, grew up and developed in the tide of revolutionary actions of the working class and the masses. In stern class struggle against the internal and external enemies, in bold actions and profoundly revolutionary movements that transformed the material and spiritual world of man, every communist and basic organization, every leading party organ has been constantly revolutionized.

During the period we are reporting on initiative and selfaction, the spirit of innovation and the revolutionary drive to forge ahead have assumed a broad development and a new content in all sectors, in the economy and culture, in science and technology. All this has brought about a new and more flexible style, more original forms of work in conformity with the tasks of the time. Today a high spirit of militancy, of mobilization and responsibility, pervades the life of the Party organizations and the communists.

We must keep this revolutionary spirit alive and incessantly strengthen it so as to make the party organizations ever better selfacting organisms which, with full initiative and responsibility, must analyse and explain, carry out and check up on the directives and decisions of the Party, skilfully grasping and finding ways to tackle the new problems presented by life.

Initiative and selfaction are revolutionary concepts of thinking and acting. They are not born of

themselves, nor are they provided readymade by others, but come about as a result of profound knowledge of and penetration into the ideopolitical essence of party directives, as a result of the study and correct assessment of the reality, of the opinion and experience of the masses, of the courage to take complete responsibility for the action carried out.

In order to develop the initiative and independent action of party organizations it is necessary to fight with determination against routine and obsolete forms of work, against administrative methods and bureaucratic tutelage which, despite the improvements made, can still be seen in the work of the Party. There are leading party cadres and organs who not infrequently tend to intervene and decide everything, or who, under the pretext of keeping close contacts with or «covering» all the party basic organizations, establish an impermissible tutelage through their instructors, forgetting that in this way they restrict the initiative of the organizations and communists and make them wait for everything from above. This is one of the manifestations of bureaucracy in the party. Initiative and independent action are limited also when the leading organs load the basic organizations with a multitude of orientations, directives and decisions which are often lengthy, complicated, and vague. This means that the basic organizations are unable to understand, analyze and carry them out, so they are constantly obliged to ask for explanations and interpretations from the higher bodies. Here, we

have to do with another manifestation of bureaucracy and intellectualism.

All forms of organization and work should serve to set the basic party organizations and communists in motion, to arouse their initiative, to strengthen their individual and collective responsibility. This should be well understood, especially by the leading party cadres and organs. But it is essential that the basic organisations themselves fight for this. They should be faster to move and more daring, not waiting for readymade solutions from above for the problems which concern them, and not acting in a mechanical way, without taking into account the character of the directive and the situation in their enterprise, cooperative, or institution. Creative thinking and initiative do not require a big fuss — they should burst out in close connection with the actual concrete tasks and serve their solution.

Initiative and self-action have to do not only with the organization as a forum, but following its example, every party member or candidate should act in this spirit, day by day in everything. Without revolutionary communists there can be no revolutionary party organizations. In this sense display of initiative is not limited to the active participation of each communist in studying problems within the party organization. The basic party organization is not only its meeting, but the whole activity of all its members taken individually and jointly, before, during, and after meetings, to work out and carry out the line and decisions of the Party everywhere they live and work.

The tasks of the construction of socialism and the problems raised by life are so numerous that there is no practical possibility of having all of them discussed in the party organization. Therefore it is required that every communist have a profound and detailed knowledge of the party directives and decisions, and, according to the conditions of the place where he works, carry them out with initiative, working as an agitator, propagandist and organizer, but always playing a vanguard role. Communists should be neither mechanical appliers nor conformists, but should take complete responsibility for the creative analysis and explanation and fulfilment of directives and orientations, speaking up courageously when the various decisions, orders and directions run counter to the correct policy of the Party, or do not respond to particular actual conditions.

Initiative and self-action as distinctive features of communists are formed and tempered in struggle and work, in daily practical social activity. Through mass actions and movements the revolutionary drive of the communists is merged into a single whole with the creativeness of the masses, thus dealing a powerful blow at bureaucratic and technocratic methods, laziness and formalism. It is the duty of all the communists, party organizations and committees to extend the method of mass actions to all the fields of life, for in this way party work will be enlivened and will respond better to the drive and enthusiasm of the working class and all the working people.

Of special importance for the strengthening of the party is a profound ideological understanding and persistent implementation of the norms which regulate its internal life. It is these norms that make the party steel-like, strengthen its unity of thought and action, ensure the vitality and success of its activity.

Any misinterpretation, any merely formal implementation of these norms has serious consequences, withers the inner life of the party, stifles the revolutionary drive of the communists, paves the way to the development of bureaucracy in and degeneration of the party. Herein, lies one of the main sources of the great tragedy that befell the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In that country today, although the party norms still bear the label «communist», they are used as levers for the subjection of the party and to carry out the will of the revisionist clique in power. Democratic centralism has been turned into bureaucratic centralism through which the dictate of the ruling group of the new Soviet bourgeoisie is imposed upon the party. Criticism and self-criticism have been transformed into weapons to attack and discriminate against the opponents of the revisionist line, conscious discipline has been replaced with blind submission to bureaucratic authorities. The communist ethics of the party member has yielded its place to the bourgeois morality of the careerists, the servile, and the hypocrites.

Throughout its life our Party has fought unceasingly to keep the party norms unblemished and

have them become an integral part of the daily life of the organizations and the communists. This has made our Party invincible, able to face its various enemies and to lead the Albanian people successfully on the brilliant road of socialism.

Having in mind both the positive experience of our Party and the negative experience of the revisionist parties, we should give full attention to this great vital question, and must resolutely fight any manifestation of formalism in the interpretation and implementation of the Leninist norms in party life.

These norms are not an end in themselves nor are they administrative rules. Thus internal democracy, as a very important norm in party life, is not reduced simply to democratic procedure in holding meetings, to taking decisions by majority vote, etc. Democracy in the party has a profound ideological and practical meaning and content. The essence of it is that every communist should take an active part in formulating and implementing the party line, freely express his ideas about the work and the people, openly criticize shortcomings, and make self-criticism of his own weaknesses. Understood and implemented in this way, democracy serves the strengthening of the party, the education and tempering of the communists, the enlivenment of the organizations and the solidarity of the party ranks on the basis of the fundamental principle of its structure and functioning — democratic centralism.

Democracy is strengthened through debates,

the clash of opinions and viewpoints, the putting forward and overcoming of contradictions. The struggle of opinions along correct lines is not an expression of the lack of unity but, on the contrary, an effective means for strengthening it. Where there is a lack of debate, where there is «peace» and «harmony», there is stagnation, and the democracy and unity have a formal character. Fear of debate is not a characteristic of the communists but a feature of the petty bourgeoisie and bureaucrats who want no troubles or worries.

But democracy would still remain formal, were it limited only to discussions and debates. It becomes effective and serves the strengthening of the Party when the communists consistently carry the decisions taken through to the end, when they act like a single body and have a common will. This is how the unity of thought and action is realized in practice.

The great importance of principle of the Leninist stipulation that, to be a party member, one must accept the party constitution and program, belong to a party organization, and regularly pay membership dues, is well known. But this remains formal if the communist is not an active fighter for the implementation of the party line, if he does not embody in his life and work the communist qualities defined in the constitution, if he is not a vanguard fighter and does not lead the masses in the struggle for socialism. The Albanian communists are not members just to cast their votes, such as the revisionist parties want them to be, but

front-rank fighters, people who concern themselves night and day about party affairs and the fate of the people.

The party cannot stand in the forefront of the struggle and forge ahead without mobilizing the masses, without relying upon them, because the work of the party is broad, boundless, and it can never be done by a limited number of communists. Its links with the masses is another important norm and principle of the party.

