

**ENVER HOXHA**

**REPORT**

**SUBMITTED TO THE  
7th CONGRESS OF THE PARTY  
OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA**



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**REPORT**

**ON THE ACTIVITY**

**OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

**OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR**

**OF ALBANIA**

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**ENVER HOXHA**



Dear comrades,

Five years have elapsed since the Party gathered at its 6th Congress and laid down the guidelines of the economic and social development of the country for this period. The important tasks it undertook it has accomplished successfully. Today our Party comes to its 7th Congress fully prepared and determined to undertake new and more difficult tasks, to carry the cause of socialism and communism in Albania constantly forward to victory.

Our people and Party come to this Congress full of vitality and dynamism, proud of the successes they have achieved and with unwavering confidence in the future. Life has proved again that the Marxist-Leninist course of the Party is completely correct, that the road on which it is leading our people is the reliable road of the construction of socialism, the road of the further strengthening of the freedom and independence of the homeland.

Our internal situation is healthy and stable in all fields and on all fronts. The Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, the magnificent achievements attained, the development of the class struggle in the correct way, have brought about the further strengthening of the moral and political unity of the people and their unbreakable links with the Party, and the creation of a vigorous revolutionary atmosphere.

Under the leadership of the Party, the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia

have, on the whole, successfully carried out the fundamental tasks of the development of the economy and culture laid down by the 6th Congress of the Party. During the past five-year period, the productive forces have developed in all the branches of the economy, the material and technical base of socialism has been strengthened and the socialist relations of production have been further improved.

The program of the Party for the building of a complex heavy and light industry, its expansion with new sectors of modern production has been proved by practice to be fully capable of realization. Now we note with satisfaction that with rapid industrialization the Party's objective of transforming Albania from an agricultural-industrial country into an industrial-agricultural one is coming ever closer to attainment. With the workers' skilful hands, with their spirit of perseverance and keen minds, the great Metallurgical Combine at Elbasan has begun to pour the first steel in the history of Albania. The Oil Refinery at Ballsh will soon be commissioned and the oil wealth of our prosperous soil will be processed into products for which the economy of our country has great need. The Fierza Hydro-power Plant on the Drin River is advancing towards completion, together with many other projects. With the new factories and plants that have been and are being commissioned, another major objective of the Party, namely, the most rational utilization, the further processing and increasing of the value of our raw materials, is being successfully attained.

We are all witnesses of the radical change that is taking place in our agriculture. Responding to the call of the Party, with their fiery patriotism, tireless work and unshakable confidence in their own strength, this year, for the first time, the cooperativist peasantry and the

workers of state farms produced all the bread grain the country needs. As a result of the special care of the Party, the mechanization of agriculture has been stepped up and a rapid increase of all agricultural and livestock products has been secured. Upon the instruction issued by the 6th Congress, higher type cooperatives have been set up, and the organization and management of agricultural economies have been further improved. The measures taken have led to a further narrowing of distinctions between town and countryside. The plains and mountains of our country are now seething with the great work of transformation to make them still more fertile, to make our homeland more prosperous, more beautiful, and more powerful.

Important victories have been achieved also in the deepening of the socialist revolution in the field of ideology and culture, in all the work of the Party for the revolutionary education of the masses. The line of the Party for the development of schooling on the basis of linking lessons with life, of training a younger generation tempered with the proletarian ideology, equipped with knowledge and culture, capable in work and defence, is being implemented consistently and yielding ever better results. Our socialist culture, which is developing in compliance with the teachings of the Party, has been raised to a higher level as a culture with a lofty revolutionary content and clear national and popular form. A vivid expression of this reality is the cultural and artistic creativeness of the masses of which there has been a great upsurge, particularly in recent years, and which sings with feeling to the happy socialist life, the Marxist-Leninist correctness and wisdom of the Party, and the heroism of our people.

Under the special solicitude of the Party and its direct leadership, the defence potential of the country has been

further increased and strengthened. With might and main our worker and soldier people are striving to make Albania an impregnable socialist bastion, training and on guard so as to be always ready to defend the revolution and its achievements against any threat from the enemies.

The 6th Congress charged the Party, the working class and all the masses of the working people with the task of further strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat as a fundamental condition and guarantee for attaining the majestic objectives put before the Party and the people. Now we can say that the measures which were taken and carried out by the Party have further strengthened our state, have extended and improved our proletarian democracy, have raised the level of the direct participation of the working people in governing the country.

The rise in the capabilities of the working class and in its consciousness of the leading role it must play in socialist society, the establishment of worker and peasant control, the struggle of the Party to root out bureaucratic, technocratic, and liberal distortions and tendencies, have further enriched the experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the struggle to defend and consolidate our socialist order. They have contributed greatly to barring the way to the danger of bourgeois and revisionist degeneration and of a switch back to capitalism. This is a major victory for the Party, the working class, and the entire people.

The unbreakable unity of the people, their unity around the line of the Party, is a distinctive feature of our internal situation. A brilliant expression of this unity, which is based on the close alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry, is the determination and mobilization of our working masses to fulfil the tasks of

socialist construction and to defend the freedom and independence of the homeland, is the outburst of the creative energies of the working class, cooperativist peasantry and people's intelligentsia in all fields. Another obvious expression of this unity is the lofty spirit of fraternal solidarity and sincere mutual help that exists among our working people, between the working class and the peasantry, among all the strata of our people. The slogan of our Party, «All for one and one for all», has become a new norm of socialist morality.

The revolutionary atmosphere and spirit that prevails in our country is in complete contrast with what is happening all around us. In this period of grave crises that have gripped the capitalist and revisionist world, the strength and stability of socialist Albania, our political and economic stability, are evidence of the superiority of socialism, of the wisdom of the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, and the correctness of the principle of self-reliance. The fact that small socialist Albania, with all these great political, economic, financial, and other storms beating against its shores, is in a position to cope with all the difficulties and march constantly ahead, fills the hearts of all of us with legitimate pride. But, at the same time, the situation in which we are living and working demands that we mobilize all our strength and energies, all our knowledge and creative spirit, just as we have done up till now, to carry out all the tasks to the letter, so that our socialist ship will sail on steadily towards safe shores.

The internal situation of our country has been strengthened and consolidated through a sharp class struggle which our Party and people have waged with determination on all fronts, against the allround pressure of the hostile imperialist and revisionist encirclement, against the savage ideological aggression hurled against our coun-

try day by day, as well as against the dangerous enemy activities inside the country and in the ranks of the Party itself. Against the steel-like solidarity of our Party and people, the attacks and plots of the external and internal enemies against our Party and our socialist order, against the freedom and independence of our homeland, have been reduced to dust and ashes.

The communists and our entire people know that in recent years the Party has uncovered and foiled the treacherous and conspiratorial anti-party activities of Fadil Paçrami and Todi Lubonja, of Beqir Balluku, Petrit Dume and Hito Çako, of Abdyl Këllezë, Koço Theodhosi and Kiço Ngjela, who, in collusion with the external enemies, aimed to open the doors to revisionism, to destroy the dictatorship of the proletariat and liquidate the independence of the homeland.

But the activities and plots of these dangerous enemies suffered utter defeat. Thanks to the revolutionary vigilance and struggle of the Party and its leadership, thanks to the Marxist-Leninist unity of the ranks of the Party and the unbreakable strength of our proletarian dictatorship, the anti-party conspirators were exposed. The Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat hit them with an iron fist and threw them into the dustbin, where all the traitors to the revolution belong.

Cleared of thorns and poisonous weeds, the Party emerged from this struggle stronger and more monolithic, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the positions of socialism were even further consolidated. The entire people powerfully supported the Party and its Marxist-Leninist line, and closed their ranks around it and the people's power still more tightly. The Party took all measures to completely eliminate the harmful consequences of the hostile activity and sabotage, and to root out those short-

comings and weaknesses which the enemies had exploited. An even higher revolutionary spirit swept the entire country. The working class, the cooperativist peasantry, the people's intelligentsia, the youth and the women set to work with a new drive and enthusiasm to carry out the tasks of the socialist construction and the defence of the homeland, to come to the 7th Congress of the Party with new and greater successes. This is a vivid proof that the external and internal enemies will never find a breach in our Party and our people, that no evil-doing, by anyone at all, will ever escape the keen vigilance of the communists and the masses of the working people, that the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania is strong and ready to hit hard and destroy any enemy.

It is our duty to further consolidate the healthy internal situation existing in our country as a result of the work done by the Party and under its leadership, through the self-denying efforts of the entire people, so that our homeland will progress and flourish, so that socialism will always march triumphant and the life of our people will become better and more beautiful with each passing day.

The 7th Congress is taking place in the days of an important jubilee, the 35th anniversary of the founding of our glorious Party of Labour. This great day, on which our people's hope of salvation and assurance of the victory was born, is a joyous celebration for us all, a day that reminds us of the heroic road traversed and encourages and mobilizes us for new battles and victories. For our people the founding of the Party of the Albanian communists marked a decisive turning point in their centuries-old history, and laid the steel-like foundations on which the new socialist Albania is being built.

The thirty-five years of revolutionary activity of the

Party are thirty-five years of heroic efforts and battles at the head of the Albanian working class and people, for the liberation of the homeland and the triumph of the Revolution, to free Albania from poverty and raise it from its ruins, and to build this life, so rich in content. so just and happy, which we enjoy today. This is a period of victorious struggles against numerous enemies, both internal and external, against the US imperialists and the modern revisionists, headed by the Soviet revisionists, a period of struggle to defend our right to live always free and independent, to defend the road of true socialism and communism. The strong international position of socialist Albania, the high prestige it enjoys in the world, the support and solidarity it has among the revolutionary peoples and its numerous friends, are a result of the correct line of the Party in its foreign policy, of the consistent and principled struggle our Party and people have waged unceasingly against imperialism and revisionism. We can affirm with full conviction that the Albanian communists have always honourably done their duty towards their own working class and people, just as they have always done their internationalist duty towards international communism and the peoples to the letter.

Our Party has succeeded in attaining these brilliant victories because it has always stood loyal to the interests of the working class and its own people, because it has stood loyal to the immortal teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, because it has never separated its words from its deeds. At every moment and at every stage it has maintained the closest links with the masses, has stood in the front ranks of the struggle and, through its correct line, has united all our people around itself and has guided them with a sure hand.

The successes achieved during these years, which our people call the years of the Party, the great battles won, make us look to the future with optimism. We are aware that many difficulties have already been overcome, that many objectives have been attained, but ahead of us there is even greater work, which our 7th Congress will discuss and decide upon, and many battles, which we must wage with determination and win, await us.

## **THE NEW CONSTITUTION — A GREAT HISTORIC VICTORY OF THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE**

Comrades,

It is the honour and very responsible task of the delegates to the 7th Congress to express the opinion of the entire Party on the new Fundamental Law of Socialist Albania, the new Constitution of our state.

The 6th Congress of the Party put forward the task of drafting a new Constitution and instructed that it should be the continuation of the existing one, which would express the continuity of the revolution in Albania, the uninterrupted struggle to guarantee the freedom and independence of the homeland and the building of socialism. On the other hand, it had to take into account our present reality, the stage which the development of the revolution has reached. The new Constitution must sanction the major revolutionary transformations carried out and the successes achieved, must reflect the general line of the Party for the complete construction of socialism and the further development of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The old Constitution was the Constitution of the building of the foundations of socialism, whereas the new Constitution will be the Constitution of the complete construction of the socialist society.

The existing Constitution has served us well in the attainment of all the magnificent achievements up to date.

But now it has completed its mission. It contains many juridical and political norms that have become extremely narrow and do not correspond to the development and the deepening of the revolution on a broad front. This is connected with the historic stage and the circumstances in which the former Constitution was adopted.

At that time the Party and the country faced great and complicated problems which had to be solved with courage and also with great wisdom, problems which called for urgent solution, but in which the stages could not be rushed. The people's power which emerged from the National Liberation War had to be consolidated and perfected. The frenzied resistance of the overthrown exploiting classes and their endeavours to restore the past had to be smashed. The old economic relations had to be liquidated and replaced with new socialist relations. The wave of spontaneity of small-scale commodity production had to be controlled, restricted, and turned aside, and the strata of the petty-bourgeoisie of town and countryside, and first of all the working peasantry, had to be drawn on to the road of socialism. The centuries-old backwardness inherited from the past had to be overcome, and the free and independent development of the country along the road of socialism ensured. The defence of the homeland had to be constantly strengthened to cope with any possible aggression from abroad. And, along with all this, a profound change in the mentality of people on the basis of proletarian world outlook and morality had to be achieved.

The first Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania, which the Party gave the people and the country, served the solution of all these great historic problems and tasks. It became a basis and a program for all the major revolutionary transformations, which have taken place during these three decades of our free life — the industrial-

ization of the country, the socialist transformation of the countryside, the carrying out of the ideological, cultural and educational revolution, the emancipation and progress of the whole society.

Because of all these victories, all these transformations and achievements, as well as the prospects opened to our country, the amending of the Constitution, as decided by the 6th Congress, became indispensable.

During these years the Central Committee of the Party has carried on allround work to complete the necessary studies and prepare the new draft-Constitution. The 8th Plenum of the Central Committee devoted itself especially to this problem. It examined the draft which the People's Assembly published and presented to the people for discussion in January this year.

In this great political and ideological action the broad masses of the working people aired their views freely on the new Fundamental Law of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. About 1,500,000 people, practically all the adult population of the country, participated in the meetings which were held, and about 300,000 people contributed to the discussion.

The unanimous approval of the draft-Constitution was, in essence, approval of the Marxist-Leninist general line of the Party, of the revolutionary course it has pursued. Hundreds of meetings in work centres and agricultural cooperatives, in schools and army units, in cultural and administrative institutions, as well as thousands upon thousands of letters and telegrams in support of the new Constitution, addressed to the Central Committee, bear testimony to the steel unity of our entire people around the Party and its line, to their revolutionary optimism and confidence in the socialist future.

The great popular discussion, characterized by a free

and fruitful thrashing out of opinions, by lively and constructive debate, was a clear expression of our socialist democracy in action and of the genuine sovereignty of the people. It demonstrated in practice that in socialist Albania the people are the masters, that nothing is done against their will. «To the poor,» said an ordinary peasant during the discussion of the draft-Constitution, «the word 'law' once had a terrible sound. It meant a threat of starvation, a threat of imprisonment, a threat of death. Today the people make the laws themselves, and they do so for their own good.»

The broad strata of the working people made many useful suggestions and proposals and rendered a valuable contribution to filling out and improving the draft presented to them, to raising it to the level required in the Fundamental Law of our socialist state.

The draft-Constitution, which will soon be submitted to the People's Assembly for final approval, is a juridical document of special importance. It is a document of great theoretical and practical, political and ideological value, on which our social, economic, and cultural development at the stage of the complete construction of the socialist society, will be based.

**The new Constitution is permeated through and through by the ideology and fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, embodies the teachings and the revolutionary experience of our Party of Labour, and bears the stamp of the creative thinking of the broad masses of our people.** It proclaims the basic principles of scientific socialism and makes them its own, principles indispensable for a genuine socialist society, in which the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established, in which the working class, with its own Party at the head, really plays its leading role.

Our new Fundamental Law reaffirms the correct Marxist-Leninist principles which were the foundation of the former Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania. But the new Constitution marks a further qualitative development of the existing Constitution, in conformity with the present stage of the revolution, which our country has reached.

While sanctioning the victories attained and the trends of development of the country on the road to socialism, the new Constitution also serves as a program of struggle and work for the future. Its aim is to give the maximum scope to the development of the productive forces and the relations of production of a genuine socialist society, to open the road to the revolutionary emancipation and education of our new man, to safeguard and strengthen the socialist order and the dictatorship of the proletariat still better, to create the best possible conditions for the country on its advance towards communism.

Summing up the line and experience of our Party in the field of development of the socialist revolution, this important document also sanctions the juridical, political, ideological and economic dispositions to bar the way to revisionism and the restoration of capitalism. In this respect, our Constitution is a valuable creative contribution of the Party of Labour of Albania to the theory and practice of scientific socialism.

**The new Constitution does not conceal its class character. It proclaims and sanctions the character of our state as a dictatorship of the proletariat in power, it proclaims and sanctions the undivided leading role of the Party in the state and in the whole society, it proclaims and sanctions the class struggle as the main driving force of our entire society.**

Socialism, said Marx,

*«...is the class dictatorship of the proletariat, as the necessary transit point to the abolition of class distinctions generally, to the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the overthrow of all ideas that result from these social relations»<sup>1</sup>.*

In the revolutionary experience of our country the correctness of these teachings of genius of Marx has been completely confirmed. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the powerful and decisive weapon to carry the socialist revolution forward, to its complete and final victory. It is through the dictatorship of the proletariat that the vital task of the revolution, the allround development of the socialist economy and culture, the organization and management of the construction of socialism and of the classless communist society, is achieved. It plays a no less important role in the struggle to purge the socialist social life of all vestiges of the old society, to eradicate from the minds of the working people everything alien that drags them backwards, to carry out their communist education, to unite all the working people around the vanguard force, the working class and its Party, on the road of socialism and communism.

The experience of the revolution and the construction of socialism in Albania proves that the dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary to the working class to suppress the resistance of the class enemies, old and new, and their efforts to restore the old order, to cope with the external danger, which comes both from the aggressive intentions of imperialism and social-imperialism to strangle and de-

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<sup>1</sup> K. Marx, F. Engels, «Selected Works», Vol. 1, p. 226 (Alb. ed.).

stroy the socialist order, with fire and steel, or with blockade and starvation, as well as from the ideological aggression of the capitalist-revisionist world, which day by day sends its waves of degeneration and counter-revolution crashing against our shores.

The preservation and ceaseless strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat throughout the period of transition from socialism to communism is also dictated by the negative experience of the Soviet Union and some other countries, where departure from the principles of the dictatorship of the proletariat gave birth to revisionism, the most dangerous weapon of the counter-revolution, which led to the destruction of the socialist order and the re-establishment of capitalist slavery and social-fascism.

The enemies of socialism, both internal and external, have always aimed their main blows against the dictatorship of the proletariat. Now, it is fashionable among all the revisionist renegades and the lackeys of the bourgeoisie to launch savage attacks on the dictatorship of the proletariat and indulge in unrestrained demagoguery about the alleged restoration of the lost democracy. Their purpose is to attack the very essence of Marxism-Leninism and the revolution and to destroy the fundamental instrument of the proletariat for the building of the new socialist life. Therefore, the stand towards the dictatorship of the proletariat has served and continues to serve as the marker of the line dividing genuine Marxist-Leninists and proletarian revolutionaries from opportunists of every hue and renegades from the working class.

In our country the dictatorship of the proletariat has always stood strong and invincible, because the Party has carried out the teachings of Marxism-Leninism faithfully, has waged the class struggle correctly, and has always maintained keen revolutionary vigilance. It has con-

stantly strengthened and perfected the proletarian state and the defence of the country, and has consistently combated all alien manifestations which lead to the peaceful degeneration of the socialist social and state order.

Reflecting and summing up the rich revolutionary experience of our country, as well as international experience, rejecting the anti-Marxist theories of the revisionists that the stage of the dictatorship of the proletariat has allegedly been left behind, or about the «state of the entire people», the new draft-Constitution states in a clear-cut manner that the *«People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which expresses and defends the interests of all the working people»*.

**The draft-Constitution is a vivid reflection of genuine socialist democracy and humanism. It is a confirmation of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism that the dictatorship of the proletariat is inseparable from the broadest, most thorough-going and complete democracy for the working people.** Ensuring broad socialist democracy constitutes a fundamental condition for the protection and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat itself, just as the dictatorship of the proletariat constitutes an indispensable and decisive condition for the existence of genuine democracy for the working people.

Our socialist democracy has guaranteed the working people the important right to have their say in the solution of social and state problems, to exercise control over everybody and everything, to participate effectively on a broad scale, in an organized way and in the most various forms, in the administration of the country. The Party considers this participation and its constant extension as the fundamental direction of the development of socialist democracy, as a great motive force to promote the socialist

construction, and as one of the most important factors to protect our state and our society against the danger of bourgeois-revisionist degeneration. This line of the Party has been fully sanctioned in the new Constitution.

The spirit of socialist democracy, which characterizes our entire social life, runs through the whole structure of our socialist state, from the people's councils at the base up to the People's Assembly. The draft-Constitution clearly defines that the state power is an indivisible whole and is exercised completely by the organs and representatives elected by the people directly. All the other state organs carry out their activity under the direction and control of the representative organs, are responsible and render account to them. It stresses that not only the elected state functionaries but also the appointed ones must render account to the masses and submit to their direct control. In this way, the struggle against the danger of estrangement of the representative organs from the people, the struggle against bureaucracy and the tendency to place the executive and administrative organs above the representative organs of power, is put on a constitutional basis.

With us the building and functioning of the entire socialist state and social mechanism proceed on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism, the essence of which is the centralized leadership by the working class of the entire life of the country through its Party and the proletarian state, the combination of centralized management with the independent action of local organs and the creative initiative of the working masses. By fully embodying this great Marxist-Leninist principle, the draft-Constitution is counterposed to all anti-Marxist concepts and practices of the revisionists, both the liberal-anarchist concepts that negate proletarian centralism, and

the bureaucratic centralist concepts, which prevent participation by the working masses in governing the country.

In socialist Albania, the rights of the working people to work, to education and medical services free of charge, to the means of livelihood in old age, freedom of speech, the press and organization, have been ensured under the law and guaranteed in practice, complete equality before the law, without any restriction or privilege in rights and obligations on account of sex, race, nationality, education, position or material condition, etc, is guaranteed. One of the great achievements of the historic work of the Party and the people's power is the emancipation of the Albanian woman and her complete equality with man in work and pay and in all fields of our life. All these colossal political and social victories achieved by our Party and people, occupy an important place in the new Constitution.

Our reality, our socialist democracy refute all the slanders of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists who charge that the socialist order lacks democracy. With us, freedom and democracy are only for the broad masses of working people, and are not, and cannot be, for the enemies of the working class and the people, for those who seek to undermine the proletarian state power and the socialist social order, as the bourgeoisie and the revisionist traitors would like. In full compliance with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, our Party and our dictatorship of the proletariat have not allowed and never will allow this kind of democracy. Our socialist democracy is true democracy for the people, for the masses of the working people, and for them alone.

During the popular discussion of the draft-Constitution, the entire people enthusiastically hailed the inclusion in the Constitution as a fundamental principle of the clause that the *«Party of Labour of Albania, the vanguard*

*of the working class, is the sole political leading force of the state and the society».*

With the greatest loyalty and unwavering consistency our Party has upheld the great principle that ensuring the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party constitutes the decisive condition for carrying out the revolution, establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and building socialism. It has always been aware that the leadership of the Party represents the concentrated and highest expression of the leading role of the working class and the number one subjective factor for putting its revolutionary program into practice.

The fact that this has been made a fundamental principle of the Constitution is further evidence that our Party, as always, is determined to implement and defend the immortal teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on every issue and in all fields. The leading role of the Party in our society and state not only constitutes a basic demand of Marxism-Leninism but it also represents an historic reality.

With the Party in the lead, our people carried out the National Liberation War and won their freedom and independence, overthrew the old regimes and established the people's power. With the Party in the lead, great revolutionary transformations were carried out. Under the leadership of the Party, our people defended the country from the frenzied attacks of external and internal enemies, and secured and consolidated its political and economic independence. With the Party at the head, that Albania at which we rejoice today and which we must always unceasingly strive to make stronger and more prosperous has been built.

But, as Marxism-Leninism teaches and as our own historical experience, too, has convinced us, it is not just

for a certain time that the leading role of the Party is necessary. It is indispensable for the entire period of the complete construction of the socialist society, up to communism. **The more the revolution advances and deepens, the more the leading role of the Party must be strengthened and perfected in every sphere of life, and state and social activity.** If this role is allowed to become weakened or eliminated, great dangers threaten the revolution and socialism and grave defeats await them.

The revisionist theories which claim that, in the transitional period the leading role of the Party comes to an end, or turns into an educative function only, are aimed at leaving the working class and the people without a leadership so that the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism can be overthrown and the counter-revolution triumph.

By placing the principle of the leading role of the Party at the foundation of the Constitution, we are defending Marxism-Leninism from these frenzied attacks. defending and carrying forward the cause of true socialism in Albania.

The fact that Marxism-Leninism has now become the dominant ideology in our country represents another historical reality. Our entire political, economic, social, educational and cultural life is guided by the principles of the ideology of the working class and permeated by the principles of proletarian morality. As a result of the great work of the Party, of the ideological and cultural revolution, the revolutionary theory of the proletariat has been embraced by the broad masses of the people, it sets the tone for, and determines, the course of development of the entire spiritual life of our society. Marxism-Leninism, which illuminates our road to socialism and communism, has been transformed into a great motive force.

The Marxist-Leninist ideology, the line of the Party, enable the people to understand the present better and have even greater confidence in the future. Life over the last thirty-five years has firmly convinced our people that only on the basis of the revolutionary outlook of the working class is it possible to establish, safeguard and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, to build socialism successfully and to march confidently towards the classless communist society.

This experience and these victories have had the result that the consistent defence and implementation of Marxism-Leninism has become the concern of all the working people and is considered by everybody as a question vital to the fate of socialism. Therefore, **the statement of the Constitution that «Marxism-Leninism is the dominant ideology» in our socialist state, that «the entire socialist order is developed on the basis of its principles» is a great historic victory of socialism in Albania.**

One of the great principles of Marxism-Leninism and one of the main conclusions drawn from our Party's revolutionary experience is that it is absolutely essential to continue to wage the class struggle in the period of the complete construction of the socialist society, right up to communism.

The modern revisionists with the Soviet revisionists in the lead claim that class struggle dies out with the liquidation of the exploiting classes. This is a fraud designed to disarm the working class and lull it to sleep, to open the way to the restoration of capitalism. This has been most clearly proved in the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries, where the new capitalist bourgeoisie has come to power.

Our country's experience refutes these false and capitulationist theories about the dying down of the class

struggle in socialism. The entire history of the construction of socialism in Albania is a history of irreconcilable struggle between the revolution and counter-revolution, between the two roads of development, against the external and internal enemies, as well as within the ranks of the people and the Party itself. This struggle has been waged unceasingly and has always been fierce, only its forms and methods have changed according to circumstances and stages of development. Even after the liquidation of the exploiting classes as such, the internal and external enemies have never for one moment laid down their arms or ceased their struggle against socialism. Therefore, our Party and people have waged the class struggle in all fields with stern consistency and in a correct Marxist-Leninist way, as the decisive condition to ensure the final victory of the socialist road over the capitalist road.

In compliance with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and relying on this rich revolutionary experience, the draft-Constitution explicitly states that **in all its activity, our socialist state upholds the great Marxist-Leninist principle of class struggle, which constitutes the great motive force to carry the socialist revolution forward.**

In drafting the new Constitution, the Central Committee has seen to it that the line of the Party concerning major questions of national sovereignty and defence of the country's freedom and independence is fully reflected and clearly formulated in it. In the circumstances that our country is encircled by imperialists and revisionists, that allround political, ideological, economic and military pressure is being brought to bear against it, that chauvinistic theories on limited sovereignty are being spread and the practice of robbing the peoples of their independence is being imposed by violence, these problems assume

great importance not only theoretical and juridical but practical and political as well.

Proceeding from the sacred goal of preserving and unceasingly strengthening the freedom, independence, and defence potential of the homeland and the gains of the revolution, **the draft-Constitution states that nobody other than the representative organs of state power, can exercise sovereignty of the people or any of their attributes in the name of our Republic, that the territory of the homeland is inalienable and its borders inviolable.** Under the Constitution, the establishment of foreign military bases and the stationing of foreign troops, in whatever form, in the territory of socialist Albania are prohibited. As well as this, no one has the right to sign or accept the capitulation or occupation of the country.

These revolutionary principles of vital importance unequivocally and clearly express the sovereign right and determination of the Albanian people to defend their life, their achievements, and their free and independent socialist homeland to the end. At the same time, the principles sanctioned in the Constitution, especially the one about the prohibition of the establishment of foreign bases and the stationing of foreign troops, constitute a solemn pledge that the territory of socialist Albania will never be used as a base for aggression against the other countries.

Also of great importance for safeguarding the independence of the country and the socialist order is the provision in the draft-Constitution prohibiting the granting of concessions to foreign countries, the setting up of foreign economic and financial companies and other institutions or embarking on joint ventures with bourgeois and revisionist capitalist monopolies and states, as well as obtaining credits from them. This is an extremely import-

ant question of principle. No country whatsoever, big or small, can build socialism by taking credits and aid from the bourgeoisie and the revisionists or by integrating its economy into the world system of capitalist economy. Any such linking of the economy of a socialist country with the economy of bourgeois or revisionist countries opens the doors to the action of the economic laws of capitalism and the degeneration of the socialist order. This is the road of betrayal and the restoration of capitalism, which the revisionist cliques have pursued and are pursuing.

Our people always regard the defence of freedom and national sovereignty as the duty above all duties. Therefore, the Party and the people's power have adopted a series of very important measures of a political, ideological, military and other character, which have also been sanctioned in the draft-Constitution, for the organization of a reliable and impregnable defence, capable of guaranteeing the socialist victories and coping with any enemy aggression, no matter where it comes from. **The Constitution also sanctions the great Marxist-Leninist principle that the defence of the homeland and the gains of socialism are guaranteed by the armed people organized in the armed forces.**

It is absolutely possible to ensure the national sovereignty, and political and economic independence and to guarantee the defence of the country, because in Albania the people are in power, sovereignty belongs entirely to the working people and is exercised by them alone, because the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the Party of Labour is in power here.

These basic principles which have been sanctioned in the draft-Constitution, reflect the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist policy and line of the Party, and, at the same time, comply with the ardent aspirations of the Al-

banian people who have fought and shed torrents of blood for their freedom, independence, and sovereign rights, for hundreds of years on end. This is why the entire people have expressed their unanimous approval of these great principles of the Constitution and their readiness to a man to defend their national sovereignty and every inch of their socialist homeland, at all costs and under any circumstances.

Our country's experience proves that the safeguarding of the economic and political independence and the defence of national sovereignty are closely linked with the consistent implementation of the principle of self-reliance. In connection with this major question, the draft-Constitution says that **throughout the construction of socialism, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania upholds the principle of self-reliance.**

Just as the freedom and independence of a country are not donated, neither are the revolution and socialism imported. They are the outcome of the resolute revolutionary struggle of the broad working masses of each country with the working class at the head and under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party. The principle of self-reliance does not rule out the internationalist aid of the proletariat, revolutionaries, and socialist countries. However, the external factor, internationalist solidarity and aid, is an auxiliary and complementary element, but not the decisive one, despite its great importance.

In the National Liberation War as well as in the construction and defence of socialism, our Party has resolutely applied the Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance. Precisely for this reason our country successfully dealt with the nazi-fascist occupiers as well as all the pressures and blockades of the imperialist and revisionists, has built a powerful and independent economy and

developed a powerful and reliable defence potential, and a culture and art of sound socialist content. By undeviatingly pursuing the Marxist-Leninist course of self-reliance, Albania will attain new, even greater, victories in the complete construction of the socialist society.

The draft-Constitution also sanctions a series of other important principles and norms, which underlie the construction and functioning of the entire economic and social, political and spiritual life such as those which govern the relations of ownership and distribution, the planned development of the economy, the socialist law, the relations between cadres and masses, between the state and the society, as well as the principles and norms which define the rights and duties of citizens, and so on. The sanctioning in the Constitution of the fundamental principles guiding the foreign policy of our state is of special importance.

**The new Constitution provides a reflection of a true socialist society, built according to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, embodied in, and borne out by, the revolutionary practice of our country.** Therefore, in calling our Republic a People's Socialist Republic, the new Constitution expresses in the most complete and clearest way the class content and the socialist reality of Albania today.

The approval of the new Fundamental Law of our socialist state by the People's Assembly will impart a fresh and powerful impulse to the entire work and struggle of our people for the construction and defence of socialism. The new Constitution will make the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania even stronger and more invincible, it will open up broader vistas to the progress and prosperity of our Fatherland.