The problems of the party are problems that concern the masses, therefore we must seek and find them among the masses, discuss and solve them together with the masses, because it is precisely the broad popular masses that create, build, and transform the world and society. The implementation of this great Marxist-Leninist principle comprises that link in the chain which should be seized to carry all our work ahead. The mass line multiplies the forces of the party a hundred fold, further deepens democracy in its internal life, and strengthens the ties of the party with the people.

The successes in this direction are obvious, but we still encounter formalist and sectarian concepts. There are occasions when the masses are consulted only perfunctorily, when, even if their opinion is solicited about some question, the correct suggestions and proposals of the masses are not properly reflected in the decisions. And when only a few people are consulted, and this is called listening to the voice of the masses. This too, is formalism. Likewise it is not rare for the people to be called toge-

ther, under the slogan of the line of the masses, unnecessarily and over quite unimportant matters.

On the other hand, some basic organizations are finding it difficult to break out of the narrow framework of work without perspective in which they have shut themselves away. What harm is there, if over any important problem taken up for discussion in the basic party organizations or forums, not only is the opinion of the masses solicited, but also, after each party meeting, the working people are informed about the questions they are interested in, and, together with them, the most appropriate forms and means are sought for their solution? What organizational rules are violated if the basic organization comes before the collective time after time to report on how the decisions have been carried out, how the communists, the bureau members, right up to the district plenum members, have worked, or open meetings of basic organizations are held, even when communists' mistakes are discussed. This violates no norm, no organizational principle but it smashes bureaucratic concepts that underrate the opinion and check up of the masses, whereas it deepens the democracy in the internal life of the party and implements the principles and norms of the party in a revolutionary way.

Placing the entire activity of the party organizations and communists under the control of the working class and the working masses is a question of great principled importance to prevent the separation of the Party from the class and the masses, if we want it to remain to the end a revo-

lutionary party loyally serving the interests of the people. The lack of these reports, departure from the mass line, turning party work into something closed, beyond the control of the class and the working people, made it possible for the revisionists to take the masses by surprise and face them with an accomplished fact.

We should always have this bitter lesson in mind and further deepen the rich experience of our Party on the great road towards the further democratization of party life, the implementation of its norms in a revolutionary spirit, the strengthening of the links of the party with the masses. In this way the Party will always be as strong as steel, invincible, capable of finding its bearings in any situation and of successfully solving any problem.

The deepening of the mass line cannot be understood without further improving the work of the party with the organizations of the masses, and its leadership in these organizations. The role of the Trade Union, Youth and Women's organizations, as well that of the Democratic Front, is of great importance in strengthening the links of the party with the masses, in the revolutionary education and mobilization of the working people in struggle to carry out the tasks of socialist construction. They transmit the party line to the masses and put before the Party and the state the problems that are worrying the masses, they not only educate the working people, but also organize them to take an active part in running state and

social affairs and in exercising their direct control over everyone as the all-powerful masters of the country.

The Party has always had a high appreciation of the great role the organizations of the masses play in the system of proletarian dictatorship, therefore it has devoted and continues to devote full attention to them. This attention should in no way be diminished in the future, either. On the contrary, it should be increased, combatting any manifestation of underestimation of the organization of the masses which is still to be found among some party organizations, cadres, or communists.

The leadership of the party in the organizations of the masses is the prerequisite that ensures a correct political, ideological, and organizational orientation for the unity of the popular forces in struggle for the lofty ideals of socialism. Our Party opposes both the viewpoints of the modern revisionists who preach the independence of the mass organizations from the revolutionary party of the working class so as to make them dependent on the bourgeois parties, and the bureaucratic concepts according to which the mass organizations should be mere appendages of the state apparatus, thus denying them any initiative and self-action, with the aim that everything should be dictated to them from above.

The leadership of the Party is a political and ideological leadership, which means that the activity of the mass organizations is based on the ideology and general political line of the Party, that

its directives and decisions are the only source that inspires and guides them in all their activity. From this stems the duty of the party committees and organizations to explain this line and these directives to the organizations of the masses in conformity with the specific nature and functions of the latter, at the same time allowing them full freedom of initiative to think and act for themselves in the analysis and explanation, and carrying out of the line and directives.

In this sense the practice of insisting that before the mass organizations can act on anything the party organisations must first have a look at it, which is by no means rare, is absolutely alien and harmful.

These bureaucratic practices, which are often excused with the «need for concrete assistance» to the organizations of the masses, with their «lack of experience», in fact show only that some party organizations still have not divested themselves of certain obsolete forms and methods of work.

In the conditions when the ideopolitical, cultural and educational level of the masses has been raised and when their organizations have gained rich experience, it is also necessary to improve the forms and methods of party leadership, which should aim, not at stifling, but at all-round development of the initiative and self-action of the mass organizations, just as they themselves should further improve their style and method, finding more independent, more flexible, and more varied forms of work.

Particularly careful work has been done for the education of the activists of the mass organizations who constitute a great force and an inexhaustible reserve for increasing the party ranks and for cadres for all sectors. This army of activists does not consist only of the functionaries, or those who have been elected to the forums of the mass organizations, but also of tens of thousands of social activists who work with a high sense of duty as propagandists, agitators and organizers of the masses. The Party and the mass organizations themselves should devote great care to the work of increasing, training and tempering these activists.

Some questions about the policy in regard to cadres, their method and style of work

By its careful work over the years the Party has created an army of loyal and able cadres who, tempered in struggle against difficulties and obstacles, enlightened by the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, work as revolutionaries in all sectors.

The important measures the Party has taken for their further revolutionization, from the circulation of cadres, their work in production, down to the improvement of the social composition of the forums of the Party, of the mass organizations and all the apparatus, have resulted in the further tempering of the cadres, irrespective of their age and length of service, as party militants and devoted sons and daughters of the people.

Today about 44 per cent of all categories of cadres are up to 30 years of age, while over 50 per cent range from 30 to 50 years of age. These indices are very positive. They testify to the fact that the Party has pursued a correct policy in the advancement of cadres, harmoniously combining the old cadres with the young ones, preparing and training a new generation of cadres for the purpose of gradually and continuously renewing the leading organs of the Party, the state, the economy and culture.

The Party will continue to follow this correct policy in the future, too. The renewal and replacement of cadres is a vital necessity, therefore this question should become a continuous preoccupation. Serious and timely thought must be given to it.

Cadres, especially leading cadres, are not trained easily, in one day or one year. It takes time to develop and form them. Appointments are quickly made, but the transmission of experience cannot be done by waving a magic wand. This is a continuous process which is carefully guided by the Party. In the joint work of old and young cadres, valuable experience is inherited and enriched, the young are developed and the old refreshed, and the complete harmonization of the different experiences and cadres is realized.

The Party should fight courageously to overcome obstacles that emerge in the way of the advancement of young cadres, especially against conservative and sectarian concepts which are an

expression of lack of faith in the creative abilities of the masses, of professional egotism and intellectualism. These are manifested in varying forms, degrees and in different persons, as well in different categories of working people.

Now there is a sound basis and all the conditions have been created to advance new cadres more courageously in all fields. And such there are thousands and thousands of them, in the ranks of our working class, our cooperativist peasantry, our wonderful youth. Our young people have a high educational and cultural level. Since their childhood they have been continuously educated by the Party, they have been tempered day by day in our revolutionary life. They are fully capable and worthy of being entrusted with any task. Failure to recognise this reality means to lag behind life, to harm the work of the Party, to hinder the development of the country.

Young cadres need careful help and guidance, but no tutelage, they are not to be kept in the role of assistant or apprentice. Cadres with a long period of service, with a high sense of responsibility for the present and the future of the country must see this as a party duty giving their young comrades whole-hearted assistance, encouraging and teaching them, but also learning from them and sincerely believing that there is much they have to learn from them. They should never forget that at one time they were young themselves, and nevertheless the Party charged them with heavy responsibilities, raised them, educated them and taught

them how to fight and win, always standing nearby and assisting them to march ahead.

Respect, on a revolutionary basis, and not on a sentimental one, for the old cadres who have made a mighty contribution to the struggle for liberation and the construction of socialism, who have shouldered difficult tasks is a necessary thing, because this is respect for what they have done and their experience, about which they are and always should be modest. The task of the Party is to work so that all the cadres, irrespective of their age and seniority, correctly understand their place and role, the dialectic of the development of life, to have them march in step with the times and make their full valuable contribution, for the good of the Party and the people.

Cadres should always be dedicated revolutionaries and in the service of the working people. Therefore it is indispensable that we go even deeper into the work for their continuous tempering and revolutionization, that we encourage and strengthen the connections of the cadres with the masses, that we seek and find new forms and methods for the education of the cadres of the Party, the state and all the other sectors.

The improvement of the method and style of work of cadres is another problem of first-rate importance if they are to carry out their great and responsible tasks successfully.

With the new 5-year plan we are faced with big tasks in industry, agriculture, construction, culture and other fields. They are very complicated,

tasks. They have their political, economic, technical, and organizational sides. Therefore the measures to carry them out, also, must be many-sided, the cadres should delve deep into the whole of this complex, tackle and solve the problems, viewing them in their unity and in their reciprocal interconnection and dependance. They should harmonize and combine the explanatory and educative work intelligently with the economic, technical and organizational activity.

It is only on this basis that the practical revolutionary activity of the masses can be successfully developed, their mobilization raised to a higher level, and greater results achieved both in the production of material goods and in the tempering of the people's consciousness.

In the work of the Party today, just as in all the other sectors, a higher level of direction on a scientific basis is required. Now our cadres are required to reflect more deeply on the political and ideological content of directives, to make better theoretical generalisations of the experience of the masses and the Party, grasp the fundamental issues, and know how to open broad perspectives to the work in all sectors. For this it is absolutely indispensable that our cadres, of all instances, should study the revolutionary science of the Party, assimilate the dialectical materialist world-outlook, in close connection with practice, with the problems to be solved. They should wage a resolute struggle against any manifestation of subjectivism, empiricism, or practicism, against anything that cultiva-

tes routine, that ties people down to day to day detail, that fosters in them the spirit of commandism and diverts them from the recognition of reality.

Style and method of work are not fixed once and for all. They change, are developed and enriched, in conformity with the new conditions and tasks. Everything should be subject to verification in practice. For this it is important that the cadres see and thoroughly understand the reality in its revolutionary transformation, the new that emerges and develops, achieve a deep knowledge of the demands of time. For it is only in this way that they will be able to fight most effectively against any manifestation of conservatism, any tendency to stick to obsolete forms and methods which have been outstripped by life.

Our Party is a party of progress, a party of the future. It is irreconcilable with anything obsolete, conservative or retrogressive. It fights to eliminate all obstacles, to open the wide road of the new, of the emancipation and the development of the creative energies of the masses, for the all-round progress of our socialist society.

VI

MARXISM-LENINISM AN EVER YOUNG AND SCIENTIFIC DOCTRINE

The struggle against the most dangerous anti-Marxist trend, Soviet-led modern revisionism, has been continually in the center of attention of the Party. Conscious of the historic necessity of this struggle, our Party has exposed the anti-Marxist viewpoints and theses and the counter-revolutionary activity, the demagogy and deceitful tactics of the Khrushchevite revisionists. It has fought resolutely to tear off their masks one after another, to reveal their traitorous and social-imperialist features.

From the very beginning of the great polemics with the modern revisionists, the Party of Labor of Albania, the Communist Party of China, and the genuine Marxist-Leninists had warned that the departure from the principled positions of Marxism-Leninism would lead them into the camp of the bourgeoisie and capitalism, to the barricade of counter-revolution. Life fully confirmed this forecast.

As a logical result of the development of the betrayal, revisionism, which was born as an opportunist and anti-Marxist trend in the ranks of the communist movement, has now been transformed into a bourgeois trend in the labor movement, a trend similar to social-democracy. The countries where the revisionists came to power have been turned into bourgeois states which oppress and exploit the working people in the same way as the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries. The head of revisionism, the Soviet Union, has been transformed into an imperialist power which follows an expansionist and aggressive policy, which fights for hegemony and world domination.

Driven to the wall as a result of the exposure by the Marxist-Leninist forces, shocked by the failures and defeats they are continually suffering, gripped by contradictions and the deep crisis in which they have landed themselves, the modern revisionists are trying to manoeuvre, to use various tactics to deceive the communists and the peoples, and to prolong their rule.

Although these efforts and manoeuvres, which were more persisted in once again at the 24th Congress of the CPSU have by now become stale, they should not be underestimated. The revisionists continue to keep broad sections of the working people deceived and under their influence, especially in the countries where they are in power. They continue to bring great damage to the cause of communism. To the Marxist-Leninists, to the consistent revolutionaries, revisionism remains a

great enemy, no less dangerous than the imperialist bourgeoisie. No illusions whatever should be entertained on this issue. The fight against modern revisionism headed by the Soviet leaders must be continued, intensified, and carried right through to the end. Nothing can correct them, except the revolution, and it will wipe them from the face of the earth.

The Party of Labor of Albania will fight with all its strength against the revisionist betrayal, as it has done until now, convinced that in this way it performs its duty towards its own people and to international communism. We regard the ideological struggle against modern revisionism as an inseparable part of the struggle for the defence and building of socialism in Albania, for the victory of the freedom of the peoples and the revolution everywhere in the world.

The present situation makes the need for the intensification of this struggle of historic importance even more imperative. We are living in a period of the mounting of the revolutionary upsurge. The struggle against imperialism and reaction is assuming ever larger proportions. All the continents are seething with revolutionary movements which are shaking the old world of oppression and exploitation to its very foundations. This is the clearest expression of the sharpening of all the contradictions, class and national, internal and external contradictions of the world capitalist system, of the further deepening of its general crisis.

Today the development of the world revolutionary process has taken a wide variety of forms. The various detachments of the world revolutionary movement are not all fighting and acting under the same conditions, they are at differing stages of social development, are facing different tasks, have the specific features of their own historic practice. The social class basis of the world revolution is being extended, too. Besides the working class, broad social sections such as the peasantry and the petty-bourgeoisie of the cities, the intelligentsia and students, youth and women are taking part ever more actively in the various revolutionary movements, bringing the movement all the ideological trappings of the strata they represent, with their good and bad aspects.

But, while there is a powerful upsurge of the masses and peoples in struggle and revolution, the weakness of the revolutionary movement in many countries and areas consists precisely in the lack of scientific strategy and tactics to open the revolutionary perspective to masses, and to guide them on to the right road for the attainment of their objectives. The situation is such that the practical movement of the masses has marched and is marching ahead, whereas the subjective factor, consciousness, their organization and direction in many countries has lagged behind, and does not respond to the tasks of the times. In this, a direct role of undermining and sabotage is being played by the modern revisionists, who, having abandoned the revolutionary ideals, have turned

themselves into scabs and firemen to quell the revolution, and with their opportunist and anti-Marxist viewpoints and activity strive to disarm the working class and to sow ideological and political confusion in the ranks of revolution. This is the greatest service they render to the bourgeoisie and reaction, and the greatest harm to the cause of the liberation of the peoples and socialism.

With its theses of the dying out of the class struggle and class collaboration under the mask of peaceful coexistence, with its illusions about the change in the nature of imperialism and about a world without weapons and wars, with its fear of atomic weapons and thermonuclear war, with its sermons about peaceful transition to socialism etc., etc., Khrushchevite revisionism embraced social-democracy and was transformed into a single counter-revolutionary trend in the service of the bourgeoisie.