## **THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY AND THE TASKS OF THE PARTY**

Under the leadership of the Party and inspired by its correct Marxist-Leninist line, our working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, mustered all their energies, and in general, successfully fulfilled the tasks set by the 6th Congress for the development of the economy and culture.

By implementing the Party's directive that the economy must be developed in a proportionate and harmonious way, further growth and strengthening of all its branches was ensured in the 5th five-year period. In 1975, as against 1970, social production increased by 31 per cent and the national income by 38 per cent, at an average rate 3 times higher than the increase in the population.

During this period, proceeding on the road of socialist industrialization, the role of industry as the leading branch in the overall economic development was further enhanced. Now industrial production makes up about 65 per cent of total industrial and agricultural production. In 1975, as against 1970, industrial production increased by 52 per cent, at an average annual rate of 8.7 per cent.

During these years, vigorous revolutionary work was done to put into practice the correct policy of the Party for the rapid development and modernization of so-

cialist agriculture, as the basic branch of the economy. Agricultural production increased by 33 per cent, at an average annual rate of 5.9 per cent.

In this five-year period the volume of investments was 50 per cent greater than in the previous five-year period. Work was done on 310 important economic and social projects, half of which have already been commissioned.

On the basis of the overall growth of production, a further rise in the material wellbeing and the cultural level of the people was ensured. The real income per capita increased by 14.5 per cent, the target set by the 6th Congress. The purchasing power of the population has increased and supply has steadily improved. Eighty-five per cent of the people's needs for industrial and agricultural goods of everyday use were met by local products. During the past five-year period, 62,000 flats and dwelling houses were built in towns and villages. The educational and cultural level of the masses of the people was raised higher. In the last five years, over 12,500 people graduated from higher schools, and 72,000 others from secondary schools. The rise in the wellbeing and the cultural level, the extension and improvement of the health services, resulted in the extension of the average life-span and a high rate of increase in the population.

This allround material and cultural development has been accompanied with the adoption of important measures for the strengthening of socialist property, the further revolutionary improvement of relations of distribution and exchange.

The results achieved in carrying out the tasks laid down by the 6th Congress of the Party for the development of the economy and culture speak clearly of the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, the

superiority of our socialist system, the high level of consciousness and creativeness of our people.

In making a correct assessment of the major results achieved, we must not fail to point out that in the struggle for the fulfilment of the five-year plan, apart from some objective difficulties, there have also been a series of shortcomings and weaknesses in the management and organization of work, bureaucratic and liberal stands and actions, technocratic and intellectualistic views, which caused the creation of appreciable deficits in some sectors. The planned targets in the extraction of oil, chromium, copper and coal, in the production of bread grain and industrial crops, were not fully attained. The construction of some industrial projects was not completed on schedule. The sabotage activity of the hostile groups exposed and condemned by the Party also had a direct influence on the failure to achieve these targets.

But neither the savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement and allround blockade, the pressure of the economic-financial crisis of the capitalist-revisionist world, nor the activity of enemies, was able to stop the triumphant march of socialist Albania.

The major victories attained in the material and spiritual development of our society have created a powerful basis which opens up great prospects for our irresistible drive forward.

Proceeding from the Marxist-Leninist general line for the construction of socialism, the Central Committee of the Party has drawn up the draft-directives for the new five-year plan of the development of the economy and culture for the 1976-1980 period, which it now puts forward to the Congress for consideration.

These draft-directives have been discussed by the working masses, who expressed their opinions, discovered

new reserves and possibilities, and made very valuable proposals for advancing the indices of the plan and defining the ways to ensure the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the targets.

The 6th five-year plan is a mobilizing and realistic plan. It is based on the efforts, energies and mental and physical capacities of the people, on the possibilities and resources of the economy, on the internal socialist accumulation. The achievements to date, the material-technical base created, the great experience gained, the enthusiasm, readiness, and ardent patriotism shown by our people, are a reliable guarantee that it will be fulfilled successfully.

In compliance with the guidelines provided by the Party in the draft-directives for the development of the economy and culture in the 1976-1980 period, the following basic task is laid down:

**«To go on at rapid rates with the socialist construction of the country for the transformation of socialist Albania into an industrial-agricultural country, with advanced industry and agriculture, according to the principle of self-reliance, for the further allround strengthening of the economic independence of the country; to further improve the socialist relations of production and the superstructure; to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and enhance the defence potential of the homeland; to raise the material and cultural level of the working masses higher by carrying further the narrowing of distinctions between town and countryside. This is to be achieved on the basis of the consistent waging of the class struggle and the mobilization of all the forces and energies of the people under the leadership of the Party.»**

To carry out this basic task, the 6th five-year plan envisages a further allround development of socialist indus-

try, giving priority as before, to the development of heavy industry, the vanguard of the whole process of socialist industrialization of the country. With the commissioning of new projects with a high level of concentration of production and technical equipment, industry will assume new qualitative dimensions and features.

Overall industrial production will increase by 41-44 per cent, of which the production of means of production by about 60 per cent. The total value of industrial production in the 6th five-year plan will be greater than that realized during the four five-year plans, from 1951 up to 1970.

The directives of the Party for the intensification and modernization of agriculture, for the vigorous growth of agricultural and livestock production, find full reflection in the tasks assigned to this branch of vital importance. Overall agricultural production in 1980, as against 1975, is envisaged to increase by 38-41 per cent, and in the five years it will be nearly equal to the production realized in the first, second, and third five-year periods taken together.

The volume of investments is envisaged to be 35-38 per cent larger than that of the previous five-year period. It is nearly equal to the total volume of investments made during the 20 years from 1951 to 1970 taken together.

National income is envisaged to increase by 38-40 per cent. The supply of foodstuffs and industrial products for the people will mark further improvement. Retail goods turnover will increase 22-25 per cent, and real income per capita of population 11-14 per cent. Education, culture, health and science will make important steps forward. In 1980, about 730,000 pupils and students will attend schools of all categories, 18,000 students will graduate from higher schools, and 91,000 from secondary schools.

These brilliant perspectives opened up to the country with the new five-year plan, inspire all the working people, strengthen their confidence, encourage and give them fresh energies to undertake and carry out ever greater tasks for the good of the people and the homeland, for the progress of socialist Albania.

These are some of the main objectives of the 6th five-year plan. Comrade Mehmet Shehu, who is going to deliver the report of the Central Committee on the draft-directives for the development of the economy and culture in the 1976-1980 period, will speak about them in greater detail. Here we shall dwell on some current fundamental questions of the economic policy of the Party.

### **1. — The Further Development Of Industry — The Main Factor For The Strengthening Of The Economy**

In its program for the development and consolidation of the socialist economy, right from the start the Party has always followed a correct Marxist-Leninist line, giving priority to the setting up and expansion of industry, to strengthening and modernizing it. The victories achieved in all fields, in industry, the mines, construction, communications, etc., are the result of the courageous implementation of this correct policy of the Party. In 1975, as against 1960 when the Soviet revisionists began their savage blockade, total industrial production had increased 3.9 fold, of which the production of oil and chromium industries 3.1 fold, copper industry 21 fold, power industry 7.1 fold, chemical industry 24.8 fold, and the engineering industry 14.4 fold over.

Looking at the results achieved and the prospects opened for the further development of our country, one can

realize how correct and far-sighted was the struggle which the Party has waged against the «suggestions» and pressure of the Yugoslav and Soviet revisionists and the defeatist viewpoints of the internal enemies, who sought to divert our country from the correct path our Party had chosen for its socialist industrialization. They strove with might and main to sabotage the development of industry, concealing the geological data with the aim of proving that our country allegedly lacked the raw materials, that it was not worthwhile making investments in the mining industry, that it would be better to spend these funds on sunflowers and oranges.

**To develop the various branches of industry and the people's economy as a whole, the Party has relied, first and foremost, on the mineral resources of the country and their utilization.** Mining, which occupies the main place in heavy industry, ensures for the economy extremely valuable and irreplaceable raw materials, the staple food of industry and the main source of exports.

Our country extensively exploits such valuable resources as chromium and iron-nickel ore, copper, pyrite, oil, gas, and coal. Up till now, many kinds of minerals have been discovered. The facts show that underground in Albania there is no lack of bauxites, phosphorites, polymetals, and other minerals.

In the new five-year plan, too, the rapid and steady development of industry is to be directly linked with the expansion of the mining, extracting, and processing industry, which will continue to grow at higher rates of development than the other branches of industry.

The orientation of the Party for the 6th five-year plan period is to ensure a more rational exploitation of the existing resources on which the principal forces and means must be concentrated, to put new resources into economic

circulation and to increase the value of our minerals through their enrichment and processing within the country.

To further strengthen the economy, to guarantee the most powerful possible base of raw materials and energy for industry, a special role is to be played by geology. It must precede the development of the mining industry and open new paths for it. Slowing down the work of prospecting for and discovering minerals is fraught with negative consequences for the economy.

The problems of geology are problems that must become the concern of the party organizations, state and economic organs on a broad scale, and must never be considered as questions which only specialists can deal with. The party organizations must show special concern for the ideological and professional education of the geological workers and should encourage in them the desire and will to study and master science and technology, and apply them ever better for the benefit of the economy and the homeland.

Geology is a science of strict discipline, which requires verifiable accuracy in every action and at every juncture. Our geological sector has suffered precisely from the lack of strict scientific discipline and thorough-going studies backed by facts. As in any other science, and even more so in geology, one cannot proceed by conjecture or by empirical methods. Therefore it is required of the geologists that their work should always be solidly based on thorough complex studies, that they make accurate generalizations of factual data, to achieve useful discoveries with the least possible expenditure.

From the geologists, the prospecting specialists, all the workers of geology, the people and the homeland require that they study our underground riches scientifi-

cally, conduct large-scale work to disclose its mineral content and increase our geological reserves. **To this end, the geologists should courageously search every inch of our mountains and plains, shoulder to shoulder with the amateur prospectors, and assess every trace, every clue, and every discovery with the greatest seriousness.**

In order to further strengthen the productive forces of the country, to create a more efficient structure of industry and the other branches of the economy, to further consolidate our economic independence, the Party attaches extreme importance to the rapid development of the extracting and processing industry.

But the existing processing industry and that which is going to be set up constantly require large amounts of chromium, copper, iron-nickel and other minerals. These minerals, so precious to our country and scarce in the foreign market, also ensure the main source of foreign currency in our state's income. The five-year plan provides for chromium ore extraction to increase by 47 per cent, copper 55 per cent, and iron-nickel about 3.3 times over. Fulfilment of these major tasks demands a most efficient exploitation of mines, based on thorough scientific knowledge, strict technical discipline, and socialist consciousness of a high level. The existing mineral resources constitute a great asset, therefore neither irrational or unstudied methods of exploitation, nor concern for global figures only, which has caused no slight damage in the past, are permissible here. Major tasks face us in raising the level of the mechanization of the extraction and transport of millions of tons of ore from the bowels of the earth, making full use of the existing mechanisms and machines and those to be produced locally. In the future, too, the extension and expansion of transport and the construction of new railways should be directed first of all towards the mines.

The Party has always considered the development of the oil, gas and coal industry as a problem of special political and economic importance, closely connected with the allround development of the country and the strengthening of its independence and defence potential. The ceaseless growth of industry, agriculture, transport and the other branches of the economy, the consolidation and modernization of the defence potential of the country, require ever more coal, motor fuel, lubricants, and gas.

Precisely because the oil, gas and coal industry is so vital for the economy and defence, the internal and external enemies have always striven to hinder and sabotage the rapid development of them by all manner of means. This is what the enemies of the Party and the people, Abdyl Këllezhi and Koço Theodhosi did, too. With refined methods, they caused confusion in gas and oil prospecting, and directed it on to a wrong anti-economic and anti-scientific course. By careless drilling, which yielded no results, they sabotaged the discovery of new sources. To cover the tracks of their sabotage activity in the extraction of oil, they encouraged barbarous methods of exploitation of the existing sources, with the aim of leaving the homeland and the people without oil.

The damage caused by the enemies created some temporary difficulties, but the oil workers, led by the Party, are fighting persistently to overcome the consequences of the sabotage activity and to give the homeland more oil and gas. They are working hard to expand the existing sources and are optimistic about discovering new oil and gas fields.

Under the conditions of a world energy crisis and when the country's needs for oil and gas are constantly increasing, the oil workers are called upon to work with

greater intensity and scientific discipline, so that the maintenance and exploitation of oil and gas fields is based on well studied plans, making extensive use of those methods which raise the indices of exploitation and prolong the life of the fields. As the Party has always directed, **it is necessary to concentrate oil prospecting on already known and promising areas to ensure the discovery of new oil and gas fields, and to define the prospects for the coming five-year periods.** Oil and gas are among the most valuable assets of our country. Our generation is duty bound to think of the coming generations, too.

As concerns coal, the Party's directive has been and continues to be that this fuel must find extensive use whenever possible. The calorific power of our coal is up to the requirements of most branches of the economy. Therefore it should not be underrated by any means, as it was by the enemies, when they intentionally restricted extraction of coal, replacing it with oil. This five-year plan envisages that the extraction of coal will be doubled. To reach this high objective it is indispensable **to bring the new mines into production as quickly as possible, to maintain the existing mines and increase coal extraction in them,** and in no case to allow stockpiled coal to deteriorate.

The Party has devoted great attention to the expansion and consolidation of the electric power industry, which has priority in the industrialization of the country and the general development of the people's economy. With the commissioning of the big Fierza Hydro-power Plant and the new capacities that will be added during this five-year period, the average annual growth rate of production of electric power will be 2.4 times higher than the average annual growth rate of social production during the years 1976-1980. The high growth rate of production in this

branch must be accompanied by the establishment of a strict regime of saving electric power itself and fuel used to produce it. Hydro-power stations remain, as they have been up till now, the basis to increase production of electric power, whereas thermo-power stations must be built to run mainly on coal and gas.

Our Party's correct policy in appraising the value of our natural resources and consolidating the sound and reliable basis of the socialist industrialization of the country has found full application in the setting up of an extensive processing industry. One of the main characteristics of this five-year period is the fact that new branches are added to the existing processing industry, such as the full cycle ferrous metallurgy, the ferro-chromium and pyro-metallurgical industries, the copper rolling industry. New plants of chemical industry, as well as many plants and factories for the enrichment of ores and fuels will also be commissioned. These create the possibility of processing more mineral and non-mineral raw materials locally, as well as the necessary basis to further develop the existing branches of industry and to set up new branches in the future. In this way, the level of self-sufficiency of the economy rises, the economy is further strengthened, export possibilities and the value of processed products are increased. Thus, the economy serves the strengthening of the defence potential of the country better.

With this development of the processing industry, in 1980 over 65 per cent of the volume of exports will be made up of locally processed goods as against 46 per cent in 1960. This is a significant index of the correct policy followed by the Party. Continuing on this course, **a task for the future is that we must be able to process all our minerals locally, and cease exports of crude ores.**

During this five-year period our industry will be

greatly strengthened. Large-scale production will start in the Elbasan Metallurgical Combine which, apart from pig-iron and high quality steel from smelting our ore, will also give our country nickel and cobalt which have very great value on the world market.

As early as its 4th Congress the Party decided to build a metallurgical combine. But the Soviet revisionist leadership sabotaged the realization of this plan at that time. They refused to accord our country credits for this project, because they followed a neo-colonialist policy; they wanted our country to be economically dependent on them, and to impede the construction of socialism in Albania. But with the internationalist aid of the Chinese comrades, of the Chinese Communist Party and Government, our people are successfully building this great project, as they are completing many other projects with Chinese fraternal aid. Our Party and people express their deep gratitude to the Chinese Party and people for their very valuable support and aid.

The ferrous metallurgy, with complex modern equipment and technology, is a new industry to us. Therefore, it is necessary for the Party to take firmly in hand the ideo-political and professional education of young metallurgical workers, from the rank-and-file workers and technicians up to the engineers and directors, so that they master the advanced technology and the difficult and delicate profession of the metallurgical worker, to give the country the maximum top-quality steel and other metals.

Another great project which will soon be commissioned is the Oil Refinery of Ballsh where the crude oil will undergo a modern refining process. When this plant commences work it will produce motor fuels and lubricants of high quality which will fulfil the needs of

industry, agriculture and transport better, and the import of a number of kinds of motor fuels will be reduced, as will exports of crude oil.

The sense of frugality, the thrifty use of raw materials, especially oil, gas, coal and electric power, should be deeply implanted in the consciousness of the working people. Savings must be made everywhere: in prospecting, drilling, exploitation, wherever such materials are used, since they represent a great and irreplaceable asset to our people and our economy. Excessive and unnecessary expenditure damages the construction of socialism.

On the basis of the exploitation and local processing of raw materials, such as oil, gas and phosphorites, the chemical industry will assume further development, especially through increased output of chemical fertilizers so necessary to expand agricultural and live-stock production.

The building materials industry will also increase its production, especially that of cement, to completely meet the need of construction and the economy, and for export as well.

The local production of pig-iron and various steels creates favourable conditions and opens up new prospects for the development of the engineering industry. **With the powerful and advanced machinery base, all the possibilities now exist for it to go over, on a broader and more organized scale, to the production of all the special machinery for mining, farming and the other branches of the economy, to build complete factories and production lines on the basis of self-reliance.** In 1980, as against 1975, the production of the engineering industry will increase by 40-43 per cent. To achieve these objectives it is necessary to raise the level of qualification of the

workers of this branch, to find a more complete solution to the problems of concentration, specialization and co-operation, and to fully utilize the productive capacities.

Along with the priority it has given to the complex development of heavy industry, the Party has always appreciated the importance of rapid development of the mass consumer goods industry which is directly linked with the constant improvement of the living conditions of the people. To this end, **it is envisaged that the light and food-processing industry will be further developed and strengthened during the 6th five-year plan, increasing the production of food-stuffs, clothing and footwear, household utensils, etc.** In this branch the Party's instruction that the needs of the people must be ever better fulfilled, as to volume, range, quality, and at reasonable prices, should be always kept in mind.

The development of industry gives all branches of the economy new and ever greater possibilities for their rapid development. It creates new material and financial resources. As a leading factor of the entire economy, industry will give a vigorous impulse, especially, to the development of agriculture, by supplying it with more chemical fertilizers, farm machinery and spare parts.

The Party has unshakable confidence that the heroic working class and all the working people of industry will mobilize all their energies and knowledge to fulfil and overfulfil the important tasks of the 6th five-year plan, thus making another valuable contribution to the general development and progress of the people's economy, to the transformation of Albania into an industrial-agricultural country, with developed industry and advanced agriculture.

## **2. — Agriculture, The Basic Branch Of The Economy, Must Be Raised To A Higher Level**

Our Party of Labour, enlightened by Marxism-Leninism, has always borne in mind that, besides developed industry, the construction of socialism requires advanced and modern agriculture. Agriculture is the basis of the economy, which to a large extent, determines and conditions the fulfilment of tasks in the other branches, the raising of the general wellbeing of the people, and the strengthening of the defence potential of the country.

A real revolution has been carried out in all directions in our agriculture. A powerful material-technical base, which is serving the ever greater intensification of agriculture, has been set up. Agricultural and livestock products have rapidly increased from year to year, ever better satisfying the needs of the people and the economy. During the previous five-year plan alone, bread grain production increased by 35 per cent, of which, wheat production doubled. Production of cotton increased by 48 per cent, sugar-beet 76 per cent, milk 47 per cent, and so on. Our socialist countryside has radically changed its appearance, and the standard of living and wellbeing of the peasantry is beyond comparison with the past. All these successes are evidence of the correctness of the line of the Party, of the course it has set for the socialist transformation of the countryside. The collectivization of agriculture, carried out over a period, step by step, as well as the unceasing strengthening of the common property, are proving the superiority and vitality of the socialist cooperativist order right now, when all over the world, not only in the backward countries, but even in the so-called advanced countries, there is a great shortage of agricultural

products. Many of these countries, including the revisionist Soviet Union, are holding out their hand to US imperialism for bread. The revisionist countries are experiencing a grave crisis in agriculture, precisely because they have abandoned the countryside and opposed collectivization, leaving the field free for the capitalist mode of production in the countryside.

The vigorous development of agriculture constitutes one of the most fundamental problems of the Party and the whole country. The demand for agricultural and livestock products, to supply the people and the food-processing and light industries, is growing day by day. Agricultural products are needed to further expand exports and remove all these agricultural primary products and foodstuffs, which we still bring in from abroad, from the import list. In the conditions of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade and the world economic crisis, the independence of our country from foreign markets becomes even more essential.

Our people, our cadres, in village and town, must be conscious of this situation and the extremely great importance agriculture now assumes. The struggle for its allround rapid development is a struggle for socialism and independence, a struggle to avoid the enslavement and impoverishment of the country. For these reasons, the Party long ago launched the slogan, «Agriculture — the concern of the entire people». It is the duty of the party organs and organizations and the organs of the state and the economy to carry out allround work so that everybody understands this directive properly and implements it to the letter, becoming thoroughly convinced that our country has all the possibilities to increase agricultural and livestock production substantially.

**In this five-year period, the main objective of the**

**Party in agriculture is to achieve full self-sufficiency in bread grain.** It has been planned that, from this year on, sufficient grain will be produced to satisfy all the needs of the country, to increase the state reserves and gradually create reserves in the agricultural economies as well, and to ensure better supplies of feed for the livestock. The production of bread grain in 1980 is expected to be 56-60 per cent, and that of potatoes 48 to 50 per cent, higher than in 1975.

Achieving self-sufficiency in bread grain is a task of great economic, political, and strategic importance. Home production of grain ensures the people's bread and imparts a powerful impulse to the entire economy, further cements the foundations of the independence of our socialist homeland, is a guarantee that we shall be able to cope with any situation, in good times and bad, makes the country independent of imported grain once and for all, and releases large sums of foreign currency which can be used for other purposes.

The first year of the five-year plan closed with a great victory. The cooperativist peasantry and the other farm workers successfully fulfilled the plan in grain production, ensuring all the grain required within the country for the first time. This year's grain production was about 30 per cent larger than in 1975, which was a record year in the production of grain. Such results can be achieved only by an agriculture that is developed on a sound socialist basis, a patriotic peasantry, and a heroic people who loyally follow and implement the line and teachings of their Marxist-Leninist Party.

The vigorous growth in the production of bread grain is a result of the allround efforts of the working people of agriculture to carry out a high level of cultivation and systematization of the land with good quality,

a result of the use of selected seeds and more careful tending of the crops. All these things confirm once again what the Party has repeatedly pointed out, that it is not the weather, not atmospheric factors, but primarily the persistent work of man that is decisive in high achievements in agriculture.

This good beginning in the fulfilment of the task of achieving self-sufficiency in bread grain, must be consolidated and carried further from year to year. The party organizations, the organs of state power and the economy must sum up and publicize the experience gained, must encourage and support creative initiatives and take the necessary organizational measures for the most efficient utilization of the material-technical base so that the targets set are not only fulfilled but overfulfilled.

**The priority the Party has given and continues to give to bread grain production, does not rule out, but on the contrary, absolutely demands the complex and harmonious development of agricultural production on a broad front.** The economy and the people need all kinds of agricultural and livestock products. They need cotton and sugar-beet and tobacco, just as they need olives and sunflowers. These products are required not only as food-stuffs for the population but also for industry and, some of them, as export items as well. In the world today cotton textiles have become a luxury, and sugar and edible oil fetch very high prices on the world market.

**Fruit and vegetable growing** also calls for special care, because extension of their consumption improves the dietary structure of the people and saves bread. Vegetables and fruits are also an important source of income in foreign currency. Our country has all the conditions for abundant fruit and vegetable production all the year

round. There are still many unproductive hillsides that can and must be turned into fertile orchards, vineyards and olive groves.

As regards industrial crops, olives, fruits and vegetables, the five-year plan envisages major tasks, therefore no underestimation of them, such as occurs in certain districts or agricultural economies, can be permitted.

Animal husbandry is a very important branch of farming. It constitutes an inestimable asset for the country, an irreplaceable source of meat, milk, wool and leather production, an important factor in raising the wellbeing of the people. **There can be no intensive agriculture without an advanced livestock raising. That is why the party organs and party basic organizations and the state and economic organs must always pay great attention to its development.**

As up to now, the development of cows, increasing their numbers and improving the breeds, requires special attention, particularly in the lowland areas of the country. This will make it possible to meet the needs for draft oxen, especially in the highlands, where, because of the underestimation that exists, their numbers are insufficient. The favourable natural conditions, especially in the highlands, make possible a more rapid increase in the numbers of sheep and goats in the raising of which our people have ancient traditions. In the hilly and mountainous regions where there are vast tracts of pastures, which are not always appreciated and utilized correctly, new flocks of sheep and goats must be established, and new state farms or sectors mainly engaged in livestock farming set up.

These important tasks for the increase and improvement of livestock farming cannot be solved without strengthening the fodder base, because these things are organically linked with one another. **The way to ensure**

**sufficient forage crops is not to further increase their acreage, taking up the most fertile land, but to intensify and increase yields.**

In feeding the population, apart from the production of meat, breeding and catching fish are of great importance. It is essential that a radical turn is made in the fulfilment of the tasks set by the Party and the state for this sector.

The tasks facing agriculture are by no means light. But the discussion of the draft-directives by the working people of agriculture and this year's results showed that favourable conditions and real possibilities have been created to fulfil and overfulfil these tasks, to take a further big step in increasing the yields of all agricultural crops and livestock products. The advancing of the targets of the plan so that the yields of field crops envisaged for 1980 will be achieved as early as the first years of the five-year plan, the confidence and determination so that these targets will be achieved, are clear testimony to the correctness of the line of the Party, which, when it is grasped by the masses, is turned into a great motive force to revolutionize production and increase it at higher rates.

**The revolutionary drive and enthusiasm of the masses require powerful organizational and technical support.** They require that the Party should work more consistently to keep this enthusiasm that has burst out in our countryside at a high level, to further strengthen the conscientiousness of the masses in their work, and to increase the sense of responsibility of the state and economic organs. A special role devolves on the specialists of agriculture who must scientifically sum up the advanced experiences, spread agrotechnical expertise among the masses of the cooperativists and apply science ever better in agriculture.

Great tasks face the Ministry of Agriculture and its subordinate organs, to lead the work for the advancement of agriculture. The Party has criticized and condemned the former leaders of the Ministry of Agriculture, who, lacking faith in the correctness of the line of the Party, and lacking conviction in the possibilities of carrying out the tasks laid down by the 6th Congress, by renouncing the basic principles of unified and centralized management of state farms and agricultural cooperatives and assuming the role of a consultative apparatus, seriously damaged and hindered the fulfilment of the past five-year plan in agriculture. The situation in the Ministry of Agriculture has now been improved and made healthy.

The Party has always stressed that the scientific treatment of the soil is of prime importance for the increase of agricultural and livestock production. Colossal investments have been made for land improvement, drainage and irrigation. Studies have been carried out also on pedological problems, on the ways of increasing fertility, the combination of crop rotation with the system of tillage and use of fertilizers, the protection of land from erosion, levelling and terracing, etc. But there are still many problems which require solution in these directions. **The fundamental thing is that everybody must increase his concern for the land, to extend, preserve, and enrich it.** While further extending temporary drainage, we must go over to a higher stage, that of permanent drainage. To transform the soil, to take in ever higher yields, one has to delve into the laws of agricultural science and apply them with strict discipline. The studies carried out on the improvement and increase of the fertility of the soil must be deepened and become the foundation of all the processes of agricultural work. If the party organizations and the state organs understand the impor-

tance of these problems, and especially of their solution in practice, the necessary conditions will be created for the successful fulfilment of the tasks laid down by the Party at this Congress for increased agricultural and livestock production.

On the basis of the orientations of the Party in the five-year plan, the increase in agricultural and livestock production will be achieved by raising yield rates and breaking in virgin land. It is planned that fifty thousand hectares of new land will be broken in, mainly in the hilly and mountainous regions. But the bulk of the increase of production, more than 80 per cent, will result from increased yield rates. Fulfilment of these tasks raises even more forcefully the need for all the cooperativists to take part in work all the year round, for the more extensive application of science and the dissemination of advanced experience and the combination of scientific knowledge with the revolutionary practice of the masses.

Albania is a small country with a rugged mountainous terrain and a limited area of land in the region of plains. Therefore, **the line of the Party has been and still is that agriculture must be developed rapidly in the hilly and mountainous areas, too.**

Of course, the highlands have their own peculiarities, but there, too, the possibilities and reserves for increasing production and improving living conditions are great. To help in the development of the hilly and mountainous regions, the Central Committee of the Party and the Government have adopted a series of important measures, such as those to increase productive investments, to raise the prices at which the state buys a number of agricultural and livestock products and to reduce the price at which it sells nitrogenous fertilizers, for the state to pay for work done to break in new land, build irrigation

projects and plant trees, and so on. The Party has never viewed the measures it has taken and will take for the development of the highlands from the angle of profits, as is the case with the capitalists and the revisionists. The aim of its policy is that the peasantry of these regions should live at the best possible level and the mountainous areas should always be kept populated, the same as the plains. At present, almost half the rural population of the country lives in these regions and about 45 per cent of the area of arable land is located there. This is very important, both for the construction of socialism and for the defence of the country.

Guided by the correct line of the Party and enjoying the powerful support of the socialist state, the peasantry of the mountainous regions, through its own toil and sweat, has taken important steps forward. The results achieved by some cooperatives of the mountainous districts are very encouraging. In the cooperative of Kaçinar in the Mirdita district, in that of Shoshaj in the Mat district, that of Vëndresha in the Skrapar district, and in many others, yields of 25-30 quintals of wheat and 40-50 quintals of maize per hectare are now usual. The districts of Skrapar, Tepelena, Përmet and Kolonja, which once could not produce enough grain to last them half the year, now meet all their own needs and hand over their surpluses to the state, though their population has increased. The agricultural cooperatives in these districts share out almost as many leks per work day put in as those in the lowland districts. This is the most convincing confirmation of the correctness of the Party's directive, «Take to the hills and the mountains and make them as fertile as the plains».

**The forests are an asset of great national value.** Everywhere, especially in the highlands, there are suitable

conditions for a further development of this important sector of the economy. Bearing in mind the great role of the forests in timber production, soil protection and improvement of the climate, it is necessary to increase care for their preservation and extension, not only to meet the immediate needs but to provide for the coming generations as well.

The state farms occupy an important place in the context of the development of agriculture. They represent the highest form of the socialist system of agriculture. But the results of many farms are still below the level of the possibilities created for them, and what is more, some of them get lower yields than the agricultural cooperatives in similar conditions. This comes about because the leading organs of agriculture in the districts and at the centre have not helped, or shown proper care for them, and the leading organs of these enterprises have not worked and struggled courageously to forge ahead, to take and apply everything positive from the other agricultural economies.

The Party demands that this situation must cease. **The most pressing task for the party organizations, the organs of the state and all the working people of the state farms is to make them, within the shortest possible time, the vanguard models of high yields, centres where the latest achievements of science are really put into practice and schools for the dissemination of advanced experience.**

Proceeding on the road of uninterrupted development of the cooperativist order, the Central Committee of the Party has taken measures to implement the directives of the 6th Congress to transform the economically strong cooperatives of the lowland areas into higher type cooperatives on the basis of the free will of the cooper-

ativists. Today, they occupy 23 per cent of the arable land and produce 25 per cent of grain, 40 per cent of sunflower and more than half the rice and cotton produced by the cooperative sector.

Despite the short time since their inception, they have already demonstrated their superiority in a number of ways. They have achieved relatively high yield rates of agricultural and livestock products and sped up the rate of increase of production which, from year to year, is becoming more stable. The higher type cooperatives have fulfilled the targets of the plan better than the other lowland cooperatives. The state assists these cooperatives with investments and gives them powerful support by supplying them with material and technical means. New measures have been applied to strengthen their management, to strengthen them through means of production and the procurement of agricultural and livestock products, to further improve the distribution and utilization of their income and for the transition to payment of their members with guaranteed wages related to production.

The problems of increasing their economic and organizational strength, the further improvement of their planning, finances and accounting and the most efficient utilization of the material-technical base and the labour force are problems of all the agricultural cooperatives, to which the organs of the Party, of the state and the economy must give greater attention and care. Increased care for the state farms and higher type cooperatives should in no way lead to diminished care and efforts to help the other cooperatives of the lowland and mountainous zones.