This opportunist and reformist platform which was put forward at the 20th Congress of the CPSU and which was developed and supplemented later at the other congresses that followed, was presented by the revisionists as a platform allegedly defending Leninism from the so-called Stalinist distortions. In fact, it was very soon proved that the trend which appeared with the slogans of anti-Stalinism was an alien trend, irreconcilable with Marxism-Leninism and in struggle against it.

The Khrushchevite revisionists trumpeted and continue to trumpet noisily that with their theoretical viewpoints and theses the «foundations» were

laid for the struggle and the «right» road to socialism. In reality this was a road and a struggle to extinguish the struggle for socialism, to turn the masses from the road of revolution, to perpetuate the capitalist order and to undermine the gains of socialism everywhere.

The counter-revolutionary theories and practices of the revisionists serve as nourishment for the most diverse hostile ideological trends, ranging from the most reactionary bourgeois trends to the Trotskyite and petty-bourgeois ones. The bourgeois ideologists deliberately try to present the revisionist betrayal as a failure of socialism and Marxism-Leninism, as if communism is unable to provide a positive alternative for the solution of the problems of the world today. Justifying the capitalist order, they claim that today it has become capable of overcoming its social contradictions and conflicts, of creating a society of «general wellbeing», that allegedly the present-day technical-scientific revolution is replacing the social revolution, is bringing capitalism nearer to socialism and that it is allegedly merging them into a new and single «industrial» or «post-industrial» society. This is the most reactionary wing, the openly anti-communist wing, in the present-day ideological struggle.

The various anti-Marxist trends of the Trotskyites and anarchists have been activated as never before. Infiltrating into various mass movements, especially of youth and intellectuals, they are trying to fish in troubled waters, with a view to diverting the masses from the right road and

throwing them into dangerous adventures which lead to heavy defeats and disillusionment. Although they frequently come out with ultra-revolutionary and anti-revisionist slogans, in fact they are playing the revisionists' game, and they are undermining the cause of revolution together.

There are also some petty-bourgeois ideologists and people of sincere revolutionary inclinations who, being disillusioned by the revisionist betrayal, question the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and try to create new theories or to revive old ones. They preach that Marxism-Leninism is incomplete and inaccurate, that allegedly it no longer responds to the new historical conditions of various countries or continents.

In this situation when the ideological confusion which the modern revisionists caused and are seeking to keep alive, has become more pronounced the great importance of the struggle of all the Marxist-Leninists for the liberation of the working class and laboring masses from all the influences of bourgeois and revisionist ideology and of the various petty-bourgeois trends, the arming of them with the only scientific ideology, Marxism-Leninism, emerges very clearly.

«One of the indispensable conditions for the preparation of the proletariat for its victory», Lenin has said, «is the protracted, resolute, and merciless struggle against opportunism, reformism, social-chauvinism, and the influences of bourgeois trends of this kind,

*which are inevitable as long as the proletariat acts under the conditions of capitalism. Without this struggle, without first winning complete victory over opportunism within the labor movement, there can be no talk of a dictatorship of the proletariat».*¹

The ideological struggle which is being waged in the world today is very broad and complex. But the most fundamental problems being discussed are those about hegemony in the revolutionary movement, about the essence and the roads of development of revolution, and about the concept and structure of socialist society.

The leadership of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, a fundamental condition for the defeat of the bourgeoisie and imperialism

The ideological opponents of Marxism-Leninism, from the bourgeois and revisionist down to the radical and petty-bourgeois ones, are seeking, in words and deeds, to deny the world historic mission of the working class, its role and hegemony in revolution. All of them together, in this way or that, are trying to prove that the ideas of Mar-

1) Complete Works, Russian edition, Vol. 40, p. 24.

xism-Leninism on this issue have become obsolete.

By speculating on the new phenomena of present-day capitalism, especially on the consequences of the development of state monopoly capitalism and the technical-scientific revolution, bourgeois ideologists, like Marcuse and company, are trying to prove with their technocratic theories that allegedly capitalist society is being deproletarianized, that the working class is being transformed into «co-owner and co-manager» of the capitalist enterprises, that it is no longer interested in the revolutionary transformation of society, in as much as it has been «integrated» into the capitalist system. Even when one of them sees a revolutionary force, he finds it in the strata on the «class fringes», in the lumpen proletarians, in the ghettos of the large cities, among the immigrants or students and intellectuals.

On the other hand, overrating the objective urge toward socialism which comes about from the development of the new productive forces and which is strengthened by the influence of the new ratio of forces on the international arena in favour of socialism, the revisionists propagate the view that the struggle for socialism can be led by other social classes and forces, non-proletarian ones, ranging from the national bourgeoisie, the petty-bourgeoisie down to the progressive patriotic intelligentsia.

These viewpoints cause great harm to the revolutionary movement, create confusion among

some immature militants and different strata of the population, especially among the student youth and the young intellectuals, who try to present themselves as independent and the main force of the revolution, who feel no need for the hegemony of the working class and of the political leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party.

The question of hegemony in the revolution is of great principled importance, for it is on who is at the head of it, who is leading it, that its direction, its consistent development and its very fate depend. The attitude toward the working class and its leading role is a touchstone for all revolutionaries. Rejection of the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolutionary movement today, as Lenin emphasized, is the most vulgar expression of reformism.

The conditions that make the working class the decisive force in contemporary social development, the leading force in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of the capitalist world, have not changed in the least.

Despite all the changes that have taken place in the contemporary capitalist world, the working class is stripped of any kind of ownership over the means of production, of its management, organization and aims. The so-called «consumers» society is created not to meet the needs of the working people, but to intensify their exploitation and to multiply the profits of the capitalists. The fact is that the profits of the monopolies, trusts, and concerns, have reached astronomical figures,

just as it is a fact that in recent years, and precisely in the most advanced capitalist countries, fierce clashes of unprecedented proportions have broken out between the working class and the bourgeoisie. It is not from choice that the workers of France, Italy, Britain, and America are coming out on strike, demonstrating in the streets, and occupying the factories, but because their life is very hard, because the capitalist machine oppresses them, turns them into mere tools, dehumanizes them.

Contrary to the sermons of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists, capitalist society is not being deproletarianized, but, on the contrary, it is being proletarianized continuously, the weight and the role of the working class in production is becoming more and more decisive, it remains the main productive force of society. Life shows that the working class only needs move, knock off work even for a single day, for the entire bourgeoisie to be shaken and all its institutions put in a state of alarm. The working class is a class with rich traditions of struggle and organization, it has its party and its scientific theory which guides it in the class struggle.

All the revolutionary forces that fight for the overthrow of the bourgeois order can achieve victory only if they merge their efforts with the struggle of the working class, if they acknowledge and accept its leading role and that of the proletarian Marxist-Leninist party. This is objectively indispensable. Any alternative leads to adventu-

rism and defeat. It is precisely this great unity of all the left revolutionary forces with the working class that frightens the bourgeoisie and the revisionists more than anything else.

On this question, the role played by social-democracy and the modern revisionists is particularly harmful, because, by enrolling the working class in their reformist trade unions, they try to restrain its revolutionary impetus, to paralyze its fighting spirit, to turn it into a servile class, obedient and in submission to the capitalist employers. Under these conditions, the awakening of the working class and its emergence in the forefront of the revolutionary struggle cannot be achieved without waging a resolute fight within the ranks of the reformist trade unions against the line and attitudes of their bourgeois chieftains, so as to expose and isolate them from the mass of the workers.

In the contemporary revolutionary movement the youth, the students and the various strata of the intelligentsia occupy an important place. In many countries, such as France and Italy, USA and Japan, Spain and Latin America, they have shown themselves very active and have given proofs of their courage, selflessness, and revolutionary spirit. But it must be admitted that in the leftist movement of the intellectuals and students great ideological and political confusion exists. The character of their programs and slogans, which are frequently utopian, the lack of patience and spontaneous outbursts, have their source in the influ-

ence of alien ideologies and the heterogeneous class composition of these movements.

The Marxist-Leninists give full attention to the leftist movements of the youth and intellectuals and, without ignoring the weaknesses of these movements, strive to draw them onto correct revolutionary positions, to liberate them from the influences of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, and revisionist ideology.

Despite the increased weight of the intelligentsia in contemporary society, despite the changes that are taking place in the position, character, role of its work, and the class composition of this stratum, it is not a class in itself. The intelligentsia is a stratum that stands between the different classes of society and comes from different classes. By its very nature, it is characterized by various political and ideological vacillations. And these vacillations become more and more pronounced for the reason that the bourgeoisie tries by all ways of means to corrupt the intelligentsia and enrol it in its service.

The intelligentsia, as Lenin demonstrated and life itself has proven, never has been, and can never be, an independent social and political force. Its role and place in society depends on its class origin and social-economic status, the alliance of its various detachments with this or that class. Therefore, the intelligentsia can never replace the working class as the leading class in the revolution.

The youth, the students, and the progressive

section of the intelligentsia, are close allies of the working class, but not the only ones. The hegemony of the working class extends over other strata of the population which are also interested in the revolution, especially the peasantry, which, in the overwhelming majority of the countries and areas of the world, represents its main, most powerful and resolute ally.

The modern revisionists strive to negate the great importance of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry under the pretext that the latter does not play any separate role, especially in advanced capitalist countries, and instead bring to the forefront the alliance of the working class with the intelligentsia. In some other countries, the revisionists replace the alliance of the working class and the peasantry with the alliance between the working class and the other petty-bourgeois strata of the city and its surroundings. By means of such theories and practices they aim to detach from the working class its closest and most resolute ally in struggle. The Leninist thesis that the alliance of the working class with the peasantry is the social force capable of overthrowing the bourgeoisie and of building socialism is completely valid in our time, too.

Just as the fate of the revolution in each particular country depends on the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, so on the international arena the fate of the world revolution depends on the same condition, and, in this case, is expressed as an alliance of the socialist countries

and the workers' movement of the advanced capitalist countries with the anticolonial, liberation, and democratic movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Any stand disregarding or denigrating the struggle of the peoples of these continents, which contain the overwhelming majority of the population of the world and where imperialism is being dealt the heaviest and most direct blows, is in essence another aspect of the negation of the role of the peasantry, which inflicts very great harm on the cause of the revolution.

The basis for alliances becomes even further extended when it is a question of the democratic anti-imperialist revolutions, in which, besides the peasantry and the petty-bourgeoisie of the cities, the national bourgeoisie can take part as well. But whatever their weight in any revolution, they cannot play the role of hegemony and leadership which is played only by the working class. The national bourgeoisie, closely linked with capitalist exploitation, is characterized by vacillations and its tendency to compromise with foreign imperialism and internal reaction. As such, it is incapable of carrying the national-liberation war and the democratic revolution consistently through to the end. The representatives of the peasantry, and the other petty-bourgeois strata also, have only limited demands, are under the influence of bourgeois ideology, and often waver from left to right, sliding now into opportunism and now into adventurism.

Therefore, the working class as the most revolutionary class of society, can and should come to the forefront and take the lead not only of the struggle for socialism but also of the struggle for democracy and national independence. Lenin proved this thesis with scientific arguments more than half a century ago. It is even more true today when the working class has increased, is tempered, educated, and organized to a higher degree, and when the democratic and socialist tasks have become even more closely interwoven. Under present conditions, the working class is the most interested of all classes in carrying the democratic and anti-imperialist revolution right through to the end.

The small number of the working class in some countries is no argument to negate its leading role, because the strength and the leading role of a class does not depend on its numbers. The working class plays its leading role through its party, which, as the example of our country demonstrates, can be founded and emerge in the forefront of the revolutionary struggle even when the working class is small in number and unorganized.

Today the various theories which preach spontaneity in the revolutionary movement, which disparage the role of the conscious factor, which negate the role of theory and of the party of the proletariat, are being activated. The degeneration of the revisionist parties, their transformation into reformist parties, harmless to the bourgeoisie, and the anti-Marxist theses of the Soviet, Yugoslav,

Italian and other modern revisionists that «capitalism is integrating into socialism consciously or unconsciously gradually or radically», that «even non-proletarian parties and organizations may become bearers of the ideals of socialism and leaders of the struggle for their realization», that «some countries where the new national bourgeoisie is in power are going towards socialism, too», etc. have become a basis for the spread of the most extreme views that completely negate the role of theory and the need for a party of the working class. There are also those who pose as pure revolutionaries, who go so far as to declare that in «Marx's theory about the revolution there is neither a place nor the need for a party», that «the vanguard of socialist revolution cannot be equated with the Marxist-Leninist party», that the role of the party can be played «by the active minority» which emerges as a «ferment» in the spontaneous movement, that «the consciousness of the revolutionary organization «emerges from the revolutionary action itself».

All these «theories» cause incalculable harm to the revolutionary movement, for they befuddle the minds of the working class and leave it disarmed before the onslaught of the bourgeoisie, which, on its part, has reached the acme of perfection in its propaganda methods and means and the organization of the struggle against the revolution and communism.

It is now historically proven that without its party the working class, under whatever condi-

tions it may live or work, cannot achieve consciousness on its own. What turns the working class from a «class by itself» to a «class for itself» is its party. Of course, struggle, action, temper and test the classes, the masses and the revolutionaries, and teach them many things. But if they lack a political party with a clear-cut program and scientifically based strategy and tactics, the struggle will either stop halfway or fail altogether. And the experience of the present day revolutionary movement and numerous struggles of the peoples of various continents teaches us this.

Even when some of the various revisionists and opportunists admit the need for the existence of a party, they badly distort its role and the organizational principles on which it is built. They proclaim Lenin's ideas on this matter to be obsolete and left behind. In particular they assail the principle that the party is not only the conscious vanguard of the class but also the highest form of its organization, characterized by a unity of thought and action, and to which belongs the leading role in all revolutionary activity in whatever field it may take place. Some of them reduce the party's role to that of an organization of political and ideological guidance and education, or of a centre coordinating information. Others identify it with the guerilla unit or favour equal «partnership» of the Marxist-Leninist party with the other parties and organizations of the working class and the laboring masses.

The leading role of the party of the working

class, in the struggle for socialism under conditions of the existence of one party or many parties, is an objective law. The revolutionary transformation of capitalist society along socialist lines is a broad and very complicated struggle waged in many forms and in all the fields — economic, political, ideological and military. In this struggle, the working class enters into alliances with various social and political forces. All the forms of struggle and organization, all the detachments of the revolutionary movement, should serve one aim. Hence the necessity for the party as a single center of direction, leadership and organization.

The struggle for socialism has as its theoretical foundation the ideology of the working class, Marxism-Leninism, which is the scientific doctrine that provides the only correct conception of socialism and of the ways to attain it. No other party can uphold, work out, and implement this theory, except the communist party of the proletariat, the party of that class to which the socialist and communist future belongs, which defends the fundamental interests of the workers and all the progressive forces of society and fights for them, the party of the class which, as Marx said, cannot liberate itself without liberating all mankind. If the fate of the revolution is left to a center of general guidance, to a simple coordinating or guerilla organization, it will turn into a blind alley and suffer defeat.

The objective substance of all the «theories» which negate the need for the leading role of

the working class and its party, is, in fact, the negation of the revolution, of socialism and Marxism-Leninism. These concepts only bring grist to the mill of the bourgeoisie and the counter-revolution. Therefore, the unmasking of them and the determined defence of the Leninist teachings on the hegemony of the working class, on the leading role of the party of the proletariat and the principles on which it is built and organized today, constitute a very important current task to clear up the confusion and disintegration which the revisionists have created in this field, in order to promote the revolution and carry ahead the struggle for socialism and communism.