In the framework of measures for the solution of economic and organizational problems, **better studied work is required for the most appropriate distribution**

of agricultural crops, animal husbandry, and fruit-growing among the districts, regions and agricultural economies, and greater concentration and specialization of agricultural production. The experience gained in the most advanced agricultural economies of the country should be well studied and publicized for better planning of agricultural crops, in the general context of the crop rotation system to be set up according to the concrete conditions of each separate economy and district, in order to create the best possible relationship between the main branches and the other branches of production, with a view to obligatory fulfilment of the plan over the entire range of agricultural products.

The fulfilment of the 6th five-year plan will raise agriculture and our countryside to a higher and more advanced level, further strengthen the economy and improve the standard of living of the people. The Party expresses its profound conviction that, in implementing its directives and Marxist-Leninist line, the cooperativist peasantry, the working people of agriculture, our entire people will work with revolutionary enthusiasm, drive and mobilization to achieve stability and permanent growth in agricultural and livestock production.

### **3. — Fundamental Investments Must Be Used With High Effectiveness**

The vigorous development of the productive forces, the strengthening of the material-technical base of socialism, the strengthening of the defence potential of the homeland require large capital investments and their use with high effectiveness.

In comparison with the 4th five-year plan, the last

five-year plan saw a 50 per cent increase in the volume of total investments and a 49 per cent increase in investments for construction. During this period, new mines, plants and factories were added to our industry, reclaimed plains and irrigation works to agriculture, new roads and railways to transport. Water supply systems, schools and hospitals, houses, and many social-cultural projects were built. These investments further strengthened the people's economy, embellished our socialist homeland, and improved the life of the people.

However, the total volume of investments envisaged under the 5th five-year plan was not carried out in full. In some important industrial and agricultural projects the tasks set by the 6th Congress of the Party were not carried out on time. The Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers have instructed the Ministry of Construction and investors to put an end to the irrational dispersal of the principal means of construction, to extension of time limits in building projects, and to exceeding the funds and materials provided. The practice of starting construction work without complete preliminary studies, without accurate designs and specifications, as has frequently been the case in the course of the last five-year plan, has cost the people's economy dear and is still doing so. This has opened the road to breaches of the discipline of the plan and the squandering of funds. The investors and builders have drawn valuable lessons from the shortcomings and mistakes observed.

The policy of the Party has always been directed towards **channelling investments, first of all, to the development of the branches of material production, giving priority to industry and agriculture.** In compliance with this orientation, the new five-year plan envisages a great volume of capital investments. In comparison with

the 5th five-year plan, the total volume of state investments is envisaged to increase by 43 per cent, and the volume of construction-assembly work by 48 per cent. The fact that we can cope with those large investments is evidence of our constantly increasing economic and financial potential and our increased possibilities in the field of accumulation.

During this five-year period the construction of many large-scale projects, begun under the previous five-year plan, will be completed. Apart from these, work will start on the construction of the Koman hydro-power plant on the Drin River, the thermo-power plant at Fier, new urea and soda plants, mines and ore enrichment factories, engineering plants, factories of the light and food-processing industry, the Fier-Vlora railway, new motor-roads, many reclamation and irrigation projects, and so on.

The implementation of the large program of investments requires that the party organizations fight for strict discipline, organized management and work by all state and economic organs. **Before any project is included in the plan, accurate studies, designs and estimates must be made on the basis of advanced technical-economic norms.** It is of particular importance that the projects must be carried out with good quality, without unnecessary frills, within the time limit set, within the estimated cost, and saving funds where possible.

To bring about the turn which the Party demands in the field of fundamental investments and constructions, great and responsible tasks await all the investor departments, as well as the Ministry of Construction, the State Planning Commission, and the Ministry of Finance, which must increase their care for, and strengthen their control over, the entire process of the work, from the phase of the study and designing of projects up to the

time they are handed over. Any underestimation of these tasks is fraught with grave consequences, not only economic but political and social as well, for the present and future of the construction of socialism in our country.

Important tasks face the designers, architects, specification writers, economists, technologists, and builders to design and build economic and social projects, so that they provide the best possible solution of the functional aspect, while striving with determination to make the projects simple and beautiful at the minimum cost.

The Party is convinced that our builders have all the necessary means and possibilities to acquit themselves with success of the magnificent tasks ahead of them, working according to the slogan of the Party, «We must build more quickly, better, and more cheaply.»

To respond properly to the development of all branches of the economy and the social activity of the country, the expansion of transport and the improvement of its structure is foreseen. Compared with 1975, the total volume of goods transport will grow by 32 per cent in 1980.

The Party and the state have adopted measures for the extension of the railway network, which is being extended in the main directions of goods and passenger traffic. The perspective is that railway transport will occupy the chief place among all branches of transport. Taking into account that during the 6th five-year period the main increase in the volume of goods traffic will be met by railway transport, the task emerges of strengthening and improving the organization of work in this sector, **of intensifying the utilization of railways, of extending the degree of mechanization in loading and unloading work, and of adding branches to the existing lines wherever possible.**

Greater attention must be devoted to coastal and

overseas shipping, in order to cope with the increased volume of goods circulation and reduce state expenditure in foreign currency to the limit. To increase the capacity of sea-ports, it is planned to carry out work for the extension and strengthening of the ports of Durrës and Shëngjin, as well as for the study and designing of the new port at Vlora.

Greater work should be done towards increasing the rational utilization of the capacities of motor vehicle transport, doing away with the anti-economical practice of using motor vehicles where railway or sea transport is available.

The party organs and party organizations must give special attention to the ideo-political education of building and transport workers, having in mind the nature of their work, spread advanced experience to these sectors, and strive for a rigorous implementation of the requirements of technology and science.

#### **4. — The People's Well-being Must Be Increased And Improved**

Concern for the constant improvement of living conditions and raising the cultural level of the whole people has been and remains at the centre of attention of the entire activity of the Party. During the past five-year period, thanks to the consistent implementation of the directives of the 6th Congress, the general wellbeing of the people has been constantly and steadily raised. Real per capita income increased by 8.7 per cent among the urban population and 20.5 per cent in the countryside. Our market has been and is stable. In no instance have the prices for foodstuffs and industrial goods been

increased. On the contrary, for some articles they have been reduced.

In this five-year period, too, the people's wellbeing will be improved step by step. The Party has striven and is striving to make the life of our people, both in country and town, ever more prosperous. Our wellbeing, the happy optimistic future, are guaranteed by the entire dynamic development of our socialist society. They are founded on the free work of our working people, liberated from every sort of oppression and exploitation. Wellbeing is expressed and finds its reflection in all aspects of the life of the people, it is a material and spiritual wellbeing for everybody. Socialist Albania was the first country in the world to do away with taxes. It has education and health services free of charge for the whole population of town and countryside.

In the coming five years the population will be better supplied with foodstuffs and industrial goods, the level of cultural and social activities will rise further, social services and health institutions will be extended and brought closer to the people.

The improvement of the housing conditions of the people constitutes a question of major importance for the Party and the state. In the future, too, great efforts will be necessary in this field, especially in the villages, because, apart from the need to improve housing conditions for the cooperativists, many young men and women from the towns will be going to work and live there permanently. To this end, it is planned to build about 65 thousand flats and dwelling houses, of which about 42 thousand in the agricultural cooperatives and state farms.

The implementation of the party policy for raising the living standard of the working masses is summed up in the increase of real income per capita, which in 1980,

as against 1975, will be 11-14 per cent higher, giving priority to its increase in the countryside.

The organs and working people of commerce face the task of radically improving their service to the people and ensuring that they are supplied better and better. The Central Committee and the Government took measures to eliminate the hostile, sabotage activity of Kiço Ngjela in the Ministry of Trade. Now extensive work is going on to strengthen the management of trade in keeping with the teachings and directives of the Party.

**The leading organs of production as well as those of distribution must make thorough and complex studies to ensure the best harmonization of production with consumption, to clarify the problems stemming from the increase in the population, the growth of its demands and purchasing power, and the distribution of productive funds. They, and the trading organs in particular, must become a strong barricade against the creation of stocks of unsold goods which cause disorder and great economic-financial losses.**

Concern for the constant improvement of the material living conditions of the masses raises the need for a qualitative improvement in the work of all workers in the sphere of services. People must be served in a cultured manner and quickly, and conditions must be created so that people do not waste time in obtaining services and repairs. The organs of industry and commerce must see to it that more help is given to the solution of problems connected with lightening the burden of household work on women. In order to safeguard the health of the people it is necessary to strengthen and extend measures of hygiene and sanitation and prophylaxis, especially in the countryside and in the remote regions, further intensifying care for the protection of the health of mother and child.

The Party considers that one of the ways to a systematic raising of the standard of living is the employment of all able-bodied citizens in socially useful work. The mass participation of women on all the fronts of socialist construction is a great victory. Today women make up 46 per cent of the total number of working people in our country.

In the new five-year plan another 95 thousand new workers will be employed by the state and 130 thousand will be engaged in the agricultural cooperatives. Socialism ensures jobs for all. A wide range of jobs is opening up in mines, metallurgy, in the construction of hydro-power plants, and other important projects. Agriculture is another very extensive work front requiring large numbers of working people. **Therefore, the new forces must be directed where the jobs are opened and where the country's needs are greatest.** Hence, the Party must engage in large-scale work of education and persuasion, especially in towns, and combat concepts and manifestations of underestimation of work in agriculture, the mines, forestry, and construction.

The employment of the active population is an important indicator which speaks clearly of the great strength of our economic social order, which, with its high rates of development, has done away, once and for all, with unemployment and emigration — these grave scourges of the past that rendered life miserable and tore the loved ones from the bosom of the families to leave their bones in foreign lands. Today, unemployment and emigration have become chronic diseases in the capitalist-revisionist world. They cause the common people fear and insecurity for the present and the future, and lower their standard of living.

Our revolutionary practice proves the correctness

of the road followed by the Party for raising the people's wellbeing also through the increase of social consumption at rates more rapid than the rate of increase of the direct wages fund. As a result of the implementation of this policy, the total fund of social consumption for 1975 was 2.1 times greater than that of 1965. This has enabled ever better fulfilment of the common needs of working people in the field of education, culture, health, and a series of other social-cultural services.

On the basis of the directives of the 6th Congress of the Party important measures were adopted for the improvement of the pay system. By the decision of the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers, issued in April 1976, higher salaries exceeding 900 leks were reduced, the wages of the workers on the state farms were raised, and new measures of advantage to the countryside were taken. The implementation of these measures was coupled with a better supply of the market with mass consumer goods, of wider range and better quality and at stable prices.

This brought about a further narrowing of differences in pay between various groups and categories of working people, as well as of differences in income between town and countryside. The ratio between the average workers' wages and the highest salaries of officials is now 1 to 2, from 1 to 2.5 in the past. This is a correct, revolutionary course which our Party is consistently implementing.

One of the problems which has constantly concerned the Party has been and is the narrowing of distinctions between town and countryside. In this question it has been guided by the principle that **socialism is not built only in the town, just for the working class, but also in the countryside and for the peasantry as well.**

The differences in real income per capita between town and countryside, caused by the objective conditions of the great economic and social backwardness our country inherited from the past, constitute a contradiction which is being overcome step by step. Educational, cultural, and health institutions have been extended to the most remote regions. Following the great victory of the electrification of the whole country, the linking of all the villages by telephone was completed, and work is in hand to connect them all by road. Pensions have been established for the cooperativists, and a series of other problems of a social character in the countryside have been solved. With the April 1976 decision the state has undertaken to meet expenditure for social-cultural measures in the countryside just as in the city. The percentage of pensions for cooperativists was raised to a level equal to that of town workers. Likewise, their minimum pension was raised. Maternity leave pay for cooperativist women has been centralized.

To narrow the distinctions between town and countryside further, the policy of the Party has been and is aimed at securing a more rapid rate of increase in the incomes of the peasant population than that of the town population. In the coming five-year period the rates of increment of real income per capita in the countryside will be more than three times higher than that of the town.

The implementation of all these measures to the advantage of the peasantry, without affecting the living standard of townspeople, has strengthened and will further strengthen the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry and the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country.

The objective of the Party is to make the life of the people as happy as possible, to ensure a general uplift of

their wellbeing. But it is important for everybody to understand that in order to attain these objectives the principal factor has been and remains the allround mobilization of the people of town and countryside to increase socialist production, to increase the productivity of labour, guided by our revolutionary principle that, before making claims on society, one must contribute the maximum.

### 5. — The Scientific Management Of The Economy Must Be Raised To A Higher Level

The Party has devoted special attention to raising the scientific level of the management and planning of the economy and perfecting them through the implementation of the principle of democratic centralism, unified leadership and the line of the masses.

The management of the economy has been steadily improved and raised to a higher level, discipline, control and the sense of responsibility at work, from the base to the centre, have been further enhanced, and the role of the masses has increased. The measures which the Party has taken to increase the role of the basic organs of the state and the economy, to simplify the apparatuses, and draw the working people more extensively into running the economy, have been a positive influence in this direction.

The Party has worked and striven persistently to ensure that **everybody understands clearly that, just as in any other field, in the economy, too, leadership has a profoundly political and ideological character.** Otherwise it becomes one-sided and is threatened by economism and technocratism. Thorough and correct implementation of the Marxist-Leninist economic policy of our Party, of its

guidelines and directives, has been and remains the fundamental issue in the entire process of running the economy.

In the struggle for improvement of the organization and management of the economy, the fundamental factor has been and is the constant enhancement of the leading role of the Party in all the activity of enterprises, agricultural cooperatives, and the state and economic organs. While struggling to enhance the leading role of the Party in the economy, the party organizations must avoid the manifestations of duplicating the state and economic organs, which are observed in some cases.

The Party has always considered the broad participation of working people in running the economy as a fundamental question of the principle of democratic centralism. It has criticized and condemned as alien the technocratic and intellectualist concepts which regard the masses simply as a work force, as well as the manifestations of formalism in listening to them and encouraging them to express their opinion. Our working class, educated and led by the Party, plays an irreplaceable role in the organization and management of production, and the entire political, economic, and social life of the country. The administration and economic apparatuses are in the service of the working class and the other working masses, and as such, they must subject themselves entirely to their interest, will, discipline, and control.

Today, when social production is assuming wide proportions, when the social-economic problems are becoming complicated, **it is essential that the central departments, in particular, improve their scientific management and organization of the economy**, further revolutionize their method and style of work, bear full responsibility for the fulfilment of the targets of the plan and the imple-

mentation of the directives and orientations of the Party. They must intensify their check-up on, and help for, the basic organs, know the situation at first hand, give timely solutions to the demands raised by the base, and undertake scientific studies for the development of their branches and sectors.

The Party has shown constant concern for raising the scientific level of planning, so that its economic policy, orientations and directives for the unceasing development of the productive forces and the revolutionary perfection of socialist relations of production will find their most complete concretization in the economic-social plan.

Our planning system has been and is correct. It has been constantly improved, its sound revolutionary base and spirit, and its class character have been consolidated. The enemy Abdyl Këllezï strove in every way to distort the principles of our socialist planning, in order to divest it of its socialist content and to set our economy on the road of revisionist self-administration. This hostile anti-Marxist activity was severely and strongly dealt with by the Party and prevented from finding any field in which it could operate.

The drafting of a studied plan, built on the soundest scientific basis, is of decisive importance for the successful construction of socialism. The further perfection of its scientific character is closely bound up with the broad activization of the masses in the planning process, with the complete reflection in the state plans of the creative thinking and valuable suggestions of the working people. **It is obligatory that advanced experience must be used as the criterion for the planning of production, work, materials and costs, in all sectors of the economy.** This is also the way to combat manifestations of subjectivism and haphazardness, routine and narrow practicism in

planning. The drafting of a scientific plan based on the line of the Party and the economic laws of socialism helps the economic and social processes to develop along the correct road, and the economy to grow steadily stronger.

The perfection of planning and uplift of its scientific level places important tasks before the State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Finance, and all the organs engaged in management of the economy, in particular. The planning organs must get a deeper insight into the economic policy of the Party, the requirements of the economic laws of socialism, the active life and revolutionary experience of the masses. They must follow up the processes of extended socialist reproduction better, and reflect them as harmoniously as possible in the unified general plan of the economic and social development as well as in the overall balance of the people's economy.

The raising of the level of management of the economy is closely linked with the application of rigorous control by all the organs and at every level of the economy. This control, which must be raised to a higher level, ensures the correct implementation of the economic policy and decisions of the Party and the laws of the state.

The Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers have several times reminded the Ministry of Finance and the General Management of the National Bank to establish rigorous financial control and discipline everywhere. But they have not carried out this important function as they should. With the measures that were taken, the harmful bureaucratic and liberal concepts and practices observed in these sectors are being eliminated.

The Party has stressed that finance and accounting through all levels of the economy must never remain mere means for registering, reckoning and distributing

monetary funds, but must be very active at all stages of the drafting of the plan and its implementation. **By strengthening their dynamic control by means of money, the financial and banking organs must become a barrier to any action which runs counter to the discipline of the plan and financial discipline.**

The state plan embraces a whole complex of economic and financial indices. Therefore, **the struggle and efforts of the party organizations, state organs, and all working people, must be centered on fulfilling the plan without fail, not only in overall figures, but also in all its separate indices, in quantity, range and quality, productivity and cost.** The Party must educate the masses so that they thoroughly grasp the fact that these indices of the plan are closely connected in organic unity with one another.

#### **6. — The Principle Of Self-reliance Must Be Understood And Implemented Correctly**

The complete construction of socialist society is closely connected with the understanding and implementation of the principle of self-reliance in every step and every field of life. This great Marxist-Leninist principle of profound revolutionary content is not only a law for the construction of socialism but also, in the present conditions, an urgent necessity for our country to cope successfully with enemy blockades and encirclement.

The principle of self-reliance has always been a guiding principle of our Party and people since the time of the National Liberation War, when we fought under the slogan, «Freedom is not donated, but won by the people themselves». Likewise, in the struggle for the

construction of socialism and the defence of the homeland, the Party follows and consistently implements this principle. The freedom won, all the successes achieved so far, our socialist and independent life, are practical verification of the Leninist conclusion that self-reliance, the internal factor, is the decisive factor, both in the struggle for the triumph of the revolution and the seizure of power, and in the struggle for the construction of socialism and the defence of the homeland.

Our Party has always defended the view that self-reliance is not a temporary policy imposed by circumstances, but an objective necessity for every country, big or small, developed or underdeveloped, a principle applying both in liberation wars and the proletarian revolution, and in the construction of socialism and the defence of the homeland. The implementation of this principle bars all paths to the inflow of bank credits from bourgeois and revisionist states, by means of which the imperialists and the social-imperialists enslave countries and nations, and fatten on their blood and sweat. The so-called aid of the imperialists and social-imperialists to the developing countries constitutes a great fraud and is aimed at exploiting the economies of these countries and dictating their imperialist policy to them.

The bourgeois-revisionist propaganda endeavours to spread and cultivate among the peoples, especially in the developing countries, the sense of bowing and submission to the big imperialist powers. The Soviet revisionists, in particular, distort the revolutionary essence of the principle of self-reliance, labelling it as «slipping into positions of narrow nationalism», as «departure from the position of proletarian internationalism», as «rejecting mutual aid among socialist countries». With these anti-Marxist theses they seek to justify their policy of imperialist expansion

and their practices of capitalist exploitation of other countries. Their aim is to undermine the confidence of peoples in the possibility of building an independent life, and generally, in their existence as free nations.

While working for the construction of socialism according to the principle of self-reliance, our Party has never dreamed of creating an autarkic economy, isolated within itself. At the same time, while combating any feeling of inferiority and worshipping everything foreign, it has not negated the value of progressive world thinking, of the achievements of science and technology in other countries. It has always prized the revolutionary experience of all peoples, everything that serves the cause of the emancipation and progress of mankind.

Far from excluding reciprocal collaboration and aid among the revolutionary and socialist forces, self-reliance presupposes it. The aid which the victorious revolution gives the countries and peoples fighting for national and social liberation, the mutual aid among countries building socialism, is an internationalist duty. It is devoid of any sort of selfish interest and inspired by the lofty interests of Marxism-Leninism. This aid is to the advantage not only of the country which receives it but also of the country which gives it, because the triumph of socialism in any country serves the triumph of revolution in the other countries, too, its triumph over capitalism and revisionism.

Day by day, the road traversed by our country has steadily strengthened the conviction and trust of the people in the correctness of the course steered by the Party, in the great possibilities which exist to carry forward the complete construction of socialist society by relying on our material and human resources.

The principle of self-reliance demands, first of all, firm **reliance on the creative mental and physical energies of**

the people guided by the Party. Socialism is the work of the masses, therefore, everything produced and created is the fruit of work, of the sweat and brains of the people.

Understanding of the principle of self-reliance is complete when every collective and individual fulfils and overfulfils the tasks with which they have been charged without asking the state and the society for supplementary means. Hence, the task of striving, first and foremost, everywhere, and with determination to increase work productivity, to increase production and reduce costs, to preserve, increase and use the machinery and equipment with high efficiency, to raise the technical-professional abilities of the working people and deepen the technical-scientific revolution.

The principle of self-reliance is correctly understood when it is implemented in every field of social activity, on a national and district scale, when it is extended to every link and cell of our life, to every enterprise and cooperative, to every institution and army unit, when people work and live everywhere as in a state of siege.

### III

## **WE MUST CONSTANTLY STRENGTHEN THE PARTY AND FURTHER ENHANCE ITS LEADING ROLE**

The architect of all the victories achieved by the Albanian people in their struggle for national liberation, in the people's revolution, and the socialist construction of the country, is the Party of Labour of Albania.

For 35 years on end, our Marxist-Leninist Party has been leading the Albanian people with courage and wisdom along the path of revolution and socialism. Overcoming innumerable difficulties and obstacles and defeating savage internal and external enemies, it has led our country from victory to victory.

The mighty work and allround efforts to implement the tasks set by the 6th Congress, have further strengthened and revolutionized the Party, steeled the ideological and organizational unity of its ranks and raised its leading role in the entire life of the country to a higher level. The struggle to put its decisions and programmatic tasks into practice in all directions, the struggle for the revolutionary implementation of its principles and norms, the struggle against the class enemies and the allround imperialist-revisionist pressure, have made our Party more militant, more mature, and more farsighted.

The targets of the 6th five-year plan, the major tasks facing the country in general, at the present stage of its development, raise the need to further strengthen the Party

and lift its leading role to a higher level. A party armed with the Marxist-Leninist ideology and with its own experience, equipped with unity of thought and action, and closely linked with the masses, constitutes the fundamental condition for the mobilization of the people around its line and the carrying out of its revolutionary program. The Party is the conscious force which imbues the everyday struggle of the masses with political and ideological content, defines its aims, makes its objectives clear and shows the ways to attain them.

**1. — Party Leadership In The Entire Life Of The  
Country — A Guarantee For The Complete  
Construction Of Socialist Society**

The theory and practice of socialism, the revolutionary life and activity of our Party have always proved completely that the constant preservation and strengthening of the leading role of the Party is decisive to the fate of the people and the revolution. Only under the leadership of the Party can the people's state power be strengthened and consolidated, can the country be defended, the socialist economy developed, culture promoted, the new man educated, and the non-stop march towards communism ensured. It is no accident that all the enemies, internal and external, at all times have spearheaded their struggle against the Party and its leading role in the first place. This has been borne out in recent years by the activity of the enemy groups exposed and condemned by the Party, which, wherever they acted, endeavoured, first and foremost, to weaken the party organizations, to displace them from their leading role.

In the past five-year period the leading role of the

Party has been enhanced and strengthened from every point of view, in every field and in all directions, at the base and in the superstructure.

This reality is embodied in all the progress made and the successes achieved in the great revolutionary drive at work and the struggle in which the masses of the people are engaged to implement the line of the Party, the tasks of socialist construction and the defence of the homeland.

The strengthening of the leading role of the Party in the state power has endowed this power with greater leading and executive abilities, shaken from it the dust of liberalism and bureaucracy, brought it closer to the masses, and placed it more thoroughly under their control.

The enhancement of the leading role of the Party in the economy has further strengthened the socialist base, made the prospects of its rapid development clearer, boosted the confidence of the masses and their mobilization in carrying out the tasks of the plan, and raised the scientific level of management of the economy on a Marxist-Leninist basis, forestalling the danger of bourgeois-revisionist distortions.

The sound leadership of the Party has given culture and education, literature and art a development, a direction and a more profound revolutionary class content, a greater educative and mobilizing force, and has linked them more closely with the people, the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, with the major tasks of our socialist revolution.

The strengthening of the leadership of the Party has also raised the defence potential of the homeland to a higher level, by improving, from every point of view, the implementation of the Marxist-Leninist teaching of arming and training the entire people for defence, by strengthening the popular character of the armed forces.

The enhancement of the leading role of the Party is reflected in the further improvement of the great work it is doing for the ideo-political class education of the masses, for raising the level of their consciousness as closely as possible to the level of its own consciousness, as well as for the organization and mobilization of the masses in struggle for the implementation of its programmatic tasks.

The leading role of the Party is not ensured and affirmed automatically, simply from the fact that the Party is in power. The enhancement and strengthening of the leading role of the Party is ensured through the persistent political, ideological and organizational struggle to apply its general line, its decisions and directives, its principles and norms. It is strengthened through stern class struggle against any violation and distortion of them, against bourgeois and revisionist ideology, against internal and external enemies, as well as enemies within its own ranks. This role is strengthened and consolidated in the daily struggle of the Party at the head of the masses for the socialist construction of the country.

**The leadership of the Party is one and indivisible. It is achieved only when its Marxist-Leninist ideology and policy, its decisions and directives are successfully implemented in all fields and in all directions,** in the state power and the economy, in culture and the army, when all the state institutions, social organizations, all the cadres and working people are guided by this ideology and policy, by these directives and decisions in all their activity.

The edge of the struggle to strengthen and perfect the leading role of the Party is directed especially at two major dangers, which may benumb and then completely eliminate this role, at liberalism and bureaucracy as well as their offspring, technocratism and intellectualism.

The Party has combated the symptoms of these dis-

eases, wherever they have emerged, with revolutionary class methods, it has exposed and unhesitatingly attacked errors and distortions, any action and stand that damage its correct line and norms.

The attitude of those party basic organizations and leading organs which make concessions and fail to fight to the end to carry out the directives, has been combated as a manifestation of liberalism. Liberalism manifests itself also in those instances when the carrying out of the decisions adopted is not insisted upon, when check-up on the implementation of these decisions is neglected, when the same problem is examined umpteen times, when decision after decision is taken, but the problem remains unsolved and the tasks are not carried out. Those instances when no decisions whatever are taken, when tasks are not allocated or are formulated only in general terms and their concrete implementation cannot be checked upon, have been combated in the same way.

The leading role of the Party in all its links has been constantly strengthened in struggle against any bureaucratic and technocratic influence of the state, economic, military apparatuses on the basic organizations. Such an influence was very strong on some basic organizations of the central institutions, such as the State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Industry and Mines, the Ministry of Trade, the Ministry of Agriculture, the oil enterprises, the army and some educational and cultural institutions. This influence led to the weakening of the role of these basic organizations, the tendency to place technique above politics, the role of the specialist above that of the Party. Here there were also manifestations of the non-Marxist outlook that it is the cadres, and not the Party with its organs and organizations, that give leadership and guidance.

Neither are the party apparatuses immunized against

bureaucratic influences; like the state and economic apparatuses they, too, can be affected by bureaucracy and become its carriers. Even the party worker can turn into a bureaucrat and technocrat, if he divorces himself from principles and puts technique, paper-work, office routine, in first place. This is not something unknown. The Bolshevik Party was strangled by the notorious «apparatchiki». Together with the other bureaucratized cadres of the state apparatus, who had deviated from the road of the working class and the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, they became the main support of Khrushchev, Brezhnev and the other usurpers, who carried out the counter-revolution, seizing the leadership from the hands of the working class and its party.

Despite the crushing blows dealt to the manifestations of liberalism and bureaucracy which harm the leading role of the Party, they may emerge at any moment if the struggle against them is not waged unceasingly in all the links of the Party, if the principle, that nobody can dictate his will and wishes to the Party, is not thoroughly grasped and implemented in every basic organization and party leading organ, all the time and under all circumstances. In the Party everything is decided solely on the basis of the proletarian ideology and policy of the Party, and its norms.

**One of the main factors which has enabled our Party to ensure its leading role throughout its whole existence, to ensure so completely, monolithically and effectively the hegemony of the working class, is its steel-like ideological and organizational unity.** This unity has been the most powerful weapon in the hands of the Party to cope with the attacks of the enemies from within and without, to overcome every difficulty and to honourably perform its duties in the revolution and socialist construction.

Against this unity, the enemy groups, which have

been exposed in the period between the 6th and the 7th Congresses, were crushed. The elimination of the hostile activity of these groups has made the ideological and organizational unity of the Party more monolithic and more militant.

Many times in the course of its history the Party has clashed with enemies and traitors who had sneaked into its ranks. All these traitors, together with the external enemies, have hatched up plans and plots against our Party and country, but they have been quite unable to carry them out because they have been discovered and unmasked by the Central Committee and the whole Party, have been thrown out of the Party, attacked and condemned by the Party and the entire people, and when necessary, by the laws of the dictatorship of the proletariat, too. Our Party has not allowed and will never allow the existence of factions within its ranks. It has had and has one line only, the Marxist-Leninist line, which it has loyally defended and resolutely implemented.

As has been proven by the negative experience of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and a series of other communist and workers' parties, which betrayed the cause of Marxism-Leninism, the bourgeois degeneration of the party of the working class is also directly linked with renunciation of the principles and norms of the proletarian party or with their transformation into lifeless formulae.

Therefore, to preserve and strengthen its unity, to achieve the indisputable leadership of the working class, the faithful implementation in a revolutionary way of the line of the Party, the Leninist principles and norms, in the activity of every leading organ, every basic organization and every communist, is of decisive importance. Only in this way are shortcomings and weaknesses prevented from

proliferating and growing into incurable diseases, which the class enemy exploits for its own ends against the Party and socialism.

In some basic organizations squabbles and cronyism have been observed, and these have their source in narrow personal interest, in unhealthy ties of kinship and family connections, etc. To eliminate these harmful manifestations it is necessary to carry out major educative work combined with organizational measures to strengthen unity everywhere, to maintain a correct principled stand in every instance.

The unity of the Party is a militant unity, a unity of action, a unity of revolutionaries. The active life of our Party cannot tolerate the existence of such basic organizations with only formal unity, where an atmosphere of «peace and quiet» and a life of ease prevail, where all are in agreement at meetings but fail to mobilize themselves to carry out the tasks outside and remain unconcerned about this. The genuine and durable unity of the Party of the working class and of each of its organizations is preserved and strengthened constantly only through the struggle of opposites in the ranks of the Party, through debate, principled criticism and self-criticism, by implementing the line of the Party, its decisions and directives, its proletarian principles and norms, to the letter.

Revolutionary practice to date teaches us that the leadership of the Party is fully achieved and ceaselessly improved, when all the leading organs, of whatever level, and all the basic organizations play their leading role, when the entire body of communists is in the lead.

**The party basic organization is of decisive importance in achieving leadership by the Party.** Through it, the leading role of the Party is ensured in every cell of the life of the country. The basic organization is the foundation of

the Party. The more steel-like this foundation, the stronger, the more steel-like the entire Party.

The role of the basic organizations has been enhanced especially in the process of the class struggle for the implementation of the decisions of the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th Plenums of the Central Committee. Their internal life has been revolutionized, they have taken up the most important problems of work and production centres better, and have stepped up their initiative in carrying out tasks. This strengthening and invigoration of the basic organizations, which constitutes one of the most important factors in the successes achieved by the Party and the masses of the people in the past five-year period, is a sound guarantee that the tasks which this Congress will lay down will be fully carried out.

Despite the successes achieved, it is essential also to bear in mind the weaknesses which have been observed, in order to prevent the recurrence of those regrettable instances when certain basic organizations left the way open for enemies to act and harm the work of the Party, the state power, the economy, and culture. There have been shortcomings and weaknesses in some other basic organizations, too, which have allowed violations and distortions of party directives and norms, failure to fulfil the tasks and the plan, manifestation of tendencies alien to proletarian ideology, and which have not ensured the vanguard role of every communist.

The Party has fought and will constantly fight for its basic organizations to become and always remain fiery revolutionary hearths where class thinking, proletarian ideology and Marxist-Leninist courage predominate in the solution of every problem. In the basic organization the communists are armed to fight, to carry out the strategy and tactics that carry the Party, the working class and

all the masses of the people to victory. There they are tempered with communist qualities, there they are imbued with the proletarian party spirit, with the will to go forward in work and in life undaunted.

The basic organization carries out its leading role when it takes up the most important problems, when it fights to defend and implement the line of the Party properly, when it always acts with initiative, without waiting for everything to be dictated from above, and ensures the leading role of every communist. This must be the greatest preoccupation of the party committees in the districts and the army.

The basic organization can really act as a leading body when there is debate and confrontation of opinions, when rendering of account on the work is demanded, and when all communists have the courage to criticize without hesitation or reserve all those who err, irrespective of their leading function in the Party, state, army, or anywhere else. Every superior, minister, director, commander or secretary, whatever he may be, is obliged to render account to the letter about his own activity as a communist and as a cadre.

Nobody is allowed to use the basic organization to his own advantage or place himself above it, to impose his opinion on it, to restrict or suppress the criticism the communists level at him, or the sector of work he leads. There is no hierarchy, rank or title in the party organization. The principles and norms of the Party are obligatory, and must be carried out by every communist, otherwise the Party cannot be defended and strengthened.

It is the duty of every party organization and of every communist to acquire a profound ideological understanding of the importance of the sharp weapon of criticism and self-criticism and to use it courageously when the

defence of the cause of the Party is at issue. To make self-criticism does not mean only to acknowledge the mistake. It is of great importance to analyse the mistake, too, and honestly bring out its causes. The Party should mould all the communists, without exception, as brave people who have the courage to reveal and unhesitatingly criticize their own mistakes and those of their comrades. Where there is constant, correct, and sharp criticism and self-criticism, the diseases which threaten the Party cannot strike root, the class enemy cannot find terrain to work in. There greater mobilization is achieved for the implementation of decisions and directives, the vanguard role of the communists is enhanced and the leadership of the Party as a whole is strengthened.

The basic factor which enhances the strength of the party organizations as leaders and organizers is the consistent follow-up on the performance of tasks, check-up on how the directives and decisions of the Party are being carried out. Without check-up the correctness of the directive, the result of the work carried out cannot be verified, the difficulties, obstacles, weaknesses, contradictions cannot be recognised and discovered, and measures cannot be taken to overcome them. Without check-up there is no calling to account, no criticism and self-criticism, no efforts and struggle to ensure that the tasks are carried out. To check-up does not mean to have doubts about everything, to have no confidence in your comrade. Check-up is a party duty, carried out to defend and implement the line, principles and norms of the Party.

The leading role of the basic organizations and of the entire Party will be increased and strengthened with the further growth and strengthening of the vanguard role of the communists, by making every party member a real leader of the masses. Without the vanguard role

of individual communists there can be no vanguard party of the working class, there can be no party to lead the masses of the people.

It is the duty of each communist to struggle to uphold the honour of this title. This is achieved through revolutionary work and struggle, through an exemplary class stand and behaviour, through continuous efforts to raise his ideological, political, cultural, educational and professional level. Thus he will always feel himself a loyal soldier of the Party, worthy of the lofty title he bears.

The Central Committee has devoted particular attention to **strengthening and improving the leading role of the plenums of the party committees in the districts and the party committees in the army**, so that they provide even better guidance in all the activity of the basic organizations, the organs of state power, the economy, the army, the mass organizations, the institutions of culture and education.

One of the important demands put forward by the Party has been and continues to be the placing of the plenum in a correct relationship with the bureau. The Party has been worried about the incorrect tendency, which has appeared in some instances, of putting the bureau above the plenum in practice, of overestimating the role of the bureau and underestimating the role of the plenum. It has combated every manifestation of the cult of bureaus and secretaries.

As a result, the authority of the plenums has been further enhanced, and their ability to lead, organize, and check up in all fields has been raised to a higher level. The plenum members feel more deeply the responsibility they bear to provide collective leadership.

Between two conferences, the plenum is the highest forum leading all the work of the Party in the district.

The bureau can never replace the plenum and can in no way carry on its functions outside the decisions of the plenum, beyond the control of the members of the plenum. It is obliged to render account of its activity to the plenum. These principles apply equally to the Central Committee and its Political Bureau, too.

In order to enhance the role of the plenums, a more persistent and systematic struggle must be waged to achieve a complete shift of the centre of gravity of leadership from the bureaus to the plenums. This requires, in particular, more thorough-going criticism and self-criticism in the plenums for all the members, making no exception of the bureau members and secretaries, combating any manifestation of megalomania and domineering. It is particularly important that in their work the district plenums clearly define the tasks for the bureaus, and charge them with the responsibility of implementing the directives of the Central Committee and the decisions they themselves take. In practice there are cases in which some apparatuses of party committees improperly take upon themselves functions that belong to the elected organs. This displacement is fraught with grave consequences for the leading role of the party committees. The apparatuses are set up to serve the elected organs, to assist and facilitate their work, and not to replace them.

Our Party has always upheld the principle of collectivism in the work of its leading organs. Collective thought and action is more mature and correct, and plays the decisive role in the performance of party leadership. Collectivism eliminates bureaucracy and arbitrariness, while at the same time it enlivens individual thinking and acting, and does not permit the creation of routine and the spread of conformism.

The implementation of the principle of collectivism in

the policy of cadres as a monopoly of the Party is particularly important. All are obliged to submit to the general line of the Party, to the criteria, orientations, establishments, and procedures it has laid down on cadres. Nothing should be done in an individual way in this field. The principle of collectivism is not only a basic ideological and political principle, but it also strengthens everybody's conviction that the position of each individual is in the hands of the Party and the working class. Otherwise, not only is subjectivity not avoided, but many negative manifestations, such as servility, fear, arrogance, prepotence, etc. are cultivated.

The collective leadership of the party committee is ensured and strengthened when each of its members is deeply aware of the great responsibility with which he has been entrusted, takes an active part in raising and thrashing out problems, in adopting decisions and implementing them.

The strengthening of the leading role and all the collective work of the party committees requires that these organs and each individual member of them should attentively follow the work which is done on a district or military unit scale, around all the problems, and struggle for their solution. When they act in this way, it can be said that these forums are really functioning continuously during the whole period. The mistaken practices that restrict the leading role of the party committees to meetings alone should be resolutely combated, for they are bureaucratic, replace live work among people with meetings, and do not help either to strengthen the collective work in these organs or to enhance the personal responsibility of their members.

Some forum members still do not understand properly that preparing a meeting, holding it and taking

decisions, despite all its great importance, marks only the beginning of the work, whereas organizing the struggle to carry out the decisions in practice is a broader front on which every forum member should show initiative and ability as an organizer and leader. However, there are forum members who, as soon as the meeting is over and decisions are taken, relax, thinking that they have accomplished their task and it is now up to others to do the work. Each plenum member has the duty to concern himself about, and struggle for, the carrying out of decisions to completion, and must not wait for someone else to be activated; he must never forget that he is a leader and has collective and individual responsibility for all the work. This is an essential condition for the party committee to play its leading role completely.

## **2. — We Must Ceaselessly Strengthen The Proletarian Composition Of The Party**

In every period of its existence our Party has fought for the lofty virtues and qualities of communists as vanguard fighters. These have been strengthened from year to year in the struggle for the fulfilment of the tasks of socialist construction, in stern class battles, through the strengthening of its composition.

In the years since the 6th Congress thousands of new members, from among the finest sons and daughters of our people, the most conscientious and most tempered as revolutionaries, the most loyal to, and resolute in, the cause of communism, tested in revolutionary action, distinguished in the struggle for the socialist construction and the defence of the homeland, have been admitted to the Party.

At present 101,500 communists, of whom 13,500 are candidate members, or 14,500 more communists than at the previous Congress, are militating in the ranks of the Party. The communists make up more than 4 per cent of the population. Workers make up 37.5 per cent of the total membership, and 29 per cent are cooperativists.

As to social status, workers continue to occupy first place in the Party. Party organizations and organs have adhered to the orientation to increase the ranks of the Party mainly with elements from the working class: more than 41 per cent of those admitted to the Party come from this class, while 38 per cent come from the cooperativist peasantry, and nearly 21 per cent from among the office workers, intelligentsia and the armymen.

In the future, too, the Party will give priority to increasing its ranks from the working class.

In general the party organizations in the districts have also fulfilled the instruction of the 6th Congress to admit more cooperativists so as to further strengthen the Party in the countryside and improve its leadership in the agricultural cooperatives. Candidate members admitted from among the cooperativists come next to the workers, and they are nearly twice as many as those admitted to the Party from among the office workers.

However, more should have been admitted from among the cooperativists, especially in some districts in which an unjustifiable fall in the percentage of cooperativist communists is apparent.

The growth and strengthening of the Party with cooperativist communists always remains an important task. The objective is that in the future communists with this social status should occupy second place after the workers.

Constant care has been shown for the admission of women to the Party. Now women communists make up

nearly 27 per cent of the total number of the communists as against 22 per cent in 1971, and 12.5 per cent in 1966.

The vigorous material, cultural, educational, ideological and social development of our country, the incessant deepening of the socialist revolution in all fields have created more favourable conditions for the woman to take an active part as a revolutionary fighter in the complete construction of the socialist society and in running the country. This raises the task of increasing the ranks of the Party with women communists still more rapidly.

The overwhelming majority of those admitted to the Party during the years 1971-1976 are 30 years of age and under. This fact testifies to the steel-like links of our youth with the Party and communism, as well as to the constant concern of the Party, through combining the age-groups, to avoid its physical aging, to remain always mature and young at the same time, both in its revolutionary thinking and action, a Party of the present and the future.

**The Party has always viewed the question of the continuous improvement of its social composition in close connection with a series of factors, but first of all, with the quality of the communists as vanguard proletarian fighters.** The Party needs fresh blood, but the blood must be pure. It has never run after quantity, and will never do so. In a Marxist-Leninist Party, it is always the quality that plays the decisive role.

*«We do not need fictitious party members even as a gift,»<sup>1</sup> teaches V. I. Lenin.*

This course has been pursued with consistency and determination also in the period following the 6th Con-

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1 V. I. Lenin, «Collected Works», Vol. 30, p. 54 (Alb. ed.).

gress. But this does not mean that there have been no weaknesses and shortcomings. There are party basic organizations and committees that have made impermissible concessions here and there in the fulfilment of the conditions laid down by the Party, which ensure the necessary quality of the communists as vanguard revolutionaries. In other cases, both prior to admission and during the probation period, proper attention has not been given to the ideological and organizational testing and training of the candidates.

The orientations on strengthening the composition of the Party with workers, cooperativists and women, as well as the requirement to further improve its extension must not be implemented mechanically, but always in full accord with the principles and norms of the Constitution, so that the quality of admissions is not damaged in any instance. Taking into account the criteria defined, the soundest new admissions are those that bring into the Party outstanding activists, men and women full of determination and loyal to the cause of the Party, mainly from the sectors in which the material blessings are produced, from the most important branches of production, the most difficult fronts, there where conditions exist for more severe tests that sort people out from the ideological and political point of view, from the angle of revolutionary qualities and activities.

Nearly 82 per cent of the worker communists admitted to the Party following the previous Congress come from the sphere of material production. Nevertheless, greater efforts should be made to have more workers from the principal branches of production, especially from heavy extracting and processing industry, the big projects, workers with the highest possible class consciousness, admitted to the Party. More communists should be

admitted from these fronts, because some of them will go from there to other sectors and branches of activity, as the need arises.

The probation period of a candidate member, the necessity and correctness of which has been fully confirmed in practice, has indisputable importance for the quality of admissions. Hence, we must further improve this tested system of revolutionary tempering in accord with all the requirements and instructions of the Party.

Our people have always known the communist as the most honest man, the most determined fighter in the struggle for the cause of the revolution and socialism, have always seen him in the forefront, ever ready to go there where work and struggle are most difficult. The Party cannot allow people unworthy of the lofty title of the communist to remain in its ranks. Therefore the purging of those that sully the image of the communists, who lose the qualities of a vanguard revolutionary fighter, or who have sneaked their way into the Party, is one of the ways of ceaselessly strengthening it. Lenin called the purging of the party ranks a law of development of the party of the working class of the new type. In our Party, this purging is carried out in a normal manner, according to the principles and norms of the Constitution, implementing inner party democracy and soliciting the opinion of the masses of the working people.

Of those expelled from the Party, only a few are hostile, anti-party elements. The others, even although expelled from the Party, still love the Party and the socialist homeland, and together with the people, march on its road. The Party has issued the instruction that they should always be kept close, activated, aided, educated, and that no manifestation of sectarianism towards them should be permitted.

The continuous growth of the Party runs parallel with the expansion and extension of the fronts and the tasks of socialist construction and the defence of the country. The needs of these fronts for communists cannot be met by way of new admissions alone. **For this purpose, the extension and distribution of the forces of the Party is of special importance.**

Now one seldom comes across a sector, department or production brigade without communists, a group of communists, a party group or a party basic organization. In the extension and distribution of the party members, priority has been given to the sphere of production and, within this sphere, to the main fronts of work such as the mines, the heavy processing industry, the major construction projects, agriculture, etc.

More than in any other five-year period, during the past five years communists have been sent from administration to production, and from town to countryside. Today about 62 per cent of the total number of communists work in the sphere of production, and of these 82 per cent directly in production. In the agricultural cooperatives, the number of communists, directly engaged in production comprises 87 per cent of the total.

In the future, it will be necessary to send relatively more communists than up to now from town to countryside. Similarly, the ratio of the communists directly engaged in production to those working in the administrations of economic sectors must be further improved in favour of the former, especially in construction and the state farms, in which the percentage of communists directly engaged in production is relatively lower than in the other sectors of the economy.

The objective is to achieve the best possible implementation of the Marxist-Leninist principle that the

Party of the working class, the vanguard of the class, should be in the forefront of the struggle, of the work, of production, everywhere the need arises. In this way the Party will always carry out its leading role, will achieve the hegemony of its class successfully.

Just as for the composition of the Party in general, **the Central Committee has shown continuous care also to strengthen the social composition of the leading cadres of the Party**, of the state, the economy, the mass organizations.

Now 44.2 per cent of the members of the leading forums of the Party in districts and military units are of worker status, background and origin. This, and the other fact that a considerable number of the members of plenums of party committees continue to work directly in production as workers and cooperativists even after they have been elected to these forums, speaks of the continuous concern the Party displays for preserving and strengthening the revolutionary character of its leading organs. Likewise, in the ministries and other central state institutions, too, 40 per cent of the personnel are of worker background. In the elected organs of the state, the mass organizations and agricultural cooperatives, more than 70 per cent of those elected are workers and cooperativists. On the other hand, 72 per cent of them are non-party members. All this constitutes a great triumph for the policy of the Party and clearly expresses the consistent implementation of the Leninist teachings.

The opposite occurs in the revisionist party of the Soviet Union and the other revisionist parties in which the cadres belong to the upper stratum of the bourgeois technocratic intelligentsia. There, the overwhelming majority of members of party committees of different levels are bureaucratic officials, whereas the secretaries

of these committees are almost hundred per cent intellectuals and technocrats.

The correct implementation of the instructions of the Party to the effect that more cadres of worker status and origin and from the more difficult production fronts should come into the leading organs everywhere, has greatly assisted to enhance their role and activity. The new members from the grass-roots bring with them the revolutionary initiative, courage, and spirit of the working class.

In compliance with the task set by the 6th Congress of the Party, many young cadres have been promoted to posts of responsibility. Of the total cadres of all establishments, 40 per cent belong to the age-group up to 30 years; 31 per cent are from 31 to 40 years; 21 per cent from 41 to 50 years; and 8 per cent over 51 years. These figures show that the increase and renewal of cadres is being carried out in a normal way, and an ever better harmonization between young and old cadres is being achieved.

It is necessary that the young cadres who come to party forums and other leading organs should be given great and allround help to enable them to affirm themselves as leaders, combating any inhibiting and conservative concepts. They must be charged with concrete tasks, instructed and controlled, assisted and supported, with the aim that they learn to become true leaders in direct revolutionary practice.

With the struggle carried out against obstacles, especially against conservative mentalities, there is now an obvious improvement also in the implementation of the directive of the Party on promoting women to its leading organs. Of the members of the plenums of party committees in districts and regions and of the total of elected and appointed cadres, about 40 per cent are

women. The increase in the number of women promoted to posts of responsibility is a positive trend which should be constantly carried forward.

### **3. — We Must Continuously Strengthen The Links Of The Party With The Masses And Its Leadership In The Social Organizations And State Organs**

The strength of our Marxist-Leninist Party lies in its steel-like links with the people. Without these links it would be lifeless. The Party-people unity was created historically in the war for national and social liberation, and in the socialist construction. At the foundation of this unity lies the unwavering confidence of the masses in the correctness of the political line of the Party, in the loyalty and courage with which it defends the interests of the people, in its capability as a leading, organizing, and mobilizing force.

The line of the Party has never remained the line of the Party alone, it has become the line of the masses. At every period of its existence, for the solution of every problem, and the carrying out of every task, the Party has struggled together with the people.

The past five-year period has provided further powerful testimony of the unbreakable links between the Party and the people, of the steel-like Party-people unity. In order to strengthen this unity further, the Central Committee has solved a series of problems and put forward important tasks to enhance the role of the masses, to ensure always correct relations between them and the Party, to intensify the struggle against bureaucratic, liberal and sectarian manifestations that harm the ties of the Party with the masses.

This has even further strengthened the conviction of the people that only under the leadership of the Party can they remain forever masters of their destiny and guarantee an ever more certain and happier future.

The problems of the further strengthening of socialist democracy, of the enhancement of the role of the working class and all the working people in the life of the country, of perfecting the relations between the Party, the working class and the masses, have been subjected to extensive discussions in the Party and among the people.

All the revolutionary practice of the past period proves once again that **the ties of the Party with the masses are preserved and strengthened always on the basis of their conviction of the correctness of the line of the Party**, which is created and deepened continuously by the experience of the masses themselves.

The Party does not command, but leads the masses.

*«Leadership. . . ,» Stalin teaches, «means the ability to convince the masses of the correctness of the Party's policy; the ability to put forward and to carry out such slogans as bring the masses to the Party's positions and help them to realize through their own experience the correctness of the Party's policy; the ability to raise the masses to the Party's level of political consciousness, and thus secure the support of the masses and their readiness for the decisive struggle»<sup>1</sup>.*

Whoever tries to impose himself on the masses through the power of orders, through his authority and

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<sup>1</sup> J. V. Stalin, «Works», Vol. 8, pp. 52-53 (Alb. ed.).

position in the Party and state, violates the line of the Party, departs from its mass line. The Party has fought and must always fight hard against such attitudes, for they are a source of the flourishing of bureaucracy and the harmful cult of the individual, and, as a consequence, of weakening of the ties of the Party with the masses.

The Party convinces the masses, first of all, by not separating its word from deeds, it convinces them through the example of the communists, through their stand in the front ranks of work and struggle. Therefore it sternly criticizes those communists and cadres who do not set a personal example, criticizes all the stands that are not reconcilable with the revolutionary spirit that characterizes our Party and that do not help strengthen the ties of the Party with the masses.

Of great and permanent importance for strengthening the Party-people unity is the ideo-political, enlightening, and educative work among the masses, which, just as all the other activities, has made progress in the past five-year period, but which needs to be further improved in many respects in order to gain a greater power to convince and mobilize the masses. If it occurs here and there that a workers' collective in this or that work centre does not mobilize itself as it should for the fulfilment of a given decision or directive, this stems also from the fact that the organization or the committee has not made these things fully clear to the working people, or that it underestimates the method of persuasion and bases its work on bureaucratic methods of commandism.

An indispensable prerequisite for the enhancement of the role of the masses is that they must be regularly informed about the decisions and directives of the Party. The working people have been kept constantly informed about the decisions of the party basic organizations, the

committees and conferences of the Party, the Central Committee and the Congresses of the Party, and have been mobilized to fulfil the tasks deriving from these decisions. The masses have the right to know what decisions are taken in the basic organizations and the various organs of the Party and state. In this way they have the possibility of judging the decisions and mobilizing themselves for their implementation.

The Party has regarded the systematic soliciting of the opinion of the masses on the various problems as one of the most important methods of enhancing the political consciousness of the working people and their participation in governing the country. In the future, too, it is the duty of the Party to devote particular attention to drawing on the opinion of the masses as widely as possible through consultations, popular discussions and the letters they address to the Central Committee and all the organs of the Party and state. This will serve to further strengthen our socialist democracy and fulfil the just demands of the working people.

From year to year the rendering of account by the party organs and organizations, the communists and cadres to the masses has been organized better and better. Through this practice, by submitting their activity to the direct control of the masses, they have been able to assess their own activity, with all its strong and weak aspects, more objectively. As a consequence, the responsibility of the forums and of every communist and cadre before the Party and the working masses has been enhanced.

Basing themselves on the experience they have gained, the party organs and organizations should look for and use the most diverse forms and methods for systematically rendering account to the masses, and not

allow any departure from this practice under whatever pretext. No cadre and communist should remain outside the control of the masses.

Following the 6th Congress the organizations and organs of the Party have done great work and made serious efforts to eliminate every remnant of the method of closed work, to come out on to the broad road of the judgement, criticism, and control of the working class and the masses. Any method of closed work and any hesitation about making the problems of the Party problems of the masses would bring about nothing but the weakening of the ties of the Party with them.

Consultation with the masses, giving them information and rendering account to them, and the worker and peasant control, are of inestimable assistance to the Party to ensure that it takes correct and timely decisions, tests their correctness in revolutionary practice, draws lessons and continuously improves its leadership.

**The relations of the cadres with the masses exercise a major influence on strengthening the unity of the people around the Party.** The close ties of the cadres with the people are absolutely indispensable to preserve them from subjectivism, from bureaucracy, and to enhance their capability and maturity. These ties grow stronger when the cadres preserve and develop the revolutionary qualities the Party cultivates in them, such as modesty, honesty, wisdom, the spirit of sacrifice and self-denial, the readiness to always serve socialism. They temper these virtues in daily life by going again and again to the school of the working class, which means that they must listen to the voice of the working class and act in its interests, must toil like the working class and work with its vigour and discipline, guided at all times by the proletarian ideology and the policy of the Party.

The measures adopted by the Party for the revolutionization of cadres, such as their systematic circulation, their work in production, the system of rendering account, and so on, must be applied firmly and without let-up. These measures serve to strengthen the ties of the cadres with the people, guard them against the disease of bureaucracy, increase their abilities and knowledge, and keep them always revolutionary.

**The social organizations, the Democratic Front of Albania, the Trade Unions, the Labour Youth Union, the Women's Union,** which are the powerful levers of the Party, as always play a very important role in strengthening the links of the Party with the masses. Incorporating the entire people in their ranks, they take the voice of the Party to everybody in an organized and appropriate manner, and build up the correct social opinion about the tasks the Party puts forward. On the other hand, they bring to the Party the voice of the masses, their opinions and suggestions, their experience of the struggle to implement the directives. Through them, the Party educates the masses with the Marxist-Leninist ideology and mobilizes them in the struggle for the construction of socialism.

But for the mass organizations to carry out this important role as they should, leadership by the Party is a prerequisite in all their activity. This requires in the first place, that the party committees, and especially the party organizations, must regard the social organizations and their work with the greatest seriousness, must enlighten them on the Party's decisions and directives, open up new vistas of work to them, help them develop initiative and launch them into actions. The task of every communist, and not only of those specially assigned to work in these organizations, is to be an outstanding social

activist and work untiringly among the people in order to carry the line of the Party everywhere, work for the education and mobilization of the working masses, to strengthen the mass organizations themselves in an allround way.

**The Party has devoted special attention to the continuous strengthening of the organs of power and the other organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which play a primary role in the links of the Party with the masses and the implementation of its policy. The People's Assembly and the Government, the people's councils and their executive committees, the courts and the state attorney's offices, the People's Army, the Internal Affairs organs, are the most powerful levers of the Party and the working class for the unceasing development of the revolution, the construction of socialism, and the defence of the country.**

As a result of the struggle which the Party has conducted together with the masses, the activity of the various organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat has been raised to a higher level, their revolutionary people's character has been strengthened, and their leading, organizing, and educative capacity improved. In particular, they have been cleansed of the dust of liberalism and bureaucracy, have improved their proletarian composition and have been put more directly under the control of the masses, have enhanced their authority and earned the deepest respect and love of the people.

One of the most important aspects on which the attention and care of the Party must be concentrated is the continuous enhancement of the role of the representative organs of power, which exercise the will and sovereignty of the people. Under the Constitution, these organs bear responsibility for the entire activity of the state power in

the territory in which they have been established, and all the other state organs are under their full direction and control. No activity whatsoever of the executive organs and their apparatuses, of the leaders and the working people of these apparatuses, should escape the control of the elected organs or the rendering of account to them and to the masses.

As organs of state power, the representative organs are also schools of government. There, large numbers of councillors and deputies learn how to solve the problems of the state. We now have almost three times as many elected cadres as there are appointed ones, and more than 70 per cent of them are workers and cooperativists. Thousands of others are activated in these organs. The more strongly and the better the organs of power at the centre and in the districts rely on the people elected, deputies and councillors, as well as on the big army of activists, the more fruitful their activity will be, the more tightly will the doors be closed to the dangers of bureaucracy, technocratism and liberalism, which are a threat to the state apparatuses.

Another question which needs to be stressed is the close connection and cooperation of the representative and executive organs of state power with the mass organizations. This connection and cooperation have not always been as strong and consistent at every level. Strengthening them greatly helps the rapid and correct solution of problems and tasks relating to the governing of the country, especially the strengthening of the relations of the state power with the people. In this way the connection between the component links and elements of our system of the dictatorship of the proletariat is achieved better. Without a healthy cooperation between the organs of state power and the mass organizations, it is difficult

to carry out the great principle of the exercise of power, not only by the representative organs, but also directly by the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the other working people.

It is necessary for the people's councils to show greater care for the solution of social problems and to carry on the good traditions of the national liberation councils as well as their own experience in this field. In cooperation with the mass organizations, they can solve a series of problems justly and well, such as those relating to violations of the norms of our society, alien attitudes towards work, social property, and so on, and they should not leave these problems to pass into the hands of the organs of justice in every instance. Such work exerts great educative influence on the masses of the people.

Just as in any other field, in the carrying out of the various functions of the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, too, the leadership of the Party is the fundamental factor. The Party has fought and will fight any sign of the slightest infringement of its complete leadership over these organs. The working class exercises its leadership through the dictatorship of the proletariat, too, but the supreme leadership which guides the dictatorship of the proletariat and everything else in our socialist society is the Marxist-Leninist Party, which allows no duality on this issue.

The Party, the working class, and the masses have put in their place those leading cadres, however few in numbers, who, forgetting who trained and promoted them to leading functions and who leads in our system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, have developed swelled heads, become bureaucrats, attempted to lord it over in the party organizations, and have acted from the position

of the official and the technocrat, and not from the position of the Party, the working class, and socialism.

A considerable number of communists work in various state organs. Whatever their leading function, they are responsible, in the first place, to the Party, to their respective basic organizations in regard to the carrying out of the tasks assigned, and the implementation of the line of the Party in the sector where they work. None of them should forget that he is a communist first, and then a leading cadre. But this does not mean that he should not be responsible or not render full account to the state organs, the working collectives and the masses.

**Tasks of special importance for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat confront the organs of justice.** These organs have consistently fought for the implementation of the line of the Party, for the further deepening of their popular character, and the implementation of the revolutionary law.

In the future, too, it is essential that the organs of justice should carry on the struggle for their further revolutionization, to raise their level of qualification and further strengthen their ties with the people. It remains a special task of theirs to carry out more extensive work to propagate the laws among the working masses so that they become better acquainted with these laws and more conscientious in implementing and defending them. At the same time this is also a task for the state organs and the mass organizations.

**The defence of the homeland has always been and remains the duty above all duties, a major question for the entire people.** Socialist Albania has been and always will be the target of the enemies. We must never forget this. We should all be on our feet, ready and prepared to defend the freedom and victories of the revolution.

The Party has always based the defence of the homeland not only on the standing army but also on the entire people, armed and militarily organized. It has devoted unceasing care to the armed forces so that they remain loyal guards and a powerful weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Leadership by the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party is the decisive condition for the existence of a people's army, and the organization and direction of the defence of the socialist homeland. Only the leadership of such a party makes the army a conscious and reliable weapon of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. While always standing at the head, the party organizations and leading organs in the army must see to it that everything is pervaded with the policy of the Party, its spirit, principles and norms, that everything is subject to its leadership and vigilant control.

One of the basic tasks of the party organs and organizations is to work for the revolutionary education and tempering of the armed forces with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary teachings of our Party.

The aim of the ideo-political education must be to achieve the consistent implementation of the line of the Party everywhere in the army and the successful carrying out of all the tasks. As loyal sons of the Party and the people, our army cadres must be characterized by persistence in ever more thoroughly assimilating the policy and ideology of the Party and our People's Military Art and completely mastering the weapons and military equipment.

**The defence of the homeland and the socialist order faces our Party and state with the need to further revolutionize and improve the activity of the organs of Internal Affairs.**

The organs of State Security, the People's Police and the Border Forces have achieved successes and gained rich experience in the fierce class struggle to uncover and combat any hostile activity, to keep law and order and defend the borders of the homeland. But in the conditions of intensified struggle which the external and internal enemies are waging against us, these organs are faced with the task of raising their revolutionary vigilance and the effectiveness of their activity to a higher level, further improving the methods of this activity and putting them on a more scientific basis.

The performance of their duties by the organs of Internal Affairs is inconceivable without ensuring the all-round and continuous support of the people. Herein lies one of the main sources of their strength. The continuous strengthening of the leading role of the Party over these organs, the ceaseless raising of the political, ideological and professional level of the cadres and all their effective forces, constitute the indispensable condition for them to honestly and conscientiously carry out the task which the Party and the people have entrusted to them, in the future, too.

## IV

### **THE STRUGGLE OF THE PARTY ON THE IDEOLOGICAL FRONT**

The years that have elapsed have been years of major work and struggle for the uninterrupted revolutionization of the whole life of the country. This great process of transformation has led to the strengthening of the Party and the state power, the consolidation of the economic base, the development of education and culture and the defence potential of the homeland. It has led to a rise in the consciousness of the working people, endowed them with deeper Marxist-Leninist convictions, created a militant spirit and greater mobilization at work, has encouraged the initiative of the masses, sharpened their political and ideological vigilance and further strengthened their confidence in their own forces. In this allround struggle, the fighting unity of the people around the Party has been enhanced, and the dictatorship of the proletariat defended and strengthened.

#### **1. — We Must Wage The Class Struggle Correctly And With Determination**

The construction of socialism is a process of stern class struggle between the two roads, the socialist road and the capitalist road, a struggle waged on all fronts, political and economic, ideological and military.

In socialism, too, this struggle is an objective phe-

nomenon, the main driving force that carries the revolution and the construction of socialism forward, that protects the Party, the state and the entire country from bourgeois-revisionist degeneration and the restoration of capitalism, that cleanses the consciousness of the working people and strengthens their proletarian spirit.

The major successes and victories our people have achieved under the leadership of the Party, in their struggle to develop the revolution and construct socialism, are linked with the fact that the Party has resolutely upheld the line of the class struggle and consistently waged it against internal and external enemies, as well as among the people and in its own ranks.