The revolution — the road to the liberation of mankind

The idea of revolution as the sole means of transforming the world, the only road to escape the yoke of national and social bondage, has gripped the minds of millions of people in all the continents. Now everybody speaks of revolution. But the concepts about the content, the motive forces, and the ways and forms of carrying it out, are most diverse. All these things are the subject of great ideological struggle and polemics.

In this matter of vital importance, too, the Soviet-led modern revisionists have come out in defence of the interests of the bourgeoisie and in their service. They are trying to sow confusion

in the revolutionary ranks and to undermine the revolution. Although they pose as supporters of the revolution, with their views and deeds, the revisionists are trying to strangle it at birth or sabotage it when it has burst out. They have reduced the entire theory and practice of revolution to reforms within the capitalist order, and are trying to persuade the workers that in our days the boundary between revolution and reform has allegedly been wiped out altogether. They loudly propagate that the working class has the possibility of bringing about radical transformations in the economic basis of capitalism, of occupying important positions, of seizing all power and realizing socialism without violent revolution, without smashing the bourgeois state machine and without establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In their practice, the revisionists take up only day to day demands. They have concentrated all their efforts on broadening the bourgeois democracy, on improving its institutions, sacrificing their final aims for the sake of these things. The best demonstration of this is provided by the entire activity of the Italian, French and other revisionists, who have turned themselves into appendages of the bourgeoisie, into defenders of its order, have betrayed the vital interests of the working class, even going so far as to fiercely denounce any revolutionary action of the masses which affects the domination of the bourgeoisie. While they come out against the revolution

nary violence of the masses and justify the violence of the bourgeoisie, the modern revisionists themselves resort to counter-revolutionary violence where they are in power, as in the case of Czechoslovakia and Poland, where they suppressed the Czechoslovak people and the revolt of the Polish working class with fire and sword. It is here that their betrayal and complete degeneration are most evident.

The failure of the peaceful evolutionist theories of the modern revisionists is confirmed also by the present development of events in the world. The anti-imperialist and liberation wars that have broken out in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the revolts of the workers and laboring masses in the advanced capitalist countries themselves, prove that the revisionist reformist alternative does not respond to reality, to the aspirations of the masses. As a matter of fact, the present revolutionary activity is taking place without the revisionists and against their wishes. Nevertheless, the danger and harm done by the revisionist theories and practices should not be underrated. Many persons, including some sincere revolutionaries, while rejecting the reformist path of the revisionists and criticizing it, have adopted some other erroneous concepts on the revolution and the ways to develop it. This is connected with their petty-bourgeois class position, their lack of Marxist-Leninist ideological development, and with the influence that anarchist, Trotskyite and putshist views exert on them. Some of them ima-

gine the revolution as a military coup, as the deed of a few «heroes». They over-rate and absolutise the role of «subjective activity» and think that the revolutionary situation, as a condition for the outbreak of the revolution, can be created artificially by the «active operations» of a militant group, which serves as a «starter motor» that sets in motion the «main motor» of the masses. According to them, the revolutionary potential of the masses in capitalist society is ever ready to erupt provided it receives an impulse from outside, enough that a guerrilla hotbed is created and the masses will follow it automatically.

The armed struggle of a group of professional revolutionaries can exert an influence on the upsurge of the masses only when it is coordinated with other objective political, social, and psychological factors, which determine the birth of the revolutionary situation, when it is based on the broad masses of the people and enjoys their active sympathy and support. Otherwise, as the tragic practice of certain Latin American countries indicates, the activity of the armed minority, be it ever so heroic and self-sacrificing, comes up against the misunderstanding of the masses, is isolated from the masses, and suffers defeat.

Revolutions are matured by the situation itself, while their triumph or failure depends on the state and role of the subjective factor. Just a group of persons, no matter how conscious they may be of the need for revolution, cannot represent this factor. The revolution is the deed of the

masses. Without their conviction, training, mobilization, and organization, no revolution can triumph. The subjective factor is not prepared by the actions of the guerrilla «hotbed» or by propaganda and agitation alone. For this, as Lenin and life itself teach us, it is essential that the masses are convinced through their own practical experience.

The concept of the decisive role of the armed minority is associated also with the view of conducting the struggle only in the countryside or only in the cities, that we should rely only on the armed struggle and only on illegal work. The Trotskyite thesis, too, which views the revolution as a sudden act and the general political strike as the only form of carrying it out, is also very widespread. To be orientated towards the armed struggle doesn't at all mean to give up every other form of struggle. It does not mean that you must concentrate only on the countryside and abandon the struggle in the cities, or vice-versa, concentrate only on the final objective — the seizure of power — and neglect the «minor struggle» for the urgent economic, political and social demands of the workers. It doesn't mean to concentrate only on the organization of the armed forces and to disregard the work with the masses and in their organizations, to work and fight only in illegality and to give up utilising the legal and semi-legal opportunities, and so on. Preparing for a revolution is not a question of one day, but an all-round and complex job. For this, it is necessary

to work and fight in all directions and in all forms, combining them correctly and changing them when situations change, but subjecting them to the attainment of the final goal.

The revolution is not carried out by the working class alone and, even less, by its vanguard party alone. In order to effect it, the working class, according to the nature and stages of the revolution, enters into alliances with other social forces having common basic interests, sets up broad popular fronts with a definite political programs, in which the party of the working class joins, but without merging itself and losing its organizational and political independence. Narrow and sectarian elements consider all these erroneous tactics which allegedly open the door to the peaceful reformist road. According to them, programs, fronts and alliances are only artificial machinations intended to distract attention and hinder the armed struggle. These views echo the familiar theses of the Trotskyites who consider every alliance as class conciliation, who negate the stages of revolution, and are for a pure and direct proletarian revolution.

Revolution has its own laws, which are universal and indispensable for any country. The denial of these laws leads to revisionism. Speculating with the changes that are taking place in the world and with the specific national conditions, the revisionists have replaced the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with their own anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary theses and conclusions.

But no less harmful are the dogmatic concepts of those who disregard the national-specific features, abstain from the analysis of the real situation, build up schemes into which they try to introduce the reality of various countries, absolutise the experience of one country and present it as universal, speak of a continental revolution and deny the possibility of the victory of revolution in one or in several individual countries.

In our days, when the tide of the revolution is mounting, when the revolution is on the agenda in many countries and regions, the correct understanding of its content, of the ways and forms of its development, is decisive. The struggle against rightist and leftist, revisionist and anti-Marxist concepts, the struggle for a creative application of the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism on this question, is a component part of the class struggle, an indispensable condition for the victory of revolution.

Socialism can be built only on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist theory

The triumph of the October Revolution in Russia marked the beginning of the great epoch in the history of mankind, that of the transition from capitalism to socialism. Since that time socialism has been transformed from a scientific theory into a living reality, which, despite the revisionist betrayal, has fully demonstrated its indisputable

superiorities over the capitalist order in all fields. All the victories of socialism have been achieved on the basis of the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism.

Being a new social order, built in conditions of a fierce class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on a national and international scale, socialism cannot develop smoothly, without difficulties and contradictions. The struggle between the two roads of development, the socialist and the capitalist roads, is a protracted struggle, and, so long as it continues, there always exists the danger of the restoration of capitalism. But this restoration is not inevitable, as the bourgeois ideologists try to present it. It is quite avoidable, if the communist party remains loyal to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, resolutely and consistently develops the class struggle against the influences and pressures of the old world, if it is able to solve the difficulties and contradictions that arise successfully, if it closes all the loopholes to the possibility of bourgeois degeneration.