In the process of this struggle, a rich revolutionary experience of major theoretical and practical value has been gained from which our Party has drawn very valuable lessons and conclusions on how to build and defend socialism and strengthen the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The class struggle waged during the whole existence of the Party, as well as recently, has shown that **the main danger and enemy to our Party and the entire international revolutionary communist and workers' movement has been and still is right opportunism, revisionism.** This danger always threatens a country which is building socialism under the conditions of capitalist encirclement, but it has now become greater still, especially since the liquidation of the socialist order in the Soviet Union and the bourgeois degeneration of many communist parties of the world. In a country where socialism is being built with success, the enemies find it difficult to come out openly with the banner of anti-communism. Pseudo-Marxism, revisionist counter-revolution, is their favourite weapon to overthrow socialism.

International experience and that of our country show that the hopes of the bourgeoisie and reaction for the restoration of capitalism are not based only on the remnants of the old exploiting classes nor only on the agents and diversionists in the pay of foreigners. Their hopes are based especially on other enemies of socialism who emerge from the socialist society itself, on people seriously contaminated by the hangovers of old ideologies, with marked individualistic and career-seeking tendencies, confused by the impact of modern bourgeois and revisionist ideologies, who yield to the pressure of external and internal enemies, and who eventually desert the revolution and degenerate into counterrevolutionaries.

In socialist society there exists the danger of the degeneration of individuals, of the emergence of new bourgeois elements, of their transformation into counterrevolutionaries. As Marxism-Leninism teaches, this comes about not only because the new socialist society still preserves traditions, customs, ways of behaviour and concepts of life of the bourgeois society from which it has emerged, but also because of certain economic and social conditions which live on in this society in the transitional phase. The productive forces and the relations of production, the mode of distribution based on them, are still far from being completely communist. The distinctions which exist in different fields, such as between country and town, manual and mental work, qualified and unqualified work, etc., which cannot be wiped out immediately, also exert their influence in this direction. To them must be added the powerful and allround pressure which the capitalist and revisionist world exerts from outside. Socialism can greatly restrict the emergence of negative phenomena alien to its nature, but it cannot avoid them completely.

Therefore, the discovery and defeat of individual hostile elements or a hostile group, at a given time, should not lull us to sleep and make us think that, with this, the enemies are done for. **As long as the class struggle continues, as long as the hostile bourgeois pressure from within and without exists, the danger of the emergence of new enemies and of their activity against socialism also continues to exist.** The Party and the people must always remain on guard, vigilant and revolutionary, must wage a resolute and uncompromising class struggle and block all the ways from which the enemies might emerge and harm us.

Socialist Albania provides a major example which shows that the emergence of revisionism and return to capitalism are not decreed by fate to be inevitable, as the bourgeois ideologists try to make out. It proves the vitality of socialism, the invincible strength of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, which, when they are consistently applied, carry the cause of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat forward with sure steps. The correct understanding of this problem, the dialectical appreciation of it, is of great principled importance and is directly linked with the fate of socialism.

There exists a very close connection and coordination between the internal and external fronts of the struggle waged by the class enemies. They are united by their anti-communist ideology, and the need they have of each other's support in their struggle against the Party and the socialist order. It is important to recognize not only this fact, which will continue to exist as long as the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and the survivals of capitalism themselves exist within the country, but especially that this coordination may be

strengthened and become very dangerous if we are careless, lacking in vigilance, and fail to carry out a resolute struggle against it.

The Party has carried out great and persistent work to give the people a correct understanding of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and the struggle which must be waged against it. The results of this struggle are evident in all fields. Under the leadership of the Party, our people have coped resolutely with political pressures, economic blockades, military threats and the ideological aggression of the enemies. They have never been taken in, either by the blandishments and demagoguery of the enemies or by their diplomatic manoeuvres.

However, it remains a major and permanent task of the Party in the future, too, to make old and young ever more conscious of the hostile nature of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, of the dangers it represents and the tasks we face to cope successfully with the allround pressure which it exerts on our country. Socialist Albania is a thorn in the flesh of numerous enemies who are striving in every way to undermine and destroy it. Whatever the tactics they use and the conjunctures created, they always remain enemies, therefore we should have no illusions about them.

The imperialist-revisionist encirclement is not in the least passive and merely geographical, but a threatening and active encirclement which fights us in all fields and in all directions. But there are still people who have a superficial and unduly simple understanding of this encirclement, who underrate the danger of military aggression, the difficulties stemming from the economic blockade, or the menace of the foreign ideological diversion. Such attitudes are very harmful.

Our socialist homeland has been and is constantly

under threat of military aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. The aggressive policy of the super-powers is spearheaded first of all against socialism, the revolution and the liberation of the peoples, against those forces that unmask and oppose their hegemonistic and expansionist course. Therefore, the danger of foreign military aggression against socialist Albania is real and should be neither underrated nor overrated.

Besides their measures of force, the imperialist and revisionist enemies also use the tactics of peaceful degeneration of the socialist order, attaching special importance to their ideological aggression, precisely to the counter-revolutionary course which proved so fruitful in the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries.

The imperialist-revisionist encirclement is operating very powerfully in the field of the economy as well. The savage economic blockade, discrimination in trade relations, the efforts to impede the development of production are the weapons of the enemies to sabotage the construction of socialism and undermine the economic and political independence of the country.

The aim of the external enemies is to put our internal front into disarray, to aid and abet the anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary elements within the country. Therefore, **we must cope with the united front of the enemies by strengthening our internal front in all directions, in the fields of defence and the economy, politics and ideology, always consistently waging the class struggle.** We must resolutely combat any spirit of euphoria and overestimation of our own forces, any lack of seriousness or of total mobilization in the struggle against the imperialist-revisionist encirclement.

Our people should live everyday with the external and internal political situations of the country, always

see their tasks in close connection with these situations, work with a lofty spirit of self-denial and sacrifice, always be ready, vigilant and resolute fighters against all the attempts and pressures of the enemies. The struggle against the imperialist-revisionist encirclement is not a single battle or a series of campaigns, but a continuous fight that must be waged every day.

Our Party has stressed that the struggle on the ideological front constitutes one of the main aspects of the class struggle. This is a fierce struggle waged on a broad front against all alien ideologies, old and new, which are kept alive, inspired and encouraged by internal and external bourgeois pressure. This is a major front of struggle, extremely important and complicated, which demands the permanent attention of the Party.

The successes which have been achieved in this field constitute one of the most important victories of the Party and the people. The petty-bourgeois psychology and attitudes, backward customs and religious prejudices, manifestations and influences of alien bourgeois-revisionist ideologies have been dealt powerful and crushing blows. The aim of all this work has been to have our people always engaged in revolution, to ensure that they do not stand aside from it even for a moment, to encourage them to struggle and work selflessly, all their lives, for the great cause of the Party, for socialism and communism. The high level of political consciousness, the heroism at work, the sense of responsibility and the spirit of sacrifice are characteristic of our working people. This is testimony to the invincible strength of Marxism-Leninism and socialism, the correctness of the line of the Party.

But this healthy revolutionary reality should not induce us to relax our struggle on the ideological front,

however slightly, because today, too, the question presents itself in the same way as Lenin presented it many decades ago:

*«...either bourgeois or socialist ideology. There is no middle course... Hence, to belittle the socialist ideology in any way, to turn aside from it in the slightest degree means to strengthen bourgeois ideology»<sup>1</sup>.*

The fact that the class struggle on the ideological front is waged in the ranks of the people and the Party, too, in everybody's consciousness, means that some people fail to distinguish the hostile content of these alien manifestations. Others underestimate this struggle, thinking that the hangovers from old ideologies constitute a potential rather than a real danger. They forget that these remnants and influences have not been and are not just something ugly, though passive, in people's consciousness, but are the source which incites anti-socialist attitudes and actions, such as thefts from, and damage to, socialist property, breaches of proletarian discipline at work, favouritism and nepotism, bureaucratic and liberal, patriarchal and conservative attitudes, etc. All these things, even when they are not committed by enemies or under their direct influence, are just as harmful and become serious obstacles to the construction of socialism. The hangovers of alien ideologies, the petty-bourgeois mentality, the feeling of private property and the placing of self-interest above public interest, constitute that hotbed in which bourgeois degeneration, revisionist and capitulationist concepts are bred and nurtured. Therefore, the

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1 V. I. Lenin, «Collected Works», Vol. 5, pp. 452-453 (Alb. ed.).

struggle on the ideological front is not a passing campaign, but a continuous struggle for the triumph of proletarian ideology and morality, a struggle for the triumph of socialism and communism.

Our practice of revolution and socialist construction teaches us that unless it is waged in all its main directions, political, economic and ideological, no class struggle can ever be complete. These three forms of class struggle are intertwined with and complement each other. At given periods, now one or now the other form of class struggle may come to the fore, but in every case it should be waged on all fronts. We should not forget that the enemy, too, wages his struggle in all directions: ideological, economic and political. Practice over the recent years has borne this out clearly.

Underestimation of one or the other aspect is fraught with negative consequences, leads to various distortions, and to the weakening of the class struggle as a whole. In practice, there is and can be no class struggle on any front outside the struggle to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, to ensure the leading role of the Party, and to defend the homeland. The class struggle cannot be conceived apart from the efforts to fulfil the economic plan and the tasks in every other field of social activity or from the struggle to implant the proletarian ideology.

The class enemy tries to benumb the vigilance of the masses, it looks for periods of calm and lulls in the development of the class struggle in order to muster its forces and strike suddenly. The task of the party organizations, of all the working people, with the working class at the head, is to prevent the creation of such situations favourable to the enemy, and to be always on the offensive, to keep the edge of the class struggle constantly

sharp, and be irreconcilable with the enemies and their ideologies.

Our Party has always waged the class struggle correctly and unerringly, according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. This has been and remains a question of particular importance, for any deviation in waging the class struggle is fraught with grave consequences for the activity of the Party and the masses. It calls for maintaining a principled stand on all occasions, without slipping either into opportunism or into sectarianism. In life, both these phenomena are encountered.

The passive non-militant stands observed in some party organizations and among cadres of the sectors, in which the various condemned hostile groups carried out their undermining activity, were opportunist. The enemies violated the line, directives, and orientations of the Party, displayed features of degenerate people, but these organizations and cadres failed to speak out and tell them firmly to stop their evil-doing activity. The «soft-hearted» attitudes towards the class enemy, the bourgeois sentimentality shown in some cases towards people who degenerate, who violate the norms of socialist society and the state laws, the tolerant and conciliatory attitudes towards manifestations alien to our ideology, are opportunist.

Rigid and sectarian attitudes also damage the line of the Party. In the recent times such attitudes have been apparent among some communists and cadres who, when the Party exposed and condemned elements with a liberal, opportunist and hostile spirit, began to look with undue suspicion even at some small and unimportant blemish. The tendencies observed in some people to resort to administrative methods where persuasion and education should be used are also sectarian. Those who display sec-

tarian tendencies often pose as «consistent and principled revolutionaries». But in fact they are opportunists and act in this way in order to be «on the safe side».

These opportunist vacillations stem from lack of a correct grasp of the nature of the two types of contradictions which exist in our society, from confusing antagonistic with non-antagonistic contradictions. The Party must make these matters completely clear and explain that **opportunism cannot be fought with success if sectarianism is not fought at the same time, and vice-versa**. On the other hand, the class struggle must be waged neither in closed forms nor only from above, but jointly with the masses, with their broad and active participation. In this way the revolutionary education of the working people is achieved, and the unity of the Party and the people is strengthened and steeled.

The Party has emphasized that one of the most important aspects of the class struggle is the struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism, both dangerous enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism. The Party has done great and persistent work against both these negative phenomena and has taken a series of concrete measures, such as those for bringing the state power closer to the people and curtailing the administrative apparatuses, for ensuring the more active participation of the masses in the work of government, for strengthening and further improving the direct worker and peasant control, for eradicating the spirit of the bureaucratic hierarchy and democratizing life in the army, for barring all ways to the penetration of the alien ideology, and for revolutionizing the school, literature and arts.

But despite all the successes achieved and the heavy blows bureaucracy and liberalism have been dealt, the

Party does not consider the struggle against them as over and done with. They always remain a serious danger, and the struggle against them must go on all the time. They are weapons in the hands of the class enemies to undermine the Party, the proletarian state, and our socialist life.

The analyses which the Central Committee has made in the sectors of culture, the economy, the army, etc., have shown that all the hostile elements, on the one hand, relied on liberalism and bureaucracy, and on the other hand, fostered these tendencies by all manner of means to further their counter-revolutionary aims. In their efforts to undermine socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat it was not the line and the leadership of the Party they strove to put in the lead everywhere but technocracy, they tried to weaken and eliminate control by the Party, the state, and the masses, so as to have their hands free and do as they liked, to encourage anarchist decentralization and create separate and independent organisms, to inflate the state apparatuses and institutions, to weaken their proletarian composition and encourage officialdom, to open the doors to the alien, to undermine confidence in our forces, etc.

But liberal and bureaucratic concepts and practices are not linked with the activity of the enemies only. They are encountered also among our people, in the work of our organs and apparatuses. The struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism will be a long one, because these things are deep-rooted, are linked with economic, social, and ideological factors, and encouraged by the internal and external enemies. The scale on which they spread depends on the political and cultural level of people, on the work of the Party for the revolutionary education and tempering of the working people, on the understand-

ing of how dangerous they are and the ways to combat them.

Bureaucracy and liberalism are reactionary, idealist, anti-popular and anti-socialist ways of thinking and acting. It is the task of the party propaganda to expose the ideological class nature of liberalism and bureaucracy by theoretical and practical arguments. **The communists, the workers, and the broad masses of the working people, should be aroused with deep conviction against liberal manifestations, bureaucratic distortions and routine, to expose and combat them in every link and in all the forms in which they crop up.**

It is necessary to further strengthen and deepen the struggle against technocratism and intellectualism as reflections of bureaucracy which lead to deviation from the proletarian ideology and the policy of the Party, weakening the leading role of the working class in our society, and disparagement of the creative role and thinking of the masses. In the recent years especially, the technocratic and intellectualist influences have been expressed, among other things, in the overestimation of technology and special skills, in the failure to consider problems from the political and ideological angle, in the lack of faith in the drive and optimism of the masses.

The struggle against liberalism, as an expression of political and ideological opportunism, of concessions to the class enemy, of reconciliation with the influences of alien ideologies, with shortcomings and weaknesses, must become ever more intensive. It becomes even more essential to deepen this struggle because in recent years liberal manifestations and influences have emerged very sharply and have damaged the work in many sectors, such as in culture, the army, the economy, and elsewhere. Never, under any circumstances should we underestimate

these dangers, but we must always maintain keen political and ideological vigilance, strengthen the check-up from above and from below, enhance discipline and proletarian consciousness in everybody.

The Party should devote particular attention to uprooting liberal and anarchist concepts about democracy and freedom in the socialist society. Some people think that, being in a democracy, they have rights only and no duties at all, that the state and the society have obligations to them, which they never fail to demand, while they themselves are free to behave and act as they like, to violate discipline at work and social discipline, the laws of the state and the norms of our society, without a care in the world. These extremely harmful concepts should be combated with determination, for they are alien to the principles of socialism.

A healthy spirit of lively political militancy exists in the ranks of our Party and among the people, and this constitutes a great victory for our Party. But this must in no way make us self-satisfied and close our eyes to manifestations of indifference which are observed among many working people and even among a number of communists and cadres. The struggle against manifestations of indifference remains a current task of the Party and its levers.

The Party has always stressed that **the class struggle in the field of ideology should be frontal and waged against both liberalism and bureaucracy, against the vestiges of the ideology of the old exploiting classes, as well as against the influences and manifestations of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologies of today.** While fighting against degenerating liberalism of bourgeois-revisionist origin, we must not underrate the struggle against various manifestations of conservatism either, which, owing

to our historical conditions, still have roots and influences that are by no means superficial.

The 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th Plenums of the Central Committee of the Party have been great schools of class struggle in the period between the two Congresses. These plenums uncovered and made short work of the hostile groups of Fadil Paçrami and Todi Lubonja, of Beqir Balluku, Petrit Dume and Hito Çako, of Abdyl Këllezi, Koço Theodhosi and Kiço Ngjela, and others, who had engaged in a far-reaching undermining and sabotage activity in the field of ideology and culture, in the army, industry, planning, trade, and so on.

This was a major and extremely dangerous conspiracy. These enemies, in close collaboration among themselves and in coordination with certain foreign revisionist states, intended to liquidate the Party, to overthrow the people's power, to open the way to revisionism and to restore capitalism in Albania.

The traitor group of Fadil Paçrami, Todi Lubonja and company endeavoured to spread the bourgeois-revisionist ideology, culture, and way of life, to prepare a suitable ground for the political counter-revolution, in the field of ideology and culture. First of all, they aimed to cause confusion among the youth and the intelligentsia, to turn them against the Party and socialism, just as the enemies of Marxism-Leninism in the revisionist countries have done.

The traitor and putschist group of Beqir Balluku, Petrit Dume and Hito Çako was a faction at the head of the army, a group of plotters seeking to overthrow the Central Committee by force, by means of an armed putsch, and to wipe out the Party of Labour of Albania and the dictatorship of the proletariat, while relying also on armed intervention from abroad. To achieve their

ends, they worked to weaken the organization of the Party and its leading role in the army, to replace the Marxist-Leninist ideology of our Party with revisionist ideology, to sabotage the military line of the Party and impose their capitulationist and traitor theses on it. They tried to undermine the defence potential of the country and to introduce in the army the detestable methods of the bourgeois and revisionist armies.

The traitor group of Abdyl Këllezi, Koço Theodhosi, Kiço Ngjela and company engaged in far-reaching hostile activities in the field of the economy. This group sought to distort the line of the Party for the development of the economy, the principles of its organization and management, and to introduce revisionist forms and methods of self-administration, and so on. They engaged in sabotage activities with grave consequences in such key sectors as planning, oil, foreign trade, etc. In this manner, they tried to weaken and undermine the base of our socialist order, open the way to the economic and political subjugation and enslavement of the country by foreigners.

These groups were imperialist-revisionist agencies in the bosom of the Party and state, composed of politically and morally degenerate elements who had become bourgeois and capitulated to the pressure of the external and internal enemies, to the ideological encirclement and aggression of international imperialism and revisionism.

The danger posed by these hostile groups was extremely serious, because they were filling important posts in the Party and state power and exploiting the great authority of the Party to cover up their hostile work. They masked their counter-revolutionary activity by pretending that everything was done in the name of the Party allegedly for the good of the Party and the people, allegedly for the creative implementation of its deci-

sions and directives. They acted on the sly, never daring to come out openly against the line of the Party, because, like all the other enemies, they had no basis either in the Party or among the people. The strength and steel unity of the Party suppressed them. Its sound ties with the people overawed them.

For some time the enemies managed to act and cause damage without being discovered, because they found weak spots in the work of the Party and the state power. They exploited mistakes and shortcomings, manifestations of bureaucracy, liberalism and euphoria, which they did their best to spread and encourage. They profited from the relaxation of vigilance and control, the failure to persistently implement the principles and norms of the Party and state, from various shortcomings in the educative work, from the failure to keep well in mind the teachings of the Party on the class struggle and the imperialist-revisionist encirclement.

All the organs of leadership, including the Central Committee and the Government, bear responsibility for these things that have occurred. Special responsibility, both collective and individual, falls on the party organizations, communists and cadres of those sectors where the enemies were most active. They bear responsibility because they permitted the leading role of the party organizations to be weakened, because they did not consistently uphold the decisions and directives of the Party and the laws of the state, because some of them showed themselves to be politically short-sighted and liberal, while others lacked the revolutionary courage to raise their voice, to denounce the enemies and put them in their place.

Because of the steel unity, the keen political sense and maturity, ideological clarity and revolutionary de-

termination of the Party and its leadership, this hostile activity was discovered and smashed. Socialist Albania was saved from a great and dangerous conspiracy. From this fierce class battle the Party emerged stronger and more tempered, the unity of the ranks of the Party around the Central Committee, as well as the unity of the people around the Party, were raised to a higher level. The revolutionary vigilance of the Party and the masses was raised and strengthened. Our economy was further consolidated and marked new successes on the road of its socialist development, our arts and culture increased their party spirit and militancy. The army, all the armed forces, have been united more tightly around the Party, their ideo-political tempering, revolutionary spirit and fighting readiness to confront and wipe out any enemy that might dare attack our socialist homeland, have been raised to a higher level. In this struggle, our working class, the cooperativist peasantry, youth, women, intelligentsia and cadres displayed their lofty patriotism, their unwavering confidence in the Party and its leadership, their loyalty to its correct line.

The uncovering and liquidation of the plot hatched up by the internal and external enemies is a great victory of our Party and people, a victory of Marxism-Leninism over revisionism.

## **2. — The Leading Role Of The Working Class And The Education Of The Working Masses**

Guided by the Party, the working class has stood in the forefront in the great historic events over the last 35 years of struggle and work for the liberation of Albania and the triumph of the people's revolution, the allround

revolutionary transformation of the country on a socialist basis. This is one of the principal factors in the consistent development of our revolution on the correct Marxist-Leninist course.

The working class is the leading class of the society. It has its own political party that leads it, and the Marxist-Leninist ideology that lights its way. It is the bearer of the ideals of socialism and communism. It is linked with the highest form of socialist property and the leading sectors of the economy, it is the most conscious, organized, and disciplined class. Its weight in production and the structure of the population is steadily growing.

As Marxism-Leninism teaches us, no class or social stratum other than the working class can play the leading role in the struggle to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and in the construction of the new socialist society. This role will be preserved and strengthened in the future, too, so long as classes and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat exist.

In the interval between the two Congresses, the Party has done allround work so that the role of the working class is felt and exerted powerfully everywhere, so that the working class sets the tone for the entire life of the country with its ideology, revolutionary vigour and example. Consequently, the political activity of the working class, its active participation in the solution of major problems of the Party and the state have increased and its direct control over the implementation of the Party's policy in all fields has been extended and strengthened. A very important indication of the enhancement of the role of the working class is the fact that a large number of cadres, who have emerged from among the ranks of the working class, have been brought into the organs and apparatuses of the Party, the state power, the economy

and culture, and they have further invigorated and revolutionized all the work.

These results have been achieved through a fierce struggle against liberal and bureaucratic, technocratic and individualist concepts and attitudes, which expressed lack of confidence in the abilities of the working class, which did not accept its control, or accepted it for form's sake only, and which, in various forms and ways, overestimated the role of the apparatus, office workers and specialists.

In the future, too, the Party will work untiringly to ensure and strengthen more and more the leading role of the working class in the entire life of the country. The working class plays this role through its Party and its proletarian state. Without the Party, the leading role of the working class would remain a demagogic and fraudulent phrase. **Only the revolutionary party of the working class, armed with the Marxist-Leninist theory can make the working class conscious of its historic mission and clearly define the objectives of its struggle and the ways to attaining them. The Party organizes, educates and mobilizes the working class and all its allies and leads them in the complicated struggle to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and build socialism.**

The revisionists of every hue, old and new, have spread and are spreading all sorts of views to negate the historic mission of the working class, especially to liquidate the leading role of its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist party, in the revolution and socialist construction.

With their «theories» of the party and state of the entire people, of the party as merely an ideological factor or an instrument of coordination, with their sermons about spontaneity in the workers' movement, pluralism, and transition to socialism under the leadership of other

political classes and forces, they intend to leave the working class without leadership and disarmed in the face of the enemy, which is organized and armed to the teeth, to sabotage the revolution, to eliminate the theory and practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our Party has contemptuously rejected these reactionary theories, as well as the anti-Marxist and anarchist views of «self-administration», and «direct leadership» by the working class. It has put our working class in the historic role which belongs to it in the socialist society. This is in complete opposition to the concepts and practices of the Khrushchevite revisionists who treat the working class of their countries as merely a productive force, and have transformed it into an oppressed and exploited class, at whose expense the new bourgeoisie is growing rich.

In our country, there is no problem of the policy of the Party and state on which the working class and the other working masses do not have their say and in the solution of which they do not take an active part. The Party has attached and continues to attach great importance to consulting the working class and the other working masses, to the extensive development of criticism by the masses of shortcomings and weaknesses at work, and encouraging the active participation of the working class in governing the country.

The Party has paid and continues to pay special attention to the direct control by the working class and the other working masses, to the implementation of this great Leninist principle in practice. It regards this control, which is exercised under its leadership over all state and social activity, as a universal and permanent principle of our socialist society in all its spheres and links, as an expression of the exercise of the dictatorship of the proletariat by the working class in alliance with the peasantry. The

worker control is one of the vital aspects of the class struggle to ensure the triumph of socialism, to prevent the degeneration of the socialist order, and is a great school for the revolutionary education of the working class and the other working masses.

The exercise of direct worker and peasant control has yielded results of great value in detecting and avoiding many shortcomings and weaknesses, manifestations of liberalism, distortions and violations of state laws and norms of our society. It has served as a powerful means to shake off the dust of bureaucracy and routine in many administrations, economic enterprises and cultural institutions, among party cadres and organizations, to create a lively revolutionary atmosphere all over the country, to implement the line of the Party correctly, and to carry out the tasks in all fields of socialist construction successfully.

Recently, the Party took important measures to put the worker and peasant control on a sound organizational basis and to raise it to a higher qualitative level. **The consolidation of the organization of worker and peasant control groups, the qualified guidance of this control by the party organizations and committees, orientation and guidance of it to the most essential questions connected with the implementation of the line and decisions of the Party, better combination of worker and peasant control from below with state control from above, the summing up of the revolutionary experience of this control, in order to make it ever more thorough and richer in content and find new fruitful ways of exercising it, have now come to the fore.**

The further enhancement and strengthening of the leading role of the working class, the growth of its ideological influence and the efficiency of its work depend to a considerable extent on its revolutionary education

and tempering, on raising its consciousness to such a level as to enable it to accomplish its mission in socialist society.

On this issue, the Party bears in mind the fact that our working class is relatively young, that the bulk of the workers come from non-proletarian strata, that its ranks are being replenished every day with young workers straight from school, who lack experience in work and in life. All these things, as well as the weaknesses in the educational work, are some of the reasons that many workers do not always play the role that belongs to their class as they should, fail to speak out courageously and with maturity, do not feel the great responsibility they have to ensure that the line and decisions of the Party are carried out correctly by everybody, inside and outside the enterprise, do not always work in a high revolutionary spirit, with proletarian organization and discipline.

Therefore in the future, too, the Party will have to work persistently to educate the working class with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, to make it conscious of its role and tasks, so that it will be a staunch fighter for the construction of socialism, the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the defence of the homeland. The working class itself must stand in the forefront of the struggle to carry out the tasks of the state plan, put the general interest above everything, protect the common property, work with high productivity and quality, strengthen discipline at work, become innovator and creator, preserve and further develop its proletarian features and ceaselessly raise its educational, cultural and professional level. In this way the working class can educate the cooperativist peasantry, the youth, the intelligentsia, all the working people of our country with its example and in its spirit.

The Trade Unions, which do great work to educate and

mobilize the workers and the other working people for the construction of the new society, have a special role and responsibility to make this work more thorough and carry it further. The main task of the Trade Union organization has been and still is the communist education of the working people. Any tendency to underrate the educational work of the trade union organizations and to convert them into adjuncts of administrations and the economic organs is highly dangerous and leads to the diversion of the Trade Unions from their function as schools of communism.

The view to the effect that the Trade Unions should concern themselves with education alone and not involve themselves in economic problems, which is encountered in some cases, is also grossly wrong. Of course, the Trade Unions have no reason to do the work of state and economic organs, or duplicate them. But it would be utterly unforgivable for them not to interest themselves in production, in the carrying out of the tasks of the state plan. This would create the danger of the bureaucratization of the management of the economy. The effect of the educative work of the trade union organizations depends very greatly on linking it closely with production, a thing which cannot be done well without being familiar with the problems of the economy. At the same time, it devolves on the Trade Unions to wage a more energetic struggle against any bureaucratic action that infringes the rights of the working people, guaranteed by law, in the slightest degree.

While recognizing the leading role of the working class, the Party has always correctly assessed the place and the great potential of the **peasantry** in our society. In the fire of the war for the liberation of Albania and the establishment of the people's power, in the fierce class battles for the construction of socialism, the Party

created and tempered the powerful alliance of the working class with the working peasantry under the leadership of the working class. This alliance has been and remains the basic principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the foundation of the unity of the people around the Party.

The Party and the state of the working class have implemented a broad program of an allround political and ideological, economic and social-cultural character, that has led to deep-going revolutionary transformations in the countryside and the strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry. Today the whole of our countryside, without exception, has set out on the road of socialism. This is a great historic victory of the line of the Party and our revolution.

However, the Party is aware that essential distinctions between town and countryside exist and will be preserved for a long time to come. The struggle to reduce them is the main way to strengthen the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry and an indispensable condition to close any paths to bourgeois degeneration. The Party is continually taking measures to ensure that the distinctions between countryside and town are steadily reduced.

Because of the great role it has played and continues to play in the socialist society, the peasantry of our country deserves everything that has been done to make the countryside progress and flourish. In the past, it bore the main brunt of the earlier liberation struggles and the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, it became the decisive force for the reconstruction of the country, from its ranks it brought forth the new working class, it has always shown itself to be patriotic, revolutionary, and loyal to the Party and the cause of the working class.

**In the future, too, the Party will give special atten-**

tion to drawing the peasantry into increasingly active participation in the political, economic and social life of the country, to educating it politically and ideologically, to raising its educational, cultural, and professional level, and to consolidating the cooperativist system more and more. In the educative work, it should not be forgotten that, for known reasons, the manifestations of the feeling of private property and the hangovers of petty-bourgeois psychology still have strong roots in the countryside. They are a source of many evils, of hankering after narrow self-interest, absenteeism, damage to social property, and so on. The peasantry must resolutely combat these alien manifestations, strengthen the spirit of collectivism, take an active part in the class struggle and work hard for the progress of agriculture and our socialist countryside.

As always, the working class must stand by its ally, must exercise its control over all the state and economic organs concerned with the implementation of the party policy in the countryside, and deepen the great revolutionary movement, «To make agriculture the concern of the entire people». Through its example, it must educate all the working people to love the countryside, respect and honour farm work, fight any manifestation of contempt for the countryside and for work there. At the same time, it is necessary to combat all manifestations of mistrust by the countryside for the town in order to strengthen the militant alliance between the working class and the cooperativist peasantry more and more.

The **intelligentsia** of our country, which has emerged from among the workers and the peasants, has played and continues to play an important role in the allround development of socialist Albania. Unlike the revisionist countries where it became the main force of counter-

revolution to liquidate the gains of socialism, our intelligentsia serves the dictatorship of the proletariat, the people and the revolution, it stands united closely around the Party. This is another great victory for the policy of the Party.

In struggle against liberal and technocratic concepts, manifestations of bureaucracy and intellectualist conceit, and tendencies to commandism and privilege-seeking, occasionally encountered among intellectuals, **the Party is moulding the intelligentsia ever more thoroughly with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, with the moral features and qualities of workers and peasants.** It educates it and makes it more conscious of its role in the society, puts it in such conditions of work and life that it will always be close to the people and under the permanent control of the masses. At the same time, the Party requires that the intelligentsia must constantly increase its knowledge and put it at the service of the socialist construction of the country, and take an active part in the technical-scientific revolution and the entire development of the socialist culture.

The heroic **youth** of our country have been and remain an active force of the revolution and a loyal auxiliary of the Party. The 35-year experience of the Party shows that when the inexhaustible revolutionary energies of the youth are merged with the energies of the working class and the other working masses, under the leadership of the proletarian Party, there is no force which can stop the triumph of the revolution and socialism.

Our youth are surrounded by the special care of the Party and the entire society. Great prospects, which guarantee their present and future and give a lofty content and meaning to their life, have been opened to them. The

Party has ever better fulfilled the cultural and spiritual aspirations and various material needs of the youth, it has mobilized them in revolutionary actions and given them the role of active and important participants in the revolution and the construction of socialist society. Therefore, our youth, too, have always followed the Party enthusiastically, optimistically and faithfully, and have gone all out to make the homeland flourish and strengthen its defence.

We see an entirely different picture in the bourgeois and revisionist countries, where uncertainty for the present and fear of the future nags at the youth day in and day out. Every second of every hour their minds are being poisoned by confusing propaganda, urging them to an empty, dissipated life, devoid of ideals, which alienates them from the revolution, which drives them to the road of crime and hooliganism, and casts them into anarchism, adventurism, utopia and despair.

**Our Party aims to keep the communist ideals and the healthy revolutionary spirit always alive in the minds and hearts of the youth, to educate them to be loyal fighters of the Party, ready to dedicate their energies, talent and lives to the construction of socialism and the defence of the homeland.** Led by the Party, the youth must ceaselessly develop the spirit of revolutionary initiative and action in production and in all fields. They must deepen their irreconcilable stand and be constantly on the attack against the class enemy, against any influence of the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, liberal and conservative manifestations which inhibit progress. They must strengthen their will and perseverance to acquire knowledge and culture, become powerful supporters of technical and scientific progress. The fact that there are a few young people who ape certain aspects of the bourgeois

and revisionist way of life, display certain symptoms alien to proletarian morality, who demand from the society more than they contribute, speaks mainly of gaps and weaknesses in our educational work. The entire society, the family and the working collectives, the schools and various institutions, the mass organizations and the state organs must work, under the leadership of the Party, so that our younger generation will be a shock detachment in the front-ranks of the revolution.

The great actions of the youth to build railways, roads, break in virgin land, etc. by voluntary work, in which almost the entire younger generation have taken part, as well as their movements, «We must learn from the working class», «We must work wherever the homeland needs us», «We must go to work and live in the countryside», and so on, are valued, welcomed, and powerfully supported by the Party as great revolutionary actions and movements, as schools for the communist education and tempering of the youth. In the future, too, the Party will entrust the youth and their militant organization, the Albanian Labour Youth Union, with important actions, in the firm belief that our younger generation will, as always, carry them through to the end successfully. Allow me to greet especially those thousands of young men and women who have responded to the call of the Party to work and live in the countryside, and express my conviction that thousands of others will follow their example to strengthen our socialist countryside and make it progress.

Under the leadership of the Party, the Albanian Labour Youth Union has played a great role in the education of the younger generation. It has gained wide experience in the organization and mobilization of the youth for the construction of socialism. In the future, the youth

organization is called upon to further invigorate its political and ideological life and activity, to extend the scope of this activity in conformity with the age and wide-ranging interests of the youth, in work and defence, education and culture, science and technology, sports and physical culture, making better use of all that great material base the Party and the people's power have created.

The Party and the people want the youth to be healthy, strong, capable in work and defence. The large-scale development of physical culture and sports, to which the youth organization should pay special attention, is especially important in this direction.

The Youth Union should fight to strengthen its organization, discarding as dangerous any tendency to liberalism in the life of the organization, such as those which showed up prior to the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party and which were strongly condemned by the entire youth. The Youth Organization has been and will always remain a militant political organization, a loyal auxiliary of the Party.

The correct Marxist-Leninist policy of the Party has led to that true, deep-going, and very broad revolution which has taken place in the life of the Albanian **woman**.

Our experience has fully confirmed the necessity of linking the problem of the complete emancipation of the woman with the question of national liberation and the cause of the proletariat. Without the participation of the woman the socialist revolution cannot be successfully carried out, and without the socialist revolution the complete emancipation of the woman cannot be achieved.

The energies and abilities of the woman, which lay dormant and suppressed in the past, have burst out powerfully and irresistibly in all fields of our socialist life. The Albanian woman has come out into the arena of the

struggle for socialism full of dignity, and is outstanding for her high revolutionary spirit, her determination and patriotism, and distinguishes herself at work and in life. Today, she is found everywhere, in fields and factories, in schools and laboratories. Highly responsible positions in the Party and the state have been entrusted to her. New relationships of equality are being established between husband and wife at work and in the family. The emancipation of the woman is strengthening the socialist democracy day by day. This bears out Marx's affirmation that the level of emancipation of the woman represents a natural yardstick of general emancipation.

Our reality refutes all the bourgeois and revisionist «theories» on the roads to the emancipation of the woman. The attempts of the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries to turn the struggle for the emancipation of the working woman against her husband, children and family, are aimed at diverting her from the revolutionary struggle and disrupting the common front of the working class and the working people against the real oppressors and exploiters. The demagoguery of the modern revisionists, too, relating the solution of this major social problem to the policy of «peace» and «disarmament», is intended to make the woman give up the revolution.

In the future, too, the Party will consistently fight to carry out its program for the complete emancipation of the woman. **It is the duty of the party organizations, the state organs and all the mass organizations to always make a correct assessment of the real abilities of women, which the Party has so carefully awakened, cultivated and developed, though it is the task of the women themselves to fight like revolutionaries to assert their personality ever better.** At the same time, on the basis of the possibilities ensured by the economic development of the

country, better material conditions must be created to lighten the woman's burden of household chores so as to raise the efficiency of her work on the production front and her activity in political, social and cultural life to a higher level.

We note with special satisfaction that, through their own efforts and thanks to the care of the Party, women are narrowing the educational, cultural and technical-professional gap between them and men. Now, 37 per cent of all the cadres with medium and higher training are women. In the future, we must fight to achieve complete equality in this field, too. The women comrades in leading posts have distinguished themselves for their loyalty to the line of the Party, their abilities as leaders and organizers, for their knowledge and culture. This confirms the correctness of the directive of the Party that women should be promoted boldly to posts of responsibility, from the lowest to the highest levels of the party and state organs. Those sectarian attitudes which underrate the abilities of women and hinder the implementation of this policy of the Party are very harmful.

Alien patriarchal and conservative, bourgeois and liberal concepts are still a great barrier to the allround affirmation of the personality of the woman. Under the leadership of the Party, the active Organization of the Women's Union of Albania, the state and all the mass organizations, the school and society have the duty to educate women and men in the spirit of the struggle for the complete emancipation of all members of our socialist society, so that everybody, men and women, young and old, may march ahead triumphantly.

**Constant preservation and strengthening of the unity of the people around the Party constitutes one of the most fundamental problems of the entire work of the**

**Party and its levers, a decisive condition for the triumph of the revolution, the construction of socialist society and the defence of the homeland.**

The unity of our people is not a unity dependent on circumstances and temporary alliances. It is a live and militant unity of the people around the Party, created in the war for the liberation of the country and cemented in the struggle for the implementation of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist policy and ideology of the Party.

But unity is not something given once and for all. The struggle to strengthen it must be continuous and permanent. The enemies have attempted to attack this unity, to create splits between the people and the Party, and they will attempt to do so again in the future. Manifestations of bureaucracy and liberalism, attitudes and actions which run counter to the decisions of the Party, and impair the correct relations of the Party with the masses also damage this unity. The remnants and influences of alien ideologies, which are opposed to the new norms of the socialist society, violate it.

Hence, the great tasks facing the Party to safeguard the unity of the people like the apple of its eye, to steel it and make it even more invulnerable. This requires that we maintain high revolutionary vigilance, wage the class struggle ceaselessly and correctly, carry out the party directives with precision, and solve the various contradictions which arise among the people in a timely manner.

The **Democratic Front of Albania**, this great political organization which realizes the unity of the Albanian people under the leadership of the Party, has wide scope of action in this field. In cooperation with the other social organizations, the Front is called upon to carry out all-round work with the urban and rural masses to make the

policy, orientations and directives of the Party clear to them, to educate them in the spirit of socialist patriotism, revolutionary vigilance, combat readiness and irreconcilability towards all alien manifestations, to constantly strengthen and temper the unity of the people. The Democratic Front has been and remains a great tribune of the revolutionary opinion of the masses, a powerful lever of the Party to draw the working people into governing the country and solving problems of the socialist construction and the defence of the homeland.

### **3. — The Ideas Of Marxism-Leninism Must Be Mastered Linking Them Closely With The Teachings Of Our Party**

The foundation of all the ideo-political educative work which the Party does among the communists and the working masses has always been our triumphant ideology, Marxism-Leninism. The Party has done great allround work to disseminate the scientific ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The classics of Marxism-Leninism and the many documents and materials of our Party, published by the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies, have been put at the disposal of the communists and the working people. An entire system of study groups, courses and schools has been set up for their education. The entire membership of the Party studies Marxism-Leninism in an organized manner, while thousands of party members have graduated from the «V.I. Lenin» Party School. The Marxist-Leninist theory is taught throughout the whole of our school system from the lowest to the highest grades. The workers, peasants, and all our youth attend the study courses at which they are imbued with the ideas

of socialism, with the revolutionary teachings and practice of our Party. All spiritual, literary, artistic and scientific life is becoming more and more thoroughly permeated by our proletarian ideology.

All these forms, and all the work done to educate the communists and the masses have yielded results. But the problem is that more should be gained from these forms, that education should be linked better with life and work, so that it may properly serve the ideological and political moulding of the communists and the masses. The things that occurred in the army, in the field of culture, and the economy speak of serious weaknesses in the educative work of the Party. In these weaknesses we must look for and find one of the main sources of those negative phenomena which the enemies exploited to carry out their anti-party activity in these sectors.

It is not enough that the study groups meet regularly, hear lectures and papers which talk about the norms of the Party, criticism and self-criticism, vigilance, and so on. The main thing is to understand why these things are necessary, their ideo-political content, to understand that we need these things so that we throw ourselves into struggle for a great cause, which is the construction of socialism, its defence, the triumph of the revolution in our country. If they are not understood in this way, discipline, principles, vigilance, class struggle, and so on, remain abstract formulae. In our propaganda, there are still many signs of such superficial work, which must be rooted out as quickly as possible, so that our teachings make a deep impression in people's minds and create lasting convictions.

We do not study Marxism-Leninism for the sake of erudition. We study it to apply it in life, so that we are guided by its principles in every action and judge

everything in its spirit. Such a study of theory, closely linked with life and revolutionary practice, serves true communist moulding, the creation not only of a scientific outlook but also of a revolutionary character, so that our people will always be resolute fighters for the cause of socialism, irreconcilable with the enemies and their ideologies.

This calls for serious study of Marxism-Leninism which is the science, the theory, which teaches us how to understand the line and directives of the Party, and how we must fight to apply them in life. The Party faces the task of further strengthening and improving the propagation and study of the classical works of our great teachers, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, which constitute the inexhaustible treasury of scientific communism, the basis of the communist formation of the new man. But their study is complete and fruitful when it is closely linked with the teachings of our Party, with the study of its documents, in which the creative application of the universal laws and principles of Marxism-Leninism in the conditions of Albania is reflected, in which the great experience of our revolution, the experience of the struggle of our Party and people against imperialism and modern revisionism is summed up.

The study of the party documents and the History of the Party helps the communists and the working people to master the general line of the Party, its style and method in the solution of problems more thoroughly and quickly, to assimilate the militant spirit and highly principled stand which characterizes our Party. It helps them to realize that it is our Party, its experience, and wisdom that teaches us how to fight for the construction of socialism and the defence of the homeland, how to carry the revolution steadily forward.

**Marxism-Leninism is not learned only from books, nor only at school. It is learned and mastered by taking an active part in the daily struggle to build socialism, by ceaselessly waging the class struggle, resolutely fighting against the imperialist-revisionist encirclement. For the communist education and the revolutionary tempering of the working people, great tasks face the entire Party, as well as the state and the mass organizations, which must regard this as one of the principal aspects of their activity.**

The study of the Marxist-Leninist theory is indispensable for the communists first of all. There are some who say that, «I find it hard to study», but they do not think that these views are harmful and that by talking and acting in such a manner they are making a great mistake. They do not understand that many of the shortcomings and weaknesses in their work stem precisely from their lack of ideo-political formation. It is necessary that the communists temper their will to study individually, to raise their ideological, cultural and technical-professional level all the time. No one should say that he has no time to study. The communist who takes no interest in study and broadening his horizon, who makes no effort to try to acquaint himself with, and master, the rich experience of the Party, will run out of steam and will not be up to the mark in his task as a vanguard fighter.

The «V. I. Lenin» Party School, the study courses and other forms of party education must raise the level of their work ever higher for a more profound and creative study and mastering by the cadres and the communists of Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of our Party.

A great task in arming the younger generation, in particular, with the Marxist-Leninist theory devolves on our school, where the foundations of the ideological for-

mation of the youth are laid, where the habits and methods of study are acquired, where endurance in study and the passion to learn are instilled. It is of special importance for the school not only to give the pupils and students Marxist knowledge, but also to form their revolutionary outlook, to give them the key to how to find their bearings and fight correctly in life.

Major tasks also face the institutes and the chairs of social sciences which are called upon to raise their work to a new qualitative level, summing up the theoretical and practical experience of the Party better and becoming its propagandists. The working masses, the school, the party education system are still in need of a wide range of publications and textbooks of various categories, with profound content, and written clearly and comprehensibly. All the possibilities are there for better fulfilment of these demands by means of improved organization and coordination of the work of the scientific institutes and publishing houses, the higher schools, and the various editorial boards.

Improvement in the work for dissemination of the Marxist-Leninist theory and its study greatly depends on the activity of the party organizations and committees. They must go deeply into the content of this work and exercise continuous check-up for ever better implementation of the great task the Party is charged with for the education of the communists, the cadres and the masses. They are called upon to see that the educative work is built around the problems which emerge in life and the phenomena which people are concerned about, that it becomes more understandable and convincing, more differentiated and supported by strong arguments, in conformity with the growing demands of the masses. For this purpose, the methods of mass action, of confrontation and discussion, which have given very positive results, should

be made better use of, all the means of propaganda should be utilized to the greatest possible effect, and their forms perfected.

The press, publications and the radio and television have played and continue to play a great and special role in the education of the masses. After the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party an allround struggle was waged against weaknesses and shortcomings, manifestations of liberalism and lack of vigilance which were observed in some organs of the press, in some publications, and in many radio and television broadcasts. They have made improvements, but in the future, too, care must be taken to increase their militant class and proletarian partisanship, to raise the quality and the ideological level of writings and broadcasts and deepen the mass line. Thus, they will play their role better as auxiliaries of the Party for the communist formation and the mobilization of the working people to carry out the tasks facing the country.

#### **4. — Education, Culture And Science Must Be Raised To The Level Of The Tasks Of The Time**

During the years since the 6th Congress great strides ahead have been taken for the implementation of the directives of the Party in the field of education, culture, art and science. These important sectors have been actively engaged in the great struggle waged by our entire people for the socialist construction of the country.

The Party has always shown particular care for **education**, for the uninterrupted raising of its ideological and scientific level.

Implementing the Marxist-Leninist program approv-

ed by the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee in 1968, and the 6th Congress of the Party for the revolutionization of education, our school has undergone great changes and achieved many results in the strengthening of the ideological axis, in the implementation of the three components: lessons, productive work, physical and military training, in raising the scientific level of the school and in linking it with life. Commendable work has been done in drawing up plans and programs and compiling new textbooks for all categories of schools. The system of education has been improved and extended. The possibilities have been created for the pupils and students to acquire more knowledge, to be better trained for production and defence, to be educated and tempered in the spirit of the working class, with proletarian discipline and morality. Our school is more and more consolidating itself as a socialist school, with original features and a popular character. It is further strengthening its revolutionary class spirit.

This process has gone through a stern class struggle, against conservative and liberal, bureaucratic and technocratic concepts and practices, against bourgeois and revisionist influences and borrowings, which were strongly criticized also at the 4th and 7th Plenums of the Central Committee. Despite all the struggle waged, the major tasks which the educational reform laid down for the revolutionization of the content of teaching and education have not been fulfilled completely. There are still shortcomings and weaknesses which must be overcome, there are problems which are being solved with difficulty and hesitation, especially those connected with the full harmonization of the three components. In the method of work of the organs of education there are still manifestations of practicism, and little effort is made to study and sum up the practice of our school.

The former leaders of the Ministry of Education and Culture exerted a negative influence on the implementation of the program laid down by the Party for the development of education through their harmful work which was characterized by a liberal and bureaucratic spirit, shallowness and inertia.

For the future, too, the strengthening of the ideological content of all the work of the school constitutes the fundamental and most important aspect of the implementation of the policy of the Party for the revolutionization of education. The main thing is to work for a more thorough assimilation of Marxism-Leninism, of the theoretical thinking and teachings of our Party, which must become more and more the foundation of the process of teaching and education, must permeate all subjects. The bookish learning of Marxism, which is still apparent in the school, as well as the slowness in reflecting the experience of the Party and our socialist construction in the textbooks and in the teaching process, impede the strengthening of the educative and formative role of the school. Hence, the important task of improving the programs, textbooks and lessons in the subject of Marxism-Leninism, of ensuring a closer linking of the lessons with life, with the great work and struggle the people are waging under the leadership of the Party, of making extensive use of the studies and generalizations carried out in the field of social sciences.

**The educative role of the school in the allround communist formation of the new generation will be strengthened the more the school and the youth are engaged in the class struggle for the development of the revolution and the solution of the concrete problems of the socialist construction of the country.**

In putting before the school the task of introducing

the three components and of their harmonization, the Party is aiming to achieve two major objectives, the revolutionary education and tempering of the youth, and the raising of the quality of all the work of the school. But in practice, despite the efforts made and the results achieved, we are still on the initial stage of the solution of this problem. What is required is the complete and organic integration of the three components, in content and in method, so that they complement each other.

The school, as the place where the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist pedagogical thinking of our Party is applied, has the duty to acquaint itself with and study the best achievements in this field, to disseminate them and carry them further in order to ensure more creative and fruitful teaching and educational work. This constitutes a wide and important sphere of scientific work in the education sector.

A major problem remains that of giving the school a deeper mass character and of improving the school system, by setting up a broader and more varied network of schools, especially vocational ones, both full-time and part-time.

The university and the other higher schools where the specialists for different fields of activity are trained, have the task of turning out cadres formed and tempered politically and ideologically, with broad cultural horizons, armed with profound scientific knowledge, prepared for life. In collaboration with the ministries and with the Academy of Sciences, they should carry out more organized work for the post-graduate qualification of cadres. The higher schools should devote particular attention to studies and research, as an indispensable prerequisite for raising the level of all their teaching work as well.

The major successes scored by our people's education

are a result of the tireless work of the great army of teachers and pedagogues who, with a high level of consciousness and ardent love for their honoured profession, are making a valuable contribution to the revolutionary education of the youth. The militant communist spirit, a passionate love and a high sense of responsibility for their work, persistence in perfecting their skills as teachers and educators, the struggle against any alien influence, should characterize them. The school and the teachers should closely follow the process of the revolutionary development of the country, the economy and culture, as well as the progress of world science and technology.

The Party has shown constant care that **culture, literature and arts** develop in a pure and sound atmosphere, that they follow the revolutionary transformations of the country step by step and steadily strengthen their socialist content, their militant character, their popular spirit and their national features.

The 4th Plenum of the Central Committee sternly criticized some harmful manifestations that had to do with imitations of reactionary foreign trends, with the wrong treatment of contradictions in our society, with theories that disparaged folk creativeness, etc. It put forward important tasks over the entire front of culture. Their implementation gave a fresh impulse to the development of literature and art, to all cultural and artistic activity. Great progress has been made in all fields, in literature and music, in cinema and theatre, in painting and sculpture, in opera and ballet.

The writers and artists have always stood close to the Party, as its auxiliaries in the struggle for the communist education of the masses. Along with the experienced creative forces, new talents, that are making their contri-

bution to the further development of our literature and arts, have emerged.

True art strengthens its innovatory features and achieves a high artistic level when it embodies a revolutionary content and is guided by the communist ideals. **Therefore, the continuous strengthening of proletarian partisanship remains a basic task for the development of our culture and arts, for their advance on the road of socialism.**

A better reflection of some of the major themes in our artistic creativeness, such as that of the hegemonic role of the working class in our society, the revolutionary transformations of our socialist countryside, the revolutionizing force of the communists, the treatment of cardinal themes and key moments of the history of our people, and particularly, of the National Liberation War and the socialist revolution, are an essential requirement to make our literature and art even more revolutionary.

With its revolutionary ideals and its objectives of serving socialism and the people, our art of socialist realism towers above the degenerate, decadent, bourgeois and revisionist art, counterposes itself to its reactionary, pessimistic and capitulationist philosophy. Literature and arts in the Soviet Union have been placed under the complete domination of the new bourgeoisie, and the writers and artists have turned into a caste in the service of the counter-revolution and the chauvinist and expansionist policy of Soviet social-imperialism. Negation of the major social problems, themes of disillusionment and bourgeois humanism, complete renunciation of the positive hero, lack of any revolutionary perspective are characteristic of the revisionist literature and arts.

The socialist content of art is closely linked with its

popular and national character. Under the present conditions, when, proceeding from their objectives of world domination, of the spiritual and political enslavement of the peoples, the US imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists are spreading the ideas of cosmopolitanism, of the so-called internationalization of art and culture, the struggle to defend the national culture of the peoples assumes very great importance. By defending and developing their national, democratic, and revolutionary culture, the peoples defend their independence, their existence and their own traditions, and thus make their contribution to the treasury of world culture.

Our socialist culture has never shut itself away in its national shell. It has profited from the best achievements of progressive world culture and, on its part, being the bearer of our people's ideals of freedom, independence and socialism, has been and is close to other peoples as well.

The national character and the popular spirit are expressed through the truthful reflection of reality, from the standpoint of Marxist-Leninist ideology, the assimilation of all the experience of our culture, both its old progressive tradition and its new revolutionary elements, in a critical way, proceeding from the class standpoint, and firmly relying on the people's creativeness. The popular and national character is expressed not just in the creation of the works alone but also in their execution and interpretation.

Some kinds of arts, architecture in particular, are lagging behind in their expression of the national spirit and features. To eliminate this shortcoming further study and more research work is needed.

Guided by the teachings of the Party, the writers and artists should direct themselves towards the life of the

people, create an art for the people, beautiful, clear and comprehensible to all, a profoundly popular art. The life of the people, their sharp wit, popular psychology and humour should occupy a larger place in literary and artistic works, especially in the genres of the stage.

Those artists who work ceaselessly to raise their Marxist-Leninist ideological level, who master the teachings of the Party, who lead an active political life, who are thoroughly immersed in the life of the masses and have a profound knowledge of the road of the revolutionary historical development of our people and culture succeed best in these tasks. Revolutionary art is created by revolutionary artists whose hearts beat in unison with the hearts of the people. They are required to reflect accurately in their works the fundamental processes and trends of development of our revolution, the contradictions of life, and to fight any manifestation of formalism and stereotyped treatment of them, to faithfully and creatively apply the method of socialist realism, which is the foundation of the proletarian art to which the future belongs.

Our socialist culture is penetrating more deeply among the people day by day and becoming part and parcel of their life. The publication of books and the production of films has been increased and the network of cultural-artistic centres throughout the country extended. The amateur movement has undergone great quantitative and qualitative development, and alongside professional art, is playing an important role in the progress of our new culture and the education of the working people. The masses, the man of work, the worker and the cooperativist, the woman and the youth, old and young, have mounted the stage.

The Party demands that mass cultural work must be

raised to a higher level. To this end, it is necessary to form a broader concept about culture, viewing it in all the different aspects of life, and about the cultured man. All the many means the state has placed at the service of the masses should be properly used, and ways and forms found for our culture to go wherever the masses of the people live and work. Today, when the Party is striving to narrow the distinctions between town and country, the front of culture, too, is faced with important tasks connected with raising the cultural level of the peasantry, through a broad activization of the forces of the countryside as in the city.

The party organizations should have a better appreciation of the great role which culture and arts play in the education of the masses, and should consider them as important sectors of their activity, showing special care for the political and ideological education of the creative artists. The leadership of the Party, the consistent application of its line and directives in these fields is of decisive importance for their development on the right road. The state organs also face important duties to increase their concern about culture and arts, as well as to improve the forms and methods of handling them.

Under the leadership of the Party, the League of Writers and Artists should intensify its work for the ideological and professional education of writers and artists, becoming still more a centre where creative work is encouraged and its philosophical, ethical, and esthetical problems are widely threshed out from the standpoint of proletarian partisanship.

In the allround efforts to put the decisions of the 6th Congress of the Party into life, successes have been achieved, also, in the development of **science** and scien-

tific experimentation. Functioning in our country today are various scientific organisms, specialized institutes and research centres, apart from those of the chairs and faculties of the higher schools. The founding of the Academy of Sciences was an important achievement.

Over this period, a series of important scientific and technical studies and experiments have been carried out in geology and mining, hydroenergetics, agriculture, etc. A number of valuable studies have been carried out also in the field of social problems, the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, history, archaeology, and the Albanian language.

The country's present stage of development and the great tasks ahead of us require that **scientific studies and research are transformed into a general method that must pervade and precede all activities, and give effective help in the solution of present and future problems of the construction of socialism and the defence of the homeland.** Science is confronted with great tasks in designing and building large hydrotechnical and industrial projects, discovering and using new raw materials and other natural resources, finding new ways for the intensification of agriculture, etc.

The development of science raises the very important problem of carrying out intensified studies in a number of fields, such as biology, genetics, mathematics, physics, chemistry, physiology, etc., without which many problems of the development of applied sciences and technical progress cannot be solved, and a sound training of the various specialists and of the younger generation in our school cannot be carried out.

Great prospects are opened to the fruitful development of social and economic sciences, with the scientific study and summing up of the revolutionary thinking and

practice of our Party and people as their fundamental object. Studies on the history, life, language and cultural and artistic traditions of our people constitute an important field.

As the Party has continuously stressed, the technical-scientific revolution in our socialist society cannot be carried ahead by a few specialized research institutions alone. The activation of the broad masses of workers and peasants, of cadres and specialists of production is of decisive importance in scientific experimentation. The specialized institutions and the centres of scientific research should link their activity more closely with the scientific experimentation of the masses, they should sum up advanced experience and disseminate scientific knowledge among the masses. This is also the way to protect them from the diseases of bureaucracy, technocratism and intellectualism.

At the present stage, all material-technical means and human resources exist to solve many complicated economic, ideo-theoretical, cultural and technical-scientific problems with our own forces. It is therefore necessary to further strengthen the confidence of the cadres, specialists, and working people in their own creative forces and capabilities, while at the same time getting to know, and applying, in conformity with our conditions, the achievements of world science and technology.

The fulfilment of the tasks in the field of science requires the taking of further measures for the training and qualification of specialized scientific cadres of different branches and the strengthening of the necessary material base.

The development of science and the technical-scientific revolution confronts the research institutions and the higher schools with major tasks for raising the quality

and effectiveness of their scientific studies and research, in struggle with alien technocratic and intellectualist, idealist and metaphysical concepts. The Academy of Sciences should play a special role here, especially towards a better utilization and coordination of forces and means for science and research.

Under the leadership of the Party, the state organs, from the base to the centre, should increase the attention they devote to the organization, planning and development of the activity of the scientific research organs, put forward concrete tasks and check up on their fulfilment, and render all the necessary help in the solution of the problems that arise.

## V

### **THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE PRA**

The construction of socialism in Albania, the struggle of our people for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the defence of the homeland, their efforts to build a secure future cannot be separated from the international situation in which we live, from the general historic process of world development today.

**The Party has followed with great attention and analysed the events and the creation of new situations, the directions and intentions of the various political forces that are active in the international arena, and has always maintained a correct and principled stand in complete accord with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, our national interests, the interests of the revolution and the liberation of the peoples.**

In general, the present international situation appears very complex, full of great contradictions and confrontations that have now embraced the whole globe and all aspects of the human society today. Facing imperialism, social-imperialism and their savage aggressive and expansionist activity, facing the bourgeoisie, the international monopolies and their barbarous exploitation, facing reaction and its violence and terror, with multiplied forces stand the world proletariat and the staunch revolutionaries,

the peoples that are struggling for freedom and democracy, for socialism. The world is at a stage when the cause of the revolution and national liberation of the peoples is not just an aspiration and a future prospect, but a problem taken up for solution.

In recent years, a powerful upsurge of the struggle of the proletariat can be seen in all the capitalist countries. The workers and the masses of the working people everywhere are fighting selflessly against political oppression and economic exploitation, to defend their democratic rights and ensure a better life. What distinguishes this struggle is the broadened scope of the demands of the working people which are ever more going beyond the bounds of economic demands. The strikes, protests, demonstrations of the working people in the United States of America, Britain, France, the Soviet Union, Poland, Italy, Germany, Spain, etc., which often end up in bloody clashes with the bourgeoisie and its apparatus of oppression, are striking at the very foundations of the bourgeois and revisionist rule. In these fierce clashes with capital and the bourgeoisie, the working class and the broad masses of the working people are more and more strengthening their proletarian consciousness, preparing and tempering themselves ever better for the coming class battles. The present struggle of the world proletariat once more proves the fundamental thesis of Marxism-Leninism that the working class and its revolutionary struggle in the bourgeois and revisionist world cannot be suppressed either with violence or with demagoguery. Despite the pressure, the demagoguery, and the large-scale deceptive and disruptive propaganda of the bourgeoisie and its allies, the tendency to break away from the opportunist and undermining influences of the social-democracy and the revisionists, who unfortunately still manipulate an important part of the working

class, is broadening and deepening. The growth and strengthening of the new Marxist-Leninist parties is vivid proof that the proletariat has never lost its faith in Marxism-Leninism, that it sees in Marxism-Leninism its most powerful weapon in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and for the triumph of the revolution.

Day by day, the liberation movement of the peoples is rising to a higher level, both in content and in intensity. The historic victory of world importance of the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, which was a victory not only over US imperialism, but also over the plots, intrigues and acts of interference of Soviet social-imperialism, proved that, with all their great power and wealth, with all their modern means of warfare, the superpowers are not able to subjugate the peoples and countries, even small ones, if the latter are determined to fight to the end and make any sacrifice. It confirmed the thesis that freedom and independence are won and defended with the gun, through struggle, that the strategy of the national liberation people's war is a strategy that ensures victory.

Today Asia, Africa, and Latin America constitute a broad front of struggle against US imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, and the other imperialist powers. The peoples of these continents are making great and allround efforts to strengthen their political independence, to shake off colonial and neo-colonial domination. All of us today are witnesses of the determined efforts of the African peoples for their complete emancipation, after their emergence from centuries of slavery. The achievement of independence by countries that only a little while ago were under Portuguese colonial rule has further accelerated the struggle against racism and racial discrimination in Rhodesia and South Africa.

The struggle of the progressive and democratic forces

against fascism and reaction is also growing and expanding. The overthrow of dictatorial regimes in some countries, the struggle of the patriots of Brazil and Bolivia, of Thailand and Malaysia, the resistance of the peoples of Chile, Argentina, and Indonesia against the fascist regimes have dealt telling blows at the reactionary forces and their imperialist supporters. The peoples of the Indian Ocean region, of South-east Asia and the shores of Africa are fighting persistently for the removal of military bases and naval fleets of the two superpowers. Everywhere the peoples are ever more awakening and growing more conscious of the danger that the policy of aggression, expansion and hegemony of US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism represents to their existence.

The countries that march consistently on the socialist road constitute a firm support for, and give active help to, the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the peoples. They constitute an irreplaceable factor for the triumph of the revolution. Socialist Albania considers it an honour to stand shoulder to shoulder with the great struggle of the proletariat and the peoples, of all who fight for socialism, freedom and independence. By working untiringly for the construction of its new life, by smashing the frenzied attacks of imperialism, modern revisionism, and the anti-communist bourgeoisie, it has made and is making its contribution to defending and carrying forward the cause of genuine socialism.

**It is this broadening and deepening of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, this great intensification of the liberation struggle of the peoples, the victories of socialism, all taken together, that have further weakened imperialism and social-imperialism, that have sharpened the contradictions of the capitalist system and shaken it to its foundations.**

A direct result of this struggle and of the inevitable contradictions of their system is also the very grave crisis which all the capitalist and revisionist countries are going through today. During the whole period since the Second World War economic crises have followed one upon the other. But the present crisis is the greatest, a crisis sweeping over not only the developed countries, but also those less developed; it is an economic crisis, but also a political and ideological, a military and cultural crisis, affecting the structures and the superstructures of the bourgeois-revisionist system.

At first, this crisis was apparent in the form of a falling rate of production and an increasing rate of inflation. It became still more acute and assumed broader proportions because it was complicated with an extremely grave energy crisis and the currency crisis, which caused very great upsets in all the capitalist-revisionist countries. Some of them, such as Italy, Britain, Poland, Yugoslavia, etc, are now experiencing extremely difficult situations.