The turning back of the Soviet Union and some other countries is linked precisely with the fact that the teachings of Marxism-Leninism were abandoned there and the fundamental principles of socialist construction rejected. The victories of the revolution there were smashed and the road was opened to the restoration of capitalism. But this is not the only great damage that the revisionists brought to socialism. To pave the way to their treachery, they frenziedly attacked the revo-

lutionary line pursued by the Boshevik Communist Party headed by Stalin and the whole historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat; they raised doubts about the vitality of the Marxist-Leninist science for the solution of the present day problems, about the ability of the working class to bring about the revolutionary transformation of the society, and about the leading role of the communist party. With all this the Khrushchevite revisionists provided a powerful weapon for the bourgeois ideologists for their anti-communist propaganda. They became a source of all types of anti-Marxist concepts about socialism.

The confusion is made even worse because the Khrushchevite revisionists try to sell the line that the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and elsewhere is socialism. This demagoguery misleads many honest people, who, while they rightly criticise many negative phenomena in the life of the Soviet Union and of other revisionist countries, identify the order there with socialism and attribute the consequences of the restoration of capitalism to socialism. The other revisionist trends, which have contradictions with the Soviet leadership, criticise «the Soviet model of socialism» as «bureaucratic and totalitarian», and propagate their own so called «democratic and humanitarian» model, which is nothing but another variant of capitalism. The Trotskyite elements and groups also try to exploit the bourgeois degeneration of socialism in the countries where the revisionists are in power to spread their slanders against socialism, which the

revisionists themselves have encouraged with their anti-Marxist theories and practices.

In these conditions, the defence of the theory and practice of scientific socialism from the attacks and distortions of the modern revisionists of different colours and odours and of the other bourgeois and petty-bourgeois trends, is one of the most important tasks in the ideological struggle today. First of all the socialist disguise in which the ruling revisionists, especially the Soviet chiefs, have decked themselves out, must be torn to pieces.

In the Soviet Union the dictatorship of the proletariat and the party of the proletariat have been liquidated. It is no longer the working class in power, but the new revisionist bourgeoisie. The state and the party have been turned into tools in the hands of the revisionists to defend and consolidate their political and economic domination. The socialist and communist disguises in which they garb their state and party are merely to deceive the people, because the character of the state and the party is not defined by the labels they bear nor by their social content alone, but first and foremost by the policy pursued, whom does it serve and for whose benefit it is.

The change in the character of the party and state, the counter-revolutionary transformation in the field of the political and ideological superstructure, could not fail to lead to the changing of the economic base of socialism as well. The economic reforms undertaken by the Khrushchevites in conformity with their anti-Marxist ideological con-

cepts, led to a radical change in the relations of production. They introduced a system of organization and management into the Soviet economy in which the aim of production became the extraction of capitalist profit. The present Soviet state, as a collective capitalist, administers the means of production on behalf, and in the interests, of the new Soviet bourgeoisie. The common socialist property has been transformed into a state capitalism of a new type.

Having taken the reins of the state and the economy into its hands the new Soviet bourgeoisie, composed of bureaucrats and technocrats, uses them to ensure privileges and huge incomes for itself. The gulf between this bourgeoisie and the working class and the working masses is becoming ever deeper. Payment according to work done has been replaced by an entire system of the distribution of incomes, which enables the bourgeoisie to appropriate the toil and sweat of the working masses, to ensure in the most varied ways incomes many times larger than those of the workers and peasants.

In the Soviet Union a deep process of disintegration, decadence, and degeneration, is taking place in all the fields of ideology, morality, education, and culture. All the moral and spiritual values of socialism are being broken up. Bourgeois ideology, with all its consequences, is becoming the dominant ideology. The norms of communist morality for serving the cause of the people with devotion are being replaced with running after per-

sonal interests, with individualism and careerism. The bourgeois way of life has assumed large proportions. The revolutionary spirit and proletarian partisanship in art and culture have been abandoned. The Soviet school cultivates technocracy and intellectualism, trains new contingents for the revisionists.

The restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union could not fail to lead to radical changes in its external policy. The present Soviet leaders have replaced proletarian internationalism with national egoism and big state chauvinism. The Soviet Union today has become an imperialist power which pursues an aggressive policy. The Soviet Union has been transformed from a base of the world revolution into a base of counter-revolution.

All this shows that the present day Soviet Union can no longer be called a socialist country, but a capitalist state and an imperialist power. The evils of its internal and external policy are not the evils of socialism, as presented by the bourgeois propaganda and those who have fallen victims to it or echo it. They are precisely evils of the capitalist system, which has been restored in the Soviet Union. They cannot be corrected by partial repairs. Any illusion about this would be very dangerous. They will be liquidated only when the revisionists have been overthrown and the dictatorship of the proletariat re-established.

In the situation created by the betrayal of the Soviet revisionists and the anti-communist propaganda of the bourgeoisie, the Yugoslav «system of

self-administration» in particular is being loudly advertized as the best road for the building of socialism. In particular many revisionists in the Western capitalist countries are partisans of this road. It has its sympathizers in the revisionist countries of Eastern Europe as well. The theoreticians of «self-administrative socialism» claim that they express and carry out the authentic ideas of Marx and Lenin about socialism, allegedly distorted in practice to date by «Stalinism». In reality they have revived and come out in defence of the old anarcho-syndicalist and Bukharinist theories criticized by Marx and Lenin respectively. Their theoretical arguments are quite baseless, while the present day Yugoslav reality is the clearest proof of the failure of «the system of self-administration».

The basis of the theories of the Yugoslav revisionists is the Bukharinist idea about the integration of capitalism into socialism. In the international arena, according to them, post Second World War capitalism, parallel with its stabilization and evolution into state capitalism, is being gradually transformed into a «state type socialism», thus wiping out the demarcation lines between the two systems and paving the way to a broad and all-round collaboration between them, in fact, to undermine true socialism.

Within the country the Yugoslav revisionists, and the Gomulka variety, abandoned the collectivization of the countryside, left the kulaks free to exploit and accumulate, pretending that, in this way they would be integrated into socialism and, with the

capital supplied by them, the industrialisation of the country would be carried out. On the other hand, the Yugoslav revisionists cut up the state property of the whole people, and, by transforming it allegedly into the property of the group, paved the way to the birth of a new bourgeoisie, which took the reins of the country in its hands and now rules the working class and the peoples of Yugoslavia. Meanwhile, the revisionists bluffed, by presenting this line as a proletarianisation of the regime, as a struggle against «bureaucratic state forms of socialism», as a «new road» for the construction of the true socialist society. But all this has been unmasked and life has proved how rotten it is.

To get out of their serious situation of great economic, political and social difficulties and contradictions, the offspring of the capitalist restoration, and having been unable «to build socialism» with the aid of the internal bourgeoisie and its capital, the Yugoslav revisionists stretched a begging hand to U.S. imperialists and capitalists of other countries. Thus, they invented a new type of «socialism» which could be built with the aid of credits and investments from the international bourgeoisie and, first of all, from U.S. imperialism, the most ferocious enemy of communism. It is a fact that in present-day Yugoslavia the flood of capital and the direct investments from foreign capitalist states and firms is occupying the key points of the national economy. A similar process is taking place in other revisionist countries, too.

Another manifestation of this course in Yugoslavia is the mass phenomenon of the emigration of the living, creative forces, of hundreds of thousands of workers, technicians, and specialists, who are compelled to abandon their families and homeland and to sell the strength of their muscles and minds to the German, Belgian, French, and other capitalists. This selling of the workers, this trade in human beings to secure a bit of currency is one of the ugliest aspects of the present-day Yugoslav reality.

In Yugoslavia there is no question of any integration of capitalism into socialism. What has happened there, and what is happening in the other countries where the revisionists are in power, is the integration of socialism into capitalism, the liquidation of the socialist victories and return to the capitalist road.