A distinctive feature of the present crisis is that it is developing in the conditions of an acute sharpening of inter-imperialist contradictions in the rivalry of the superpowers for the division of markets and spheres of influence. The deeply aggressive policy of US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, their thirst for world domination and hegemony have led to a big increase in state expenditure for the maintenance of military forces and bases in foreign countries, for «military aid» and various subsidies to reactionary regimes. This has created great tensions in the economies of the superpowers and their allies who are compelled to take upon themselves no small part of the burden of the crisis. The militarization of the economies of the great imperialist powers, the increase in military expenditure and budgets for repressive apparatuses

to unprecedented proportions, in general, the consumption of national income and assets for non-productive purposes makes these upsets ever more marked.

The crisis is further sharpened by the unrestrained competition of the industrialized bourgeois and revisionist countries among themselves, as well as between them and the developing countries, the main producers of raw materials. The operation of the law of uneven political and economic development of capitalist countries drew the Common Market, Japan, Canada and others into the arena of the struggle for markets and privileges and of challenging US domination in the sphere of capital exports.

The present crisis has once again confirmed that, as a social system, capitalism can never escape its contradictions and its ills, that it is incapable of ensuring its own superprofits while at the same time preserving an internal social equilibrium. Life thus repeatedly proves the theory of Marx and Lenin that economic crises are fellow-travellers of the capitalist system, that as long as private ownership and capitalist exploitation exist, economic crisis will exist, too.

All the capitalist and revisionist states try to saddle the masses of working people with the consequences of the crisis. And in fact, in order to keep their profits intact, the bourgeoisie, the monopolists and all exploiters everywhere have stepped up the oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and the working people, reducing their means of livelihood and curtailing their rights. In these moments of grave crisis for the imperialist and social-imperialist powers and the bourgeois state power of every country, millions of workers, the number of them has now reached about one hundred million, are being thrown out on the street, inflation is rampant, prices for necessities are becoming more and more out of reach.

In present day capitalist and revisionist society that phenomenon of polarization, which Marx described, is taking place: on the one hand the poverty of the working people is increasing and, on the other, the wealth of the capitalists is growing.

Big capital and its state power, social-democracy, the revisionists and other opportunists are accompanying this grave situation, this policy of savage oppression and exploitation, with a great amount of lying propaganda meant to convince the masses of the working people that the present upheavals are allegedly a passing phenomenon, that everything will get back to what it was before, hence they should patiently bear the heavy burden that has fallen on them, and not try to find its causes and rise in revolt. They are striving with every means to avoid the great danger, the revolution, which is the only way for the working class to escape from the crisis and the exploiting capitalist and revisionist system once and for all.

The bourgeoisie and its state power also utilize the trade unions, in which they have incorporated the proletariat and the working people of most bourgeois countries, for this counter-revolutionary aim. The trade unions are allegedly democratic, allegedly independent of the bosses and various «democratic», «socialist» and other parties. In reality, these so-called trade unions, openly manipulated by the bourgeois parties and led by the labour aristocracy, strive by all manner of means to mislead the working people and sabotage their revolutionary struggle. As well as this, the laws concerning the workers' activity and struggle for economic, social and other demands have been constructed and doctored by big capital in such a manner that every action must take place within the limits allowed by the bourgeoisie, that nothing should damage its interests, and in particular must not threaten the foundations of the

capitalist state power. When it finds it impossible to cope with the revolts of the workers and people in the pseudo-democratic forms or with the «talking-shop» methods of parliaments, then the bourgeois state clamps down on them with its laws, its violence, its bludgeon. That is what is happening now in most countries where the crisis has sharpened the contradictions between labour and capital, and the revolt of the working people at the situation created is becoming ever more powerful.

In these situations the danger of fascism is becoming ever more threatening. It is a known fact that when capital finds itself driven into a blind alley and under the heavy blows of the working class, it is compelled either to declare itself bankrupt or establish its fascist dictatorship and head for war. This danger of fascism is evident in Spain, Italy, and in many other countries. If the Italian fascist party, which is called the Italian Social Movement, lost votes in the recent Italian elections, this is no defeat for it, because it has put its «squadristi»<sup>1</sup> contingents into the Christian-democratic Party.

*«For it is the great significance of all crises», said V. I. Lenin, «that they make manifest what has been hidden; they cast aside all that is empty form, superficial, and trivial; they sweep away the political litter and reveal the real causes of the class struggle that develops in reality.»<sup>2</sup>*

The political, economic and social events of the world today, the causes that give rise to them, the circumstances of actions and the antagonistic forces taking part in them are extremely variable in character, interests, duration

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1 Members of the fascist terrorist groups.

2 V. I. Lenin «Collected Works», Vol. 24, p. 219 (Alb. ed.).

and the forms of struggle employed. It is essential that we should grasp the main things, the issues of principle, and submit them to a Marxist-Leninist analysis if we are to make things clear to the Party and the people, to find our bearings in any activity and in any situation. Otherwise, it is difficult to reach correct and valuable conclusions.

**Our Party is of the opinion that the world situation today is turbulent, and consequently, there is no room for complacency, passivity or euphoria.** Therefore analysis and assessment of, and a consistent class stand towards, the policy and activity of the imperialist bourgeoisie of the two superpowers, in the current conditions assume first-rate importance for all the revolutionary forces, all the nations and peoples fighting for liberation and independence, for peace and security among nations. A principled stand on this fundamental question constitutes the only correct basis for defining a consistent and revolutionary strategy and tactics, and the criterion for assessing who are the progressive forces, and separating them from the reactionary forces.

Concrete facts and actions, the objective reality, leads us to the conclusion that in the world today the two superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, are the biggest and most dangerous aggressive imperialist powers known in history. Each separated or together, the superpowers represent, in the same degree and to the same extent, the main enemy of socialism, and the freedom and independence of nations, the greatest force defending oppressive and exploiting systems, and the direct threat that mankind will be hurled into a third world war.

The world has encountered and continues to encounter the aggressive and expansionist aims of US imperialism. Ever since the end of the Second World War, US imperialism has been pursuing a criminal policy and carrying out

criminal activity against communism and the freedom and independence of the peoples. It was US imperialism that unleashed the barbarous aggression in Korea and in Vietnam, committing some of the most hideous crimes mankind has ever known there. It was US imperialism that intervened in the Congo, that strangled the Dominican revolution, that carried the war to Laos and Cambodia, that set the Middle East ablaze and organized the fascist putsches in Chile and Argentina.

In accord with its imperialist nature, US imperialism has extended its tentacles to all the continents and is strengthening its positions everywhere and in every way, through «aid», enslaving credits, various agreements and treaties, through military bases established in many countries, through brutal interference in the internal affairs of other countries, up to armed aggression. All these are the ugly features of savage US imperialism.

The numerous compromises and the unprincipled concessions of the Khrushchevites have not made it any softer-natured or better-behaved. It still remains the political and economic bastion of the exploiting capitalist system, the great defender of colonialism and neo-colonialism, the inspirer of racism and the arch-gendarme of international reaction. Our Party consistently upholds the view that US imperialism is aggressive and will remain so as long as it has a single tooth left in its head.

As a result of revolutionary and liberation struggles, of its continuous degeneration and insurmountable internal contradictions, world imperialism has lost many positions. Suffice it to mention the disintegration of the colonial system and the winning of independence by many countries. In the future, imperialism will lose ever more positions as well. But at the same time imperialism, and US imperialism especially, will increase its efforts to win

back its lost positions and to capture new ones. This is the dialectics of the development and decline of imperialism. **Therefore, now just as in the past, the consistent and unceasing struggle to expose the policy and foil the aggressive plans of imperialism, headed by US imperialism, constitutes an essential condition for the defence of freedom and socialism, for the triumph of the revolution and the liberation of peoples.**

The peoples of the world are also fighting a great battle against the other enemy, just as dangerous and barbarous, Soviet social-imperialism. The policy of the Soviet revisionists is a typically aggressive colonialist and neo-colonialist policy which is based on the power of capital and force of arms. The struggle that the Soviet Union is waging today to occupy strategic positions in the Middle East, its expansion to the Mediterranean, to the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, its interference in Africa and in Latin America, its pressure on Europe and its meddling in the affairs of Asia, all these actions bear the stamp of this policy. Like the US imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists are striving everywhere to put out the flames of the revolution and the liberation struggles of the peoples.

In competition with US imperialism, the Soviet social-imperialists hatch up counter-revolutionary plots and intrigues against the peoples, stir up conflicts and sow discord among nations, strive to exert their control and dictate wherever they can. **Our Party has continuously stressed that any illusion or vacillation, however slight, in the stand towards the present-day Soviet Union is fraught with catastrophic consequences for those political forces and movements that continue to believe the demagoguery and lies of Moscow.**

In order to carry out their policy of expansion and hegemonism, imperialism, social-imperialism, and interna-

tional capitalism have created a series of military, political, economic, cultural and other organisms and institutions which, today, are their main weapons and means of domination over the peoples. At the same time, they have also worked out a whole series of theories, concepts and theses through which they try to deceive and intimidate the peoples and justify their hegemonism and oppression. to brainwash people in the direction they want. Military aggression, economic expansion, and ideological aggression constitute the basis of the general line of these enemies whose main aim is to destroy socialism, to strangle the revolution and perpetuate their enslaving system.

Under these conditions the task of the revolutionaries and peoples is to counterpose their united and determined struggle on all fronts and in all directions to this general, allround onslaught of the enemies, to expose and destroy all their weapons and bases, whether political or economic, military or ideological.

Now, as in the past, the main pillars on which all their hegemonistic and expansionist superpower policy is based and carried out, the principal shields protecting their imperialist systems, the fundamental weapons for their rivalry and war preparations are NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, the political and military alliances of the capitalist and revisionist countries, and their bases and armies in foreign countries.

NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, together with the bourgeois and revisionist armies of the member countries, provide the main protection for the capitalist and revisionist systems and the greatest armed force to attack the revolution and socialism, the freedom and independence of the peoples. The military blocs are the props of the internal reactionary, anti-patriotic forces, of forces who are selling and subjugating their countries to foreigners,

and liquidating their national sovereignty. NATO and the Warsaw Treaty have been and continue to be instruments for the preparation and unleashing of war.

COMECON and the European Common Market have been created to serve this aggressive, oppressive and exploiting policy. Through COMECON, which is a Soviet revisionist organization for the enslavement of its member countries, the Soviet Union carries out its neo-colonialist policy in the satellite countries, pillages their wealth and achieves their economic integration into the Soviet state. The Soviet Union has impoverished its allies economically, has tied them hand and foot, imposes on them the prices it wants, controls the development of their economy according to its interests, grants them just as much of the raw materials necessary to keep their industry running, to the extent it desires and when it desires, without regard for its progress. The credits the Soviet Union grants to its satellites enslave them.

Like COMECON, the European Common Market is just such another reactionary organization. It is a large union of capitalist monopolies and trusts, bent on the savage exploitation of the proletariat and the masses of the working people in Europe and other peoples of the world.

From its inception, the aim of the Common Market was to find ways and means of barbarous plunder for the great trusts and concerns and to rescue capitalism from crises and upheavals. In the international arena, the Common Market is a big neo-colonial power which not only competes with the superpowers for the exploitation of the developing countries, but also, endeavours to regain and maintain the old privileges of the former colonial powers in these countries.

Though the United States of America is officially outside the Common Market, through the entanglement of

US capital with the capital of each member country, the United States, indirectly, plays a very great role in it. In the Common Market, US imperialism has had and still has a powerful support against the social-imperialist bloc. Together with NATO, the Common Market constitutes an organized base and rear area of US imperialism in its rivalry and contest with the other imperialist power, the revisionist Soviet Union.

**The Party of Labour of Albania, the Albanian state and people, are against NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, against COMECON and the Common Market, because these organizations are the basic instruments of the expansionist policy of the two superpowers, because they oppress, exploit and impoverish both the peoples of Europe and the peoples of the developing countries, undermine both the revolution and the liberation of the peoples, and are instruments of enslavement.**

The Soviet Union declares that a «community of free and equal socialist states» has been created, but the Soviet fist rules this «alliance». There is nothing socialist about it, it is anti-Marxist and an outright fraud to keep the peoples under the yoke of social-imperialism.

The monopolists of Western Europe, both bourgeois and revisionist, have a great deal to say about the creation of the so-called United Europe. So far some sort of a «European Commission» has been set up with a «Parliament», a «common government», some formal laws, which has taken upon itself to create the state unification of the European countries. Plans are being mapped out for this part of Europe to have a joint army, armed to the teeth, and a «powerful» capitalist economy allegedly to confront the two superpowers. In fact, the creation of the United States of Europe is meant to eliminate the notion of nationality in various European countries, to integrate and

amalgamate their culture and traditions, in other words, to do away with the individuality of the peoples and states of Western Europe under the management of the cosmopolitan reactionary bourgeoisie of this continent.

This «United Europe», its reactionary content, was exposed and condemned by Lenin as early as 1915 when he wrote:

*«From the standpoint of economic conditions of imperialism — i. e., the export of capital and the division of the world by the «advanced» and «civilized» colonial powers — a United States of Europe, under capitalism, is either impossible or reactionary». And further: «Of course, temporary agreements are possible between capitalists and between states. In this sense a United States of Europe is possible as an agreement between the European capitalists... but to what end? Only for the purpose of jointly suppressing socialism in Europe»<sup>1</sup>.*

World capitalism, which is proceeding irretrievably towards crises and decline, just as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin predicted with such genius, has now reached the stage of imperialism in decay. In order to survive, it has devised new forms for the exploitation of the masses, not just on a national scale, but also on a world scale, has contrived its last and most sophisticated means of plunder, neo-colonialism, has created financial links and economic and military alliances through which it intends to hold in complete or partial dependence many states belonging to what is called the «second world», the «third world», the «non-aligned world» or the «developing countries». All these terms, which refer to the various political forces

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1 V. I. Lenin, «Collected Works», Vol. 21, pp. 370, 372 (Alb. ed.).

acting in the world today, cover up and do not bring out the class character of these political forces, the fundamental contradictions of our epoch, the key problem which is predominant today on a national and international scale, the ruthless struggle between the bourgeois-imperialist world, on the one hand, and socialism, the world proletariat, and its natural allies, on the other.

The most that these terms and divisions can indicate is the extent of the influence and impact of world capital, international or national, on various states and areas of the world. They can also indicate the more powerful or less powerful support points of imperialism and social-imperialism, and they may also indicate the existence of the peoples' aspirations to live free and independent of the superpowers. But, viewing the question from the angle of the class criterion, with some exceptions, in these states, antagonist classes and the exploitation of man by man exist, and the proletariat and working people of these countries are ruled by the bourgeoisie in this or that form. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that in our epoch, countries are grouped according to the social system prevailing in them, into bourgeois-capitalist countries and socialist countries. The theories on the so-called intermediate stage of non-capitalist development, so zealously propagated by the Khrushchevite revisionists, are meant to sabotage the sincere socialist aspirations that exist in many countries, to cause ideological confusion, and to undermine the struggle of the progressive forces.

Similarly, regarding the assessment of the policy pursued by various states and governments, the Marxists proceed again from the class criterion, from the stands these governments and countries maintain towards imperialism and socialism, towards their own people and reaction.

On the basis of these teachings the revolutionary move-

ment and the proletariat build their strategy and tactics, find, and unite with, their true allies in the struggle against imperialism, the bourgeoisie and reaction. The terms «third world», «non-aligned states» or «developing countries», create the illusion among the broad masses fighting for national and social liberation that a roof has allegedly been found under which to shelter from the threat of the superpowers. These terms conceal the real situation in the majority of these countries, which, in this or that manner, politically, ideologically, and economically, are bound to, and depend on, the two superpowers and the former colonial metropolises.

The Yugoslav revisionists champion the idea of «non-aligned countries». According to them, falling within this group are those countries which have not aligned themselves through military treaties with the big imperialists and revisionist powers, mainly with NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. But without formally participating in these two military blocs, many of these countries are so completely aligned with the superpowers and the big capitalist countries through a series of treaties and agreements, that the word «non-aligned» has a very hollow sound to it.

This situation of the «non-aligned» movement was borne out by the Colombo Conference. With difficulty it managed to cover up the divergencies and the opposing political aims which individual countries and groups of participating states are pursuing. This time nobody spoke out against or openly attacked the United States of America and the Soviet Union by name and opposed their aggressive and warmongering policy and activity. However they did find it opportune and advantageous to attack France!

Many states which pretend to be non-aligned have concluded among themselves defensive and aggressive mil-

itary treaties in which imperialist powers take part, too. None of the participants have denounced these treaties. Soviet social-imperialism is trying to set up the «Asian Security Treaty», tomorrow a similiar treaty on «African Security», etc. All these are different forms of organization intended to turn an allegedly non-aligned country into a country enslaved from every viewpoint.

The slogan of «non-aligned countries» gives the false impression that a group of states which have the possibility of «opposing» the superpower blocs is being created. It gives the impression that these countries, all of them, without exception, are anti-imperialist, opposed to war, opposed to the dictate of others, that they are «democratic», and even «socialist». This helps to strengthen the pseudo-democratic and anti-popular positions of the leading groups of some states which participate among the «non-aligned», and creates the impression among the peoples of these countries that when their chiefs establish or dissolve relations, of any kind and nature, with the imperialists and the social-imperialists, openly or in secret, they do this not only in the capacity of «popular governments», but also in the capacity of a group of states «with which even the superpowers must reckon».

**Our Party is of the opinion that the peoples must be told openly about the situations, because it is only thus that their true unity, the unity of the truly anti-imperialist and progressive states and governments is aided. In order to unite the peoples in the fight for freedom, independence and social progress, against any oppression and exploitation by whomsoever, first it is necessary to establish the dividing line, to make clear who is their chief enemy, against whom they must fight, and with whom they must unite.**

Their enemies are imperialism, social-imperialism and the international big bourgeoisie, which pursue a policy

of expansionism and exploitation towards the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The superpowers and world capital want to keep intact all the international forms and institutions established in the old colonial period. When their interests are affected, even in the slightest, such as in the case of raising the prices of oil and some other raw materials, they rise in wrath and do not hesitate even to threaten war against the peoples and countries that want to establish sovereignty over their own national assets, that fight for justice and equality in world exchanges and economic relations.

But this plunder and savage exploitation cannot go on for ever. Now economic decolonization has been placed on the order of the day, and there is nothing which can stop this new revolutionary process which has emerged on the world stage. The peoples have the undeniable right to establish complete sovereignty over their natural resources and to nationalize them. However protracted and fierce the resistance and counterattack of the imperialists and other exploiters may be, nothing can prevent attainment of this objective. Nothing can stop the struggle of the peoples for equality in the field of international exchanges, and to ensure that the income obtained from the sale of raw materials is used to develop their industry and culture and improve their life.

The struggle of the peoples for economic independence is spearheaded against the superpowers, against the monopolies of the imperialist states, against the multi-national companies. Therefore, the proletariat, all those who are for the revolution and socialism, must closely link their struggle with the struggle of the peoples for freedom and independence. This can be done only by resolutely struggling against the bourgeoisie of one's own country, by struggling against imperialism and predatory war. This is also

the most effective and direct aid the proletariat can give the liberation movement of the peoples.

The aggressive policy and the counter-revolutionary activity of the superpowers, the international big bourgeoisie and reaction is developed amid great and irreconcilable contradictions between imperialism and social-imperialism, between them and their own allies. These contradictions, which are signs of their weakness and of the telling blows which the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the peoples' fight for liberation has dealt them, again corroborate the immortal theses of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on the development of bourgeois society and the proletarian strategy of the revolution.

The major crisis which has descended upon the two superpowers and their allies has a powerful effect weakening the aggressive alliances they have set up. It has rocked many countries of the world on all the continents, and has aroused the well-based suspicion that the misfortunes which have beset them have their source in the aggressive and predatory activities of US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. This suspicion has caused splits in the alliances, so that some countries have, partly or completely, broken away from them. Here declared and there kept secret, but always active and corrosive, mistrust towards them is constantly growing.

Now it is apparent that neither the US imperialists nor the Soviet social-imperialists can impose their respective hegemonism on their partners in the NATO bloc and the Warsaw Treaty as they wish. The deep cracks in the military, economic and political groupings of imperialism and social-imperialism are becoming more disquieting for the superpowers day by day. The centrifugal forces, whether of the western capitalist bourgeois states or of the

eastern revisionist states, are becoming more apparent and active every day.

Within the revisionist bloc, Soviet social-imperialism is keeping a strict watch over its «allies», to prevent any attempt to break ranks. Despite this, the political animosity and ideological differences, if not as open as in Czechoslovakia at the time of Dubcek, exist everywhere in secret and are manifested in various fields and forms, especially around economic issues. All the discontent that is showing up in the relations between the revisionist countries and the Soviet Union is covered over with the theories of «limited sovereignty» and «economic integration» expounded by Brezhnev, which means, in other words, in the interests of «socialism» the Soviet dictate over them must be preserved and must not be opposed.

The friction between the revisionist states of the East with the Soviet Union, their discontent, are further incited by US imperialism and its allies. The United States of America is making great efforts to weaken social-imperialism, to keep its aspirations for hegemony under tight rein, to split the satellites away from the Soviet Union and draw them closer to itself.

And this is the desire of the satellites of the Soviet Union, too. They have had and still have hopes of developing this tendency with the aid of the United States of America. Aware of the economic weakness of the Soviet Union, its urgent need for technology, and especially its pressing need to release internal funds for armaments, now US imperialism is trying to make the most of this situation and to put its plans into practice. It is giving credits to the Soviet government, but giving them to the other revisionist countries, too, and at the same time encouraging the western capitalist states to invest their capital in these countries. This venture is facilitated also by the fact that in

these periods of crises West European capital is seeking economic expansion wherever it can.

Despite its efforts to keep its satellites under military and political yoke, economically subjugated and shackled with many steel chains, the revisionist Soviet Union is obliged to allow them to build contacts with the United States of America and the other big capitalist countries of Western Europe, to ask for and receive credits from them. Of course, for each credit they must pledge some economic-political collateral security, and it is precisely this which worries the social-imperialists most.

On their part, the Soviets, also, are trying to open some breach and infiltrate the western countries. These countries made a great fuss about what was happening in Portugal, about the interference of the Soviet Union through the revisionist party of Cunhal. And, in fact, such an attempt was made. But all the fuss was raised more for sensation than from fear that the Soviets might eventually get a foothold in the Iberian Peninsula.

At present, the contradictions within the political, military and economic alliances headed by US imperialism, have become very acute. The squabbles and competition between the monopolies of Western Europe and Japan, on the one hand, and the monopolies of the United States, on the other, have now reached a new stage at which each party is trying to secure the maximum superior positions, privileges and favours for itself. The contradictions between them have been even further increased as a result of the energy and raw materials crisis, the narrowing of the sphere for the export of capital, and the increasing difficulties over securing profits through the neo-colonialist policy.

This is fully corroborating Stalin's analysis and prediction of 1952, when he said:

*«Outwardly, everything would seem to be 'going well'; the US has put Western Europe, Japan and other capitalist countries on rations; Germany (Western), Britain, France, Italy, and Japan have fallen into the clutches of the USA and are meekly obeying its commands. But it would be mistaken to think that things can continue to 'go well' for 'all eternity', that these countries will tolerate the domination and oppression of the United States endlessly, that they will not endeavour to tear loose from American bondage and take the path of independent development»<sup>1</sup>.*

Within the framework of the alliances of the West, the greatest quarrels are those between the United States and the Common Market, which, under the pressure and various manoeuvres of the Soviet bloc also, tend to increase.

Because of the competition, in order to prevent the Common Market from affirming itself and becoming consolidated, the United States tries to manipulate its members separately and to incite them against one another. Besides its enslavement of the other weak members, the United States is making special efforts to impede the German-French rapprochement by weakening France and supporting Federal Germany and Britain.

It must be said that, despite the organisms they have created, the countries of Western Europe have not given up their great individual efforts in which each strives to grab for itself the maximum number of concessions and markets all over the world. Of course, this competition is directed against the two superpowers, but, in comparison with the economic, military and political might of the two big states, and especially that of US imperialism, these countries are weak. Thus, these countries of Western

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1. J. Stalin, *«Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR»*, Tirana, 1968, p. 39 (Alb. ed.).

Europe do not manage to dip their finger «in the honey» as they would like, and not just in the economic field, in the developing countries, but when they raise their voice in political matters very little, if any, notice is taken of them. American imperialism has created such a situation that it has not only eliminated the possibilities of the economic intrusion of these countries, but it has also shut the mouths of its partners in alliance.

As Marxism-Leninism teaches us, from these situations, the proletariat and the revolutionary forces reach the conclusion that they must intensify their allround struggle against US imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, and the reactionary capitalist bourgeoisie, the struggle to deepen the contradictions and divergencies that exist among their enemies. The enemies must not be given a moment's respite to come to agreement, to group their forces and organize themselves to fight the revolution, socialism, and the peoples with new strength. In this struggle the allies of the proletariat are all those who are oppressed by, and suffering at the hands of, the imperialists, the bourgeoisie and reaction, who want freedom and independence for their peoples, those who oppose imperialism and social-imperialism and their hegemonistic plans.

**Loyal to the interests of the revolution, socialism, and the peoples, our Party will support the proletariat and the peoples who are against the two superpowers and for their destruction, against the capitalist and revisionist bourgeoisie and for its overthrow.**

In crisis and with many contradictions between them, in contradiction with their allies as well as with the peoples, the superpowers are trying to find new forms of collaboration amid divergencies, to invent new demagogical theories, to draft new enslaving plans and to redivide the world into new spheres of influence and markets.

Never before has the world been subjected to such a campaign of propaganda and diplomatic diversion as this the imperialists and the social-imperialists are engaged in at present, which is intended to prettify the hegemonic and expansionist policy of the superpowers, to justify their aggressions and to conceal their war preparations. Both in the East and in the West, the imperialist and social-imperialist leading circles claim that mankind is living in a period of «reduced tension», that the «cold war» and the confrontation threatening a clash between the superpowers has given way to «détente», peaceful coexistence, «international harmony», «general security», etc., that the dangers have passed and the clouds of war and disaster have been dispersed. By means of these high-flown slogans, the superpowers, the international bourgeoisie and reaction, are trying to dupe the peoples, to weaken their resistance and to establish their imperialist control and domination.

**The People's Republic of Albania does not accept and publicly exposes the so-called theory about the need to preserve the «balance between the superpowers» as a condition or a basis to avoid war and defend peace. It rejects the imperialist concepts on the preservation of the «spheres of influence» allegedly as factors of stability and security, the concepts of «limited sovereignty» and the «interdependent world», of «bipolarization», the policy of blackmail, etc. These so-called «theories and doctrines» invented in Moscow and Washington, are meant to create a capitulationist opinion that no state or nation can live outside the domination and tutelage of one or the other superpower.**

The history of Europe has proved that the «balance of forces» among the big powers has always been a weapon in the hands of exploiting classes to suppress the national liberation and revolutionary movements. Intervention has

been always the weapon of the system of balance, to restore it when it is upset or to guard against its being upset.

Peace and international security in Europe and in the world are not achieved through the establishment of «harmony» or «balance» between the superpowers, but through struggle against imperialist pressures and intervention, through efforts for the liberation of the peoples, through the strengthening of national independence and sovereignty.

The superpowers are carrying on a big trade in arms which is becoming the most lucrative business in our days. In the simple view, it might seem as if those arms add to and strengthen the fighting ability of the countries which receive them. In fact, this trade constitutes a new noose round the neck of the purchasers, chains which bind them hand and foot. Not only can these weapons never be fired in opposition to any eventual aggression by the sellers and their allies, but they cannot be fired at anyone at all without the seller's permission.

By means of their arms trade the superpowers encourage minor arms races among small and medium-sized countries, which then become the cause of quarrels and conflicts among neighbours, stirring up local wars, a thing which opens the way to the expansion and hegemonism of the United States of America and the Soviet Union. Through the arms trade, as well as the war psychosis which they develop with powerful propaganda, the two superpowers are trying especially to penetrate into Africa, the Middle East, Latin America and Asia.

In these countries, the United States of America and the Soviet Union are vying with each other. In order to subjugate various countries of these zones, they create and bring to power cliques of allegedly liberation colours and set them at loggerheads with one another according to

the principle of «divide and rule». In fact, whether US imperialism, in its open and savage way, or Soviet social-imperialism, likewise in its way, which is just as savage but masked with a pseudo-socialist propaganda, they are working to aggravate relations, to stir up and inflate the contradictions among the peoples to further their own interests, to establish naval bases in various countries, to build military alliances, to conclude enslaving trade agreements, etc.

One of the most typical examples of this policy of the two superpowers is provided by the Middle East, where the main issue is oil. The hostilities between the Arab peoples and Israel, the situation amongst the Arab peoples themselves, who are split and in disagreement with one another, which is being aggravated by the Soviet-US intrigues, are a consequence of this key problem, of the endeavours of the two superpowers to seize the oil resources. The blood of the Arab peoples has been and is being shed on account of this wealth. United States imperialism openly assists Israel to keep the Arab world divided. The Soviet Union allegedly helps the Arab peoples by selling them arms, while it is sending large numbers of Soviet Jews to Israel where they are used as cannon fodder against the Arab peoples.

At the same time, the superpowers are also trying to elbow each other out. Notwithstanding its clearly pro-Israeli stance, US imperialism not only succeeded in keeping the course of «friendship» with Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf Emirates in its favour, but it also managed to undermine the Soviet positions in the area. Egypt's denunciation of the Egyptian-Soviet Treaty as well as the expulsion of the aggressive Soviet naval fleet from its ports, is a defeat and not a victory for Soviet social-imperialism.

Now it is the Americans who have the upper hand in

dictating their schemes in this region. Of course, Soviet social-imperialism is not sitting idly by with folded arms, either. It is striving to make good its loss in Egypt, by clinging to the positions it still has in some Arab country, or by seeking to secure some new base, by attaching itself to new «friends».

On the African continent, the struggle between the two superpowers has just begun and is far from coming to an end. United States imperialism has long ago set up its own bases there. Its imperialist interests here are also interwoven with the interests of its West European allies, and jointly they constitute a powerful barrier to Soviet penetration in this region.

The events in Angola are being advertised as a major Soviet «success», something which serves social-imperialism to pose as a liberator of the peoples. This also serves US imperialism and all world capitalism to fan up the psychosis of anti-communist fear and war, though communism has nothing whatsoever to do with it. The current struggle of the African peoples is a revolt against the interference and plunder of the two superpowers.

The big imperialist powers make the most of the difficult economic and social situations of the peoples, the countries and states of Africa, where they hatch up a thousand and one intrigues. These are never-ending intrigues engineered to retard the revival of this vast continent with a population which has lived in poverty for centuries but which has an ancient culture, which has new strength and energies, which imperialism, social-imperialism and world capital do not allow to be channelled on to the correct road to the progress, freedom, democracy, and full independence and sovereignty of these states.

**Our Party upholds the thesis that both when the superpowers work together and when they quarrel, it is**

others who pay the bill. The collusion and rivalry between the superpowers are the two sides of the one contradictory reality, important expressions of the same imperialist strategy, to rob the peoples of their freedom and to dominate the world. They pose the same danger, therefore the two superpowers are the main and greatest enemies of the peoples. That is why, one must never rely on one imperialism to fight or escape from the other.

There are states that, aware of a threat from either one or the other superpower, base their defence on the military protection of the United States of America, or of the Soviet Union. But military protection by the superpowers is an illusory defence because its aim is to convert the «defended» country into a protectorate. Shelter under the «defence umbrella» of the superpowers is always accompanied with political and economic concessions, with concessions in the realm of national sovereignty and restrictions in the field of decision-making on internal and external issues.

The peoples should not fall into the trap of the so-called «anti-imperialist front» advertised by the Soviet social-imperialists, in which they are seeking to embroil all those who are opposed to, and fight against, United States imperialism. To join this «front» means to sacrifice the loftiest interests of your country, to expose the people to danger, to become a minion of the social-imperialists and cannon fodder for their ambitions. The contradictions between the Soviet Union and the United States of America are not contradictions between socialism and imperialism, as Moscow is trying to pass them off, but contradictions between two big imperialist powers.