The Yugoslav revisionists claim that their system affirms the role of the workers and of the working class as a whole, which allegedly self-administers the means of production, manages the economy and conducts the distribution of the social product. In fact, quite the contrary happens there. The breaking up of the state property and the negation of the leading role of the socialist state means the division of the working class and the negation of its leading role in the life of society. The Yugoslav practice leads to the counterposing of the interests of various sections of the working class, to competition and to struggle between the workers' collectives. Here, the narrow momentary

interests of the enterprise, commune, or of the individual republic, come to the fore and are opposed to the general interests of the society.

Under these conditions, the working class cannot act as a class at all, cannot express and defend its general interests as a class in power. In Yugoslavia, the working class has long since lost its hegemonic role. It has been transformed from a leading class in power into a class which is led, oppressed and exploited by the new bourgeoisie which has all power in its own hands. The Communist Party of the working class in Yugoslavia has completely degenerated, has become a haven for the anti-proletarian strata which represent and defend the capitalist course.

Present-day Yugoslavia has all the features of a bourgeois country and suffers from the same grave chronic ills typical of capitalism, such as the deep economic crises, unemployment, competition, anarchy and inflation, severe social-political conflicts and national squabbles. This situation has led to the creation and strengthening of bourgeois nationalist groupings and tendencies, to the aggravation of the struggle for hegemony among themselves as well as between them and the republics. On the present-day Yugoslav political stage, the «great-Serbian» and «great-Croatian» clans are dominant. The former are labelled as supporters of the Cominform, but, in fact, they have been and are the most rabid enemies of the Cominform, just as much as the Yugoslav leaders themselves and Soviet Khrushchevite leaders.

The Yugoslav revisionists have placed the peoples and the working class of Yugoslavia in the grip of a powerful pincers, the pincers of the internal bourgeoisie and of foreign capitalism, which is becoming master of the house in Yugoslavia. Nothing can save them from this plight, neither the economic and political reforms acclaimed by the revisionists, nor their hopes and illusions about this or that nationalist grouping. The evil is deep-rooted and can be eradicated only when the peoples of Yugoslavia, on a Marxist-Leninist road, smash the pincers which has gripped them.

Today, there is some talk of socialism in certain countries freed from the old colonial rule of imperialism. A different content in the idea of «socialism», or «socialist society» is introduced in different countries. In these theories there are many obscure, confused, eclectic points, a mixture of the principle of socialism with those of capitalism, of socialist ideology with bourgeois, nationalist, and religious ideology.

The Soviet and other revisionists also echo these non-scientific theories. They have even discovered a new road, the so-called «non-capitalist road of development», which allegedly leads to socialism without the leading role of the working class and of the communist party, without the Marxist-Leninist theory, without the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. By these sermons the Khrushchevite and other revisionists try to disorientate the genuine socialist trends in these countries, add to the ideological

confusion and paralyze the struggle of the progressive forces for socialism. Pretending that these countries have allegedly entered the socialist road of development, the Soviet revisionists give them some alms in order to keep them in their service, to extend their imperialist influence and to draw them after their cart.

The Marxist-Leninists welcome and support any sincere inclinations and tendencies towards socialism, but at the same time, they stress that in any country socialism has won or can triumph only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and under the leadership of the working class and of its Party armed with the proletarian world outlook.

In our time, the problem does not arise of copying the revisionist pseudo-socialist theories, or of inventing new socialist theories. Socialism exists and develops both as a theory and as a practice. It has accumulated rich historic experience, summed up in the Marxist-Leninist theory, the vitality of which has been confirmed in life. By relying on this scientific theory and applying it in the conditions of each country, the revolutionary forces will find the correct road to socialism.

The proper understanding of socialism is a great question of principle because it assists in the correct orientation of the aspirations and the struggle of the peoples for socialism so that they are aimed at a clear target. Therefore, the establishment of a clear-cut demarcation line between the real socialist countries and those bearing only the name socialist, is of special importance to the re-

volutionaries, just as the distinction between the real Marxist-Leninist parties and forces fighting for socialism and those parties which merely wear the communist label is important. Thus the revolutionaries will know better on whom they can rely and whom they should support. In this way the real unity of the revolutionary forces is strengthened and the struggle for socialism is merged into a single trend, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

* * *

In the struggle for the great cause of the liberation of the working class and the peoples, the ranks of the Marxist-Leninist forces are growing and becoming strong. Today, almost everywhere the old communist parties degenerated into revisionist ones, new Marxist-Leninist movements and parties have been formed which have taken up the banner of revolution and socialism abandoned by the modern revisionists.

The participation in our congress of so large a number of delegates representing the genuine revolutionary communists from the countries of Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Oceania, is a living testimony to the vigorous development of the Marxist-Leninist movement, an eloquent expression of its international character and unity.

The growth of the Marxist-Leninist movement has aroused the furious hatred of reaction, and es-

pecially of the modern revisionists, who see it as a dangerous enemy. They try to denigrate it and attach all sorts of labels to it. But all this campaign of attacks and calumnies simply testifies that the Marxist-Leninist movement is on the right road.

The Marxist-Leninist movement is developing in the conditions of a fierce class struggle on a national and world scale. The new parties and groups are faced with numerous enemies, with bourgeois reaction, revisionist betrayal, social-democratic reformism, petty-bourgeois adventurism. But they are coping with these pressures, intrigues, and provocations, with vigilance, ideological clarity, and revolutionary determination.

In this struggle, what is important and constitutes the general tendency of development, is that the Marxist-Leninist forces are growing, becoming tempered, organized and asserting themselves more strongly from day to day, as revolutionary political forces in the life of their country.

By throwing themselves into the great political struggle, into the concrete actions and revolutionary movements of the working people, they are strengthening their ties with the masses and enriching their experience. In the fire of new class battles they are perfecting the forms of the Leninist organisation of the party and of its whole activity, they are forging the unity of thought and action, and strengthening the solidarity of their ranks.

On behalf of the delegates to the Congress and of all the Albanian communists, we express to the Marxist-Leninists, to all the genuine revolutiona-

ries, wherever they are, ardent greetings and best wishes for ever greater victories for the good of our great common cause. We assure them that the Party of Labor of Albania will support and back up the Marxist-Leninist movement, all those who fight against imperialism and revisionism, with all its strength and possibilities for the victory of revolution and socialism. We consider this as a prime internationalist duty, just as we appraise the solidarity and support which the revolutionary parties and forces give our party and country as a very important factor for the cause of socialism in Albania.

Comrade delegates,

In this report the Central Committee of the Party has presented to you a general picture of that great activity of the Party, and of that heroic and selfless work of our people, carried out during the past five years on all the fronts of socialist construction. The victories achieved fill our hearts with joy and inspire us, give us new strength to march ever forward, proud and sure on the correct and brilliant road along which the Party leads us.

The tasks and problems we have to solve are numerous and difficult, but they are as noble as they are glorious. Their aim is to strengthen the cause of socialism in Albania even more, to raise the economy, construction, culture, and all the other sectors, to a higher level and to give them

a new, powerful impulse, to make the life of our people still more beautiful, to guarantee the peaceful work of the people, the freedom and independence of our Fatherland.

We are full of enthusiasm and optimistic that we shall achieve and exceed the planned targets. We find this assurance and conviction in our wonderful people, in their profound wisdom, in the revolutionary spirit and skilful hands of our working class, in the patriotism of our cooperative peasantry, in the devotion of the people's intelligentsia, in the irresistible creative vigour of our youth, in the inexhaustible energies of the women of our country. We find this assurance and conviction in our heroic Party, in its correct Marxist-Leninist line, in the determination of the Albanian communists who, for the cause of the people and of socialism, are ready, as always, to overcome every difficulty and obstacle, to make any sacrifice.

Forward, comrades, towards new victories for the happiness and prosperity of our people and of our socialist Fatherland.

— Long live our heroic, valiant, and industrious people!

— Long live the Party of Labor of Albania, the tried and trusted leader and architect of all the victories of our people!

— Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

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