While rejecting the demagogy and deceptive tactics of «anti-imperialism» preached by the Soviet revisionists, it is necessary also to reject the «anti-social-imperialism»

which the United States of America and the monopoly bourgeoisie of the world are propagating. The peoples cannot allow themselves to fall victims to the rivalry of the United States and the Soviet Union and become pawns in their imperialist manoeuvring.

The bourgeois and revisionist propagandists are now having a great deal to say about «secure borders» «renunciation of the use of force», «peaceful cooperation» and so on, presenting the Helsinki Conference as the model. Our Party declared its view about this conference at the proper time, calling it a «meeting of European insecurity». We condemned it from the very beginning and refused to participate in it. We acted in this way proceeding from a Marxist-Leninist analysis of events. It was not only the Soviet revisionists, but the United States imperialists, too, who wanted that conference. They wanted it as a breathing space to get over the crisis, to build up their strength, to pull themselves together and to create the illusion that Europe is being secured, that it will not be attacked by the Soviets since it will be defended by the Americans. For the sake of appearances, the superpowers sought to freeze the situation in our continent, especially the relations between the two blocs of the East and the West.

The Helsinki Conference was a comedy, with the Soviet Union and the United States as the star performers. All the rest who took part in it, did not believe, either before or after the meeting, that it would do any good. The mountain laboured and brought forth a mouse. In fact, nothing has altered in the previous situation except that attempts are being made to create an atmosphere as though a political and ideological status quo and more developed economic cooperation between the states of Europe, with the exception of Albania, are being established. In all these directions, not only was the status quo not confirmed, but

new conflicts, such as that between Greece and Turkey, flared up.

The clamour of the Kremlin bosses about a «peaceful spirit after Helsinki» has been increased, but alongside this the excursions of the Soviet naval fleet have been increased, too, and it has now begun to commit arrogant violations of the maritime sovereignty of the freedom-loving Nordic countries and to try to establish its domination over all the seas of the North.

As concerns the so-called securing of Europe against a world war, this has taken no step forward. What is more, this is unattainable, since neither the East nor the West can disarm themselves and can make not even the slightest attempt in this direction, because both the Soviet Union and the United States of America would be damaged. The only efforts these two imperialist powers are making, are to increase their offensive weapons for war and their nuclear arms. The SALT meetings, likewise, have yielded no results whatever, they are bogged down. The parties in the discussion are simply indulging in fruitless talk.

The campaign about disarmament which the super-powers are conducting, their endless plans and schemes, the conferences and talks which have been going on for years on end, are a bluff and swindle aimed at disguising their arming. Their aim is to force the other peoples and states to reconcile themselves to, and allow the sanctioning of, the monopoly of nuclear and other modern weapons of the United States of America and the Soviet Union, and to recognize their right to uncontrolled and unlimited arming and ceaseless perfecting of the technology of weapons of mass extermination.

The imperialists and the social-imperialists know that, by maintaining their stocks and monopoly of the production of modern weapons, they can also maintain their

blackmail and threat, the fear and insecurity which their military machine instils in others, and the permanent pressure which their weapons exert even if they are not fired.

The problems of war and peace have always preoccupied the peoples of the world, the broad working masses, who want no new disaster to befall mankind again. The danger is real. The superpowers are making preparations for a world war, and to this end, apart from their unrestrained arms race, they are also trying to create the circumstances which they judge suitable, by playing the bourgeois cliques in various countries off against one another, by stirring up nationalist sentiments, to set the peoples at loggerheads with each other, and so on. All this activity and these hideous methods of the superpowers lead straight to the road of preparation of a new world war.

These preparations are accompanied with blackmail and many threats, the work of US imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism or other capitalist bourgeois countries. They have created the opinion that the future war which is in the making and may be launched, by one or the other superpower, whether an all-out or a partial one, will be a lightning war, so short that within three to four days, the Soviet social-imperialists will succeed in occupying the whole of Yugoslavia (since Albania, according to them, «will be swallowed at one bite»!), and thus, the Soviet tanks will reach the east coast of the Atlantic, in Portugal, in a matter of ten days! This is the utterly misguided state of mind that is being nurtured every day by the propaganda of the superpowers to intimidate the states and the peoples, to weaken their defence, to lower the vigilance and morale of the masses of the people, to sap their revolutionary will to fight in defence of freedom and independence. Our Party holds that this propaganda and these views represent a special strategy and tactics to establish

imperialist and social-imperialist control and domination over the national political, economic and military life of all states. Therefore as such, they must be resolutely combated. As to «Albania's being only one mouthful» —, watch out, gentlemen, for socialist Albania is a hard bone that'll stick in your throat and choke you! Should the Soviet social-imperialists undertake such a venture against our country, they will suffer an irreparable defeat.

The same holds good for US imperialism, too. Should it dare perpetrate such aggression, it, too, will never come out of it alive. The lessons from its defeat in Vietnam and Cambodia are very fresh.

In any country, its freedom and independence are dependent mainly on the stand adopted, whether you decide to live free and on your feet, or on your knees as slaves. When you are determined to live free and stand ready to fight, then the blackmail is knocked back, strength is revived, the people's courage mounts, and it is difficult for the aggressor to attack you. This is how our people think, and they put this view bluntly to any enemy who may imagine that he would have a «walk-over» in Albania, too. Our people have never been and are not afraid of any power, no matter whether it is a big power or a medium one, and no matter how well armed it may be, that might dare to attack our country. Our people will fight valiantly, intelligently, and with every means at their disposal, convinced that they will defeat the aggressors, whoever they might be. This stand is based on the sound reality of our country, on the steel-like unity of the people, on the lofty aim of defending the freedom and independence of the homeland and the great victories of socialist construction at all costs, which the Party has inculcated in everybody, old and young; it is based on the intensive military training of the entire soldier people and the configuration

of the territory of Albania. The aggressors will find themselves quite unable to «walk over» Albania. Instead, they will find their own death here. The enemies can be sure of one thing, that they will never set foot on our soil, that their weapons and bombs will never be able to subdue the great resistance, the spirit of heroism, and the ardent patriotic feelings of the Albanian people.

Lenin teaches us that war breaks out when the depth and abrasiveness of the contradictions reaches the most acute stage, when all the talk, propaganda and «economic reforms» are no longer able to restrain it. The imperialists and the social-imperialists are heading for war. But they are not entirely free to act at will. Many factors exert their influence on this issue. War may break out in Europe, as it may in Asia, against socialist China, or in other regions, such as the Middle East for example, where so many contradictions are entangled and such dangerous events are unfolding. No possibility can be ruled out.

The important thing is that the peoples should not fall into fatalism, become passive observers and be caught unawares; they must be prepared for the worst and fight to prevent it from occurring.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that imperialism and the war-mongers must be weakened through the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the peoples. If an aggressive imperialist war cannot be prevented, then it is the task of the revolutionaries and the proletariat to turn it into a liberation war.

It should be driven home to the peoples that the enemies of the revolution and the world proletariat, the enemies of freedom and the oppressed peoples, the instigators and the cause of war, are US imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, and the reactionary bourgeoisie of each country. These powers constitute and represent the savage

world capitalism, which has its source in, and draws its strength from, the inhuman exploitation of the masses and the peoples. A stern, consistent, and determined struggle must be organized against these savage powers, against their ideology and various forms of organization, from the different reactionary and demagogic parties, the trusts and multinational companies down to their smallest national and international organism, from the banks and political and military alliances down to their aggressive armies, until, in the end, their state power is smashed right down to its foundations.

The present conditions demand that this merciless and allround struggle is waged by all the peoples of the world, by all progressive people who have the true and complete interests of their nations at heart and have made them the aim of their struggle and life. If this struggle is led by the world proletariat and its vanguard, the communist party, which is guided by the unerring theory of Marxism-Leninism, it will be more resolute, unceasing, and ever mounting.

The imperialists and the social-imperialists have as their close allies the reactionary bourgeoisie of each country where they exercise their influence. They use these allies to do their dirty work and wield the whip on their behalf, so they feed and arm them to have them ready as a striking force in a world conflagration and against peoples who rise in revolution against their internal and external oppressors. Therefore, these forces cannot be separated from one another. Without combating the one, you cannot combat the other, without combating the internal reactionary force until you have overthrown it, you cannot combat the external enemy, you cannot prevent war. You must destroy every kind of base the superpowers have established and created in a given country,

for in this way you weaken and destroy the world influence and strength they have based on the enslavement of peoples and countries.

It is essential that we Marxist-Leninists work to arouse the revolutionary spirit in the masses of the proletariat and its closest allies, the peasantry, the working masses, the progressive and patriotic people. This we must do without fail, because all the enemies are competing with one another to destroy socialism, to strangle the revolution and enslave the peoples.

We must base ourselves on the mobilization and strength of the peoples, on the unity of all those who want to throw off the imperialist-revisionist yoke. We stand for the unity of the world proletariat and all the true anti-imperialist and progress-loving forces who, through their struggle, will smash the aggressive plans of the imperialist and social-imperialist war-mongers.

Consistent in their Marxist-Leninist line, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people have been and are against the two superpowers, against predatory imperialist war, against the monopoly bourgeoisie and international reaction. Therefore, in the future, too, they will spare no effort and will fight, together with all the other anti-imperialist and anti-social-imperialist peoples, with all the Marxist-Leninist parties, all the revolutionaries and the world proletariat, all progressive people, to foil the plans and manoeuvres of the enemies and ensure the triumph of the cause of the freedom and security of the peoples.

At every moment our country will be found standing beside all those peoples whose freedom, independence are threatened and whose rights are violated. We have repeatedly declared this stand, and not just in good times, but in dangerous times as well; the peoples of the world can

be sure that socialist Albania is with them and fears no sacrifice.



**The important tasks set by the 6th Congress of the Party in the field of foreign policy and our country's relations with the other countries have been successfully fulfilled.** Life and the development of events have fully vindicated the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist line and stands of our Party in the field of foreign policy.

The international position of Albania is unwavering. The People's Republic of Albania has expressed its opinion on international events and problems publicly, unhesitatingly, and courageously, and it has always maintained a wise and unwavering stand in defence of the interests of our socialist homeland, the peoples, and general peace and security.

The authority and prestige of our country are ever on the rise. The voice and word of socialist Albania are listened to, and respected by, the peoples, the revolutionaries and progressives. Its many friends and well-wishers love and respect socialist Albania for its frank and principled policy.

**The People's Republic of Albania has its independent foreign policy. Its aim is that its opinion on foreign policy should find the approval of the progressive and freedom-loving peoples, the revolutionary progressive forces, the true Marxist-Leninists. We make no secret of this.** This is also in the interests of all peoples, and of those states in the world which respect the freedom and independence of our country, irrespective of differences in the economic and social order.

Our socialist state does not interfere in the internal affairs of any country with which it has various political, economic and cultural relations. But this does not mean that, for the sake of these relations, or of good neighbourliness with the bordering states, or of the policy of non-interference in internal affairs, the Albanian state should not air its views on international policy in general, as well as on the ideological and political stands of these states, just as they, too, have the right to express their opinions on the ideological and political stands of the Albanian state.

We think that these attitudes should be no hindrance to economic, cultural and political relations in the fields in which it is considered that we have common interests, because these relations serve to develop friendship among the peoples. For our part, we shall conduct these relations only from the viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism. It is the right of the others to judge them from the viewpoint of their own ideologies, and they are welcome to do so.

The People's Republic of Albania holds that this is the way that relations should be developed with its neighbouring states as well as with the other countries with which we maintain various relations. But the leaders of some states think, and this stems from their political and ideological views, that to have good neighbourly relations, in the aforesaid forms, means that each side should shut its mouth about the ideological line followed by the other. They think that to trade with a given country means to cease polemics, to refrain from expressing one's opinions on the policy pursued and ideology upheld by that country. The polemics we conduct is always based on facts and well-considered. It singles out for criticism those stands and actions that assume an international character, that

exercise a negative influence in the world, or that damage the interests of our state.

It is common knowledge that contradictions of a political and ideological character, sometimes very profound ones, develop between various countries and continually come to light. But irrespective of this, relations of good neighbourliness as well as economic, commercial, and cultural relations are maintained between our country and a series of states. Our differing political or ideological views do not constitute an obstacle in this direction.

The imperialists and the social-imperialists claim that the smaller states should not be allowed to raise their voice as loudly as the bigger states over different problems. True, Albania is a small state, but it cannot accept such a view. It rejects this discriminatory claim of great-power chauvinism. Our country does not agree that international politics should be a monopoly of the big states alone. They base this monopoly on their economic strength and the powerful propaganda means they have at their disposal, through which they strive to create the opinion and the mental attitude that the world can never find stability except under their tutelage. In other words, this means that he who wants to live, in slavery, of course, should never speak his mind, but should be soft-spoken and wear a sweet smile in face of the crimes, blackmail, fraud and double dealing of the great or medium imperialist, capitalist or revisionist powers. They accompany these above-stated claims with the fear of war and with direct and indirect threats addressed to this or that state, with the threat and act of the cancellation of some promised credit, etc. These states, whether big or medium, that submit to political blackmail or are afraid of war, are constantly in a fever and lose much, if not all, of their confidence in their own strength.

The bourgeois and revisionist politicians resort to all sorts of trickery, deceit, feints, flattery and hypocritical attitudes according to the circumstances created in the international situation. They are all trying to create, and to a certain extent have succeeded in creating, the opinion that this is the proper way to act, for this is how «politics» is conducted. According to them, to engage in «politics» means to change flags at any time and on any occasion, to have good relations with one or the other, not to do him some good but to outwit him, to conceal one's real intentions by covering them with smiles. Politicians of this sort aim, on the other hand, to create the false and very harmful opinion that those who openly defend the rights of the peoples, who do not conceal the opinions they have on states and their leaderships, are not skilful politicians, but inflexible and sectarian people.

We Albanians are a people who fear no one, who do not fear the attacks of enemies, let alone slanders, for we are convinced of the correctness of our line and determined to defend it. In case of war, if we are attacked, we have the rifle ready, likewise we have a ready tongue to reply to enemy slanders.

The bourgeois and revisionist world think that we are an isolated country. This is the capitalist-revisionist view of things. The imperialists and revisionists consider that country which has closed its doors to their invasion through enslaving credits, tourists and spies, and decadent culture and degeneration as isolated. From this point of view we really are, and intend to remain, an isolated country. But this is all to the good of our people. Our country is progressing and flourishing, and our people are living very well. If we were to act otherwise we would become slaves. We have known fascist slavery and the revisionist pressure and attacks, therefore it is not easy

for them to deceive us with their slogans and ways of life. We do not and never will allow fascists, spies and agents, people who want to smuggle in bourgeois and revisionist degeneration, to enter Albania. But we are happy to welcome honest and correct people who wish Albania and her people well, friends of our country, even though their beliefs may be different from ours. We respect their friendly feelings and attitude towards the Albanian people. All these, and they are the representatives of the majority of mankind, are welcome here. With these we are friends, with the peoples fighting for their freedom and rights we are friends, with the proletarian and Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries we are friends. With the capitalists and revisionists, who want to enslave and oppress the peoples and suppress their progressive ideas, we have been and shall be enemies.

The capitalists and the revisionists measure isolation with trade. We have traded and continue to trade with all countries, with the exception of the United States of America, the Soviet Union, Spain, Israel, and some other states ruled by fascists and racists. But trade is of mutual advantage. The capitalists need our goods, just as we need some of theirs. If anybody thinks that Albania will die if some state, for evil aims, refuses to sell us these goods, he is grossly mistaken. The revisionist Soviet Union established a savage blockade against us, but Albania is living and can live a thousand years without trading with the Soviet revisionists and in spite of their blockade.

Cultural exchanges with different countries are a very good thing. We have practised cultural exchanges and will go on practising them in the future, too, but in agreement and equality with one another. Those who want to have cultural relations with us, must respect our traditions, customs, feelings, and tastes. Decadent culture

is not accepted in Albania. Others, for their part, have the right to accept such of our performances, films, books as are acceptable to their country. This, also, is a question of reciprocity. Our country carries on this practice with many states. Besides socialist China, which is our ally, the People's Republic of Albania maintains cultural relations with such fraternal countries as Vietnam and Korea, but also with France, the Scandinavian countries, Egypt, and many other countries.

We want to develop these relations further, and with each passing year possibilities are created to expand them. Of course, we have our own art, music, literature, traditions and culture, which we love, and would like others to be acquainted with them as well. But we also respect progressive world culture, from which we take what is useful to us and spread what serves us in our country.

Our Party has always given importance and devoted the proper attention to the question of the promotion and expansion of international relations in all fields, between the People's Republic of Albania and the states in favour of respecting the well-known principles of equality, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual benefit. During the years since the 6th Congress of the Party the activity of the People's Republic of Albania in the international arena has been constantly increased and strengthened. Today our country maintains diplomatic relations with 74 states. The People's Republic of Albania takes an active part and has its say in the UNO and many international organizations, meetings and conferences, on the problems preoccupying mankind today.

Faithfully and consistently abiding by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in its foreign policy, the Party of Labour and the People's Republic of Albania have aimed, first and foremost, at

developing and strengthening the relations of fraternal friendship and militant unity, of cooperation and mutual aid, with the People's Republic of China. The close friendship and cooperation between our two peoples, two parties and two countries have been forged and tempered in the great class struggle against imperialism and revisionism, against the hegemonistic policy of the two superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, and against all the reactionary forces in the world, in the common struggle for the construction of socialism and the triumph of the cause of the revolution and Marxism-Leninism. The Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people are loyal friends and allies of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people. Our two peoples and countries are comrades-in-arms of the same ideal, and are inspired by the same aims and internationalist tasks. No slander or concoction of the bourgeois-revisionist propaganda can cast any shadow over the Marxist-Leninist character and the vitality of the Albanian-Chinese friendship. Our Party and people will constantly strive to keep the fraternal friendship and collaboration with the great Chinese people, their glorious Communist Party, great People's China, pure and strong.

The Albanian communists and the Albanian people are immensely rejoiced at the successes achieved by the fraternal Chinese people under the leadership of the Communist Party of China in the socialist revolution and socialist construction in China, in the class struggle for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the strengthening and progress of their homeland. The victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the smashing of the counter-revolutionary plots of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao, and Teng Hsiao-ping, have created a revolutionary situation and have consolidated the positions.

of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat in China.

The historic victories which the Chinese people have attained in their glorious revolution and the construction of socialism, the creation of the new People's China and the high prestige it enjoys in the world, are directly linked with the name, teachings, and guidance of the great revolutionary, comrade Mao Tsetung. The work of this outstanding Marxist-Leninist represents a contribution to the enrichment of the revolutionary theory and practice of the proletariat. The Albanian communists and people will always honour the memory of comrade Mao Tsetung, who was a great friend of our Party and people.

Our Party and people hail these victories of the Chinese Party and people and wish them new successes. Our Party and country energetically support the right of the fraternal Chinese people and of the People's Republic of China to liberate that inalienable part of their territory, Taiwan.

Our Party and people have hailed the great victory achieved by the Vietnamese people in their armed struggle against US imperialism and its flunkies. The liberation of South Vietnam and the unification of the whole country into a single state marked the realization of the lofty national aspirations of the Vietnamese people, for which they have made innumerable sacrifices. We will preserve and further strengthen the militant friendship between our two fraternal countries.

Our Republic maintains relations of friendship and fraternal collaboration with the People's Democratic Republic of Korea. Our Party and people support the just cause of the Korean people for the liberation of South Korea and the reunification of the country, and their struggle against the aggressive policy of US imperialism.

A close fraternal friendship and a powerful militant solidarity, tempered in the struggle against imperialism and its collaborators, exist between us and the Cambodian people. We will strive to further promote the relations between the People's Republic of Albania and Democratic Cambodia on the basis of this friendship.

The Albanian people have hailed with joy the crowning with victory of the prolonged struggle of the Laotian people against the US imperialist aggressors and the local reactionaries, and the creation of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos. We stand for the development of friendly relations between the two countries, in the interest of our two peoples and of the struggle against imperialism and reaction.

The People's Republic of Albania has always stood for the development of normal relations with the neighbouring states on the basis of the wellknown principles of equality, respect for state sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and mutual benefit. The development of relations based on the policy of good neighbourliness responds to the interests and aspirations of the neighbouring and Balkan peoples to live in terms of friendship and understanding with one another.

Our country maintains normal trade and cultural relations with Yugoslavia which are beneficial both to us and the Yugoslavs.

Our policy towards Yugoslavia has not changed and will not change, provided that the Yugoslav government, too, is correct towards us. The declaration of the Party of Labour of Albania, that in case of any eventual aggression against Yugoslavia by the Soviet Union or some other power the Albanian people will stand by the Yugoslav peoples, will always hold good. But the Yugoslav side

must respond to this stand of Albania with just and correct actions towards us.

The Yugoslav state, of course, has the right to pursue whatever policy it finds most reasonable, but the Albanian state, also, has the right to criticize those acts which are detrimental to the good neighbourliness between our two countries. The Yugoslav government makes concessions to, provides facilities for, and admits to its ports the warships of the aggressive naval fleet of the Soviet social-imperialists. That is its own affair, but it also concerns Albania, the other Balkan countries, and the countries of the Mediterranean basin.

As a true Marxist-Leninist party, our Party has always maintained a correct stand with regard to our Albanian brothers who live on their land, in Kosova, Macedonia, and Montenegro. The endeavours made by some Yugoslav authorities to stir up enmity between the Albanians in Yugoslavia and the People's Republic of Albania are in vain, but they do great harm. We Albanians are still the same now as we were before, we maintain and will always maintain a Marxist-Leninist stand towards the peoples of Yugoslavia, as well as towards the problem of the Albanian population in Yugoslavia. Our fraternal ties of blood and language with the Albanians in Kosova, Macedonia, and Montenegro, the ties of tradition and national customs give us the right, without interfering in the internal affairs of the Yugoslav state and respecting international norms, to concern ourselves to see that they enjoy all the rights, freedoms, and advantages that the other peoples of the Yugoslav Federation have. And this is not a question of some agricultural cooperative in Albania, which has a Macedonian population who enjoy all the rights provided by the Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania, or about some non-existent minority

from Montenegro in Albania, as the Yugoslav propaganda claims. When we speak of our brothers living in Yugoslavia, we are speaking about more than one million five hundred thousand Albanians.

It has always been our opinion and desire that the ugly stands and acts of the time of Rankovich should never be repeated, that the Albanian population in Yugoslavia should not be persecuted, or left in poverty, that the Kosova region should not be discriminated against in the political, economic, and cultural fields, and that it should be given equal treatment with the other nationalities. It would be considered as unfriendly policy towards the People's Republic of Albania if attempts, of whatever nature, by the Soviet revisionists to harm our country from Kosova were permitted.

We consider the peoples of Yugoslavia as fraternal peoples, and are convinced that, neither now nor in the future, will they allow the territory of their homeland to be treated like Czechoslovakia. They will accept nobody's yoke, they will not allow the Soviet tanks of the Warsaw Treaty, nor those of US imperialism, to «roll» freely over Yugoslav soil. Despite the irreconcilable contradictions of principle between us and the Yugoslav state and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in ideology and politics, over which we have not shut our mouth and will not do so in the future, either, we respect and trust the peoples of Yugoslavia, because history has shown that they are valiant peoples.

In regard to our relations with Greece, for our part, they are based on the policy of good neighbourliness, of non-interference in each other's internal affairs, of mutual benefit and respect for territorial integrity, sovereignty and national independence. We have sought and wish to live in terms of friendship with the fraternal Greek people, and have

made and continue to make every effort to ensure that the ties linking our two countries become constantly stronger. The present Greek government has sought and continues to maintain a friendly stand towards our country. This is in the interests of our two countries and to the detriment of our common enemies.

We realize that the present Greek government is a government of a coalition of parties, and that it has many opponents in the ranks of the opposition parties. Each of these parties has its own stand. Naturally, this is an internal question of the Greeks. Nonetheless, we think and desire that all these parties should consider the friendship, cooperation and good neighbourly relations between Greece and Albania as beneficial both to Greece itself and to Albania.

At any time and under any circumstance, the struggle of the Albanian people in defence of their independence, freedom and sovereignty is at the same time beneficial to the defence of the freedom and independence of Greece and its people. This we say to the fraternal Greek people with an open heart, for we are the descendants of those who aided them and stood loyal to the end to the revolution of the year 1821, when others abandoned and betrayed it. The friendship between our two peoples has been tempered in our common fight against Italian fascism and the German nazis.

We Albanians do not want our policy with the Greek state to be a temporary policy dependent on circumstances, but a realistic, friendly, and durable policy between our two peoples. As for the monarcho-fascists and the crazy self-styled «Northern Epirots» who, from time to time, seek to create a tense atmosphere in the relations between our two countries with their absurd claims, we wish to say that their cries have brought only loud

laughter from the Greek minority living happily in Albania. We tell them: Carry on, if you wish, with your old trade of styling yourselves as «Northern Epirots», because neither we nor the Greek minority in Albania have anything to fear from you, since the Albanians and the Greek minority are closely linked to each other like brothers.

We are convinced that there are reasonable politicians in Greece who view problems realistically and are clear that no evil will ever come to them from socialist Albania, and that the friendship of the Albanians is valuable to them, just as the friendship of the Greek people is valuable to us.

As for the overseas neighbour, Italy, we maintain normal diplomatic relations with it, and are trying to develop trade and cultural relations. But it is understandable that this does not depend on our side alone. We want and try to be friends with the Italian people. This desire emanates from the pure feelings of the Albanian people and the correct policy of our socialist state. We hope that every Italian, and every Italian politician who takes a realistic view of things, may also think that friendship with Albania is very important for Italy, as well.

To sum up, as regards these three neighbouring countries, it is our desire to live as good neighbours, in open co-operation, without interfering in each other's internal affairs and without anybody trying, in one way or the other, to impose his own views.

Good relations exist between the Turkish Republic and Albania. Trade and cultural exchanges are developing normally. There is no obstacle to our peoples always being friends and living as good neighbours with each other.

We continue to cherish sincere friendship for the fraternal Bulgarian people. But we are obliged to point out that we do not trust the leadership of the Bulgarian party and state in the slightest degree, since it has de-

monstrated its hostility towards our country and has become a tool in the hands of the Soviet social-imperialists. Bulgaria has been turned into a country which concocts intrigues and has become a Soviet bridgehead. Proceeding from these positions, it is trying to blackmail the neighbouring countries, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Greece and Albania. With the social-imperialists behind it, Bulgaria is ready at an opportune moment to seize the Dardanelles, and thus the San-Stefano Treaty would be reenacted. For these reasons, it is our desire that relations between Turkey and Greece proceed towards the best and most appropriate solution for the two Balkan peoples and states, via open and frank negotiations between the two parties. That would be a great victory for us other Balkan countries, as well.

With Rumania, too, as a Balkan country, we want to have good relations and develop them normally. We hail the efforts of the fraternal Rumanian people for the progress and prosperity of their country.

A great deal has been and is being said about all-round cooperation of the peoples of the Balkans, about a Balkan conference, and so on. Our Party and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania long ago stated their opinion about Balkan cooperation, and have explained why they did not take part in the Athens meeting. In our view, in the situation in the Balkans today, the indispensable conditions necessary for a multilateral meeting and agreement do not exist. We believe that, at present, the development of bilateral relations is the best way to create a spirit of trust and understanding in the Balkans and the conditions to achieve genuine and sincere cooperation on a broader basis in the future.

Our relations with the Arab Republic of Egypt, the Democratic and People's Republic of Algeria, and the other Arab countries are developing normally in a positive di-

rection, on the basis of the traditional friendship which exists between the Albanian people and the Arab peoples, to the benefit of the struggle against the aggressive hegemonic policy of the two imperialist superpowers and reaction.

For the Arab peoples we nurture sincere feelings of affection and friendship which we shall continue to develop further. They are progressive and peace-loving peoples, who have made a valuable contribution to many aspects of world culture. We believe that the Arab peoples will achieve their complete liberation from the yoke of foreign capital and the blood-thirsty imperialists, and victory in their just struggle against the Israeli aggressors.

We will powerfully and firmly support the just cause of the Arab peoples to oppose imperialist-zionist aggression, to liberate the occupied Arab territories, and to cope with the conspiracies of US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. Our people and our country support the just struggle of the Palestinian people to gain their national rights, to return to their homes, of which they have been robbed by Israel, the instrument of US imperialism. We maintain ties with, and support, the Palestine Liberation Organization. We would like to see a strong militant unity, which is the reliable basis of their triumph over the zionist and imperialist enemies, established among the Arab peoples.

The People's Republic of Albania maintains friendly relations with France, and they are developing in the interests of the two countries. We respect the French people for their revolutionary past and their progressive culture. Distinguished men of French science, art and culture, are sincere friends of Albania. We maintain normal relations with the French state, though they do not approve of our regime, nor we of theirs. But we observe that the French government does not interfere in our affairs.

The same holds good for the governments of Belgium, Austria and Switzerland, with which the bilateral relations are correct. We observe with satisfaction that our country's relations with Sweden, Norway, Finland, and Denmark are extending, and we appreciate the realistic and friendly attitude of these countries towards Albania.

The People's Republic of Albania has established diplomatic relations with a large number of countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and will work to promote exchanges in various fields with Mexico, Peru, Tanzania, Pakistan, etc., step by step and within the possibilities. Albania is ready to establish relations with other states, too, which desire such a thing, on the basis of the recognized principles governing relations between sovereign countries.

With the Federal German Republic, we have unresolved problems dating back to the Second World War. There the German revanchists are alive and engaged in full-scale activity. Their policy is expansionist and with hegemonic tendencies. The Bonn government, which poses as a democratic government, defends the crimes of German fascism and does not make even the slightest attempt to pay the reparations for the damage which the German nazi barbarity inflicted on Albania and its people. The Bonn government should not think that this problem will remain just a propaganda issue. It will be pursued by our side, with evidence and facts, in all the international bodies.

Ever since the revisionist cliques in power in the countries of East Europe embarked on the road of hostility towards socialist Albania, blindly carrying out the commands of the revisionist Soviet leadership, they have reduced relations with our country to a very low and restricted level. As long as they follow this road, there can be no change in our relations with these countries.

The stand of Albania towards the revisionist Soviet Union, the enemy of Albania, socialism, the freedom and independence of all the peoples, remains unaltered. Our country has not maintained and will not maintain any relations whatsoever with the Moscow social-imperialists. The Soviet Union is in pursuit of openly expansionist aims, especially in the Balkans and the Mediterranean. It has hegemonistic designs not only on Rumania, but also on Turkey, Yugoslavia, Greece and Albania. It is seeking to achieve these ambitions through aggression or subversion. Under these conditions, we, the Balkan countries, have a duty to sharpen our political and military vigilance and be prepared to cope with a possible attack. It is common knowledge that the enemies strike wherever they find weakness and division.

Our stand towards the United States of America is already known. Albania and the Albanian people are not consumed with grief over the lack of relations with America, which has pursued and is pursuing a savagely hostile policy towards our country. In the future, as in the past, we shall always resolutely denounce and oppose the aggressive and hegemonistic policy of US imperialism, which is aimed against socialism and the freedom and independence of the peoples.

As regards Britain, this country is very closely linked with the policy of the United States, and in its stand towards Albania takes the same position. Consequently, our stand cannot be different, either. Britain must return the gold it plundered from the Albanian people and make good the damage it has caused Albania. We will never renounce this right.

The Party of Labour of Albania is convinced that the stands of socialist Albania have always been and continue to be correct, and to a certain degree, express

the aspirations not only of proletarian revolutionaries but also of progressive people who view many things as we do, but who for many reasons, do not express them openly.

**In its analysis of situations, in the conclusions it has drawn, in the assessments it has made and the stands it has adopted, our Party has always acted and continues to act in close unity with the people. That is why the entire Party firmly defends this policy, why the entire people support and implement it.** On the other hand, it is this unity, this correct Marxist-Leninist understanding of international events, the principled and resolute stands towards the lofty interests of our socialist homeland, towards the great cause of the revolution, socialism and the liberation of the peoples, which constitute that sound guarantee that our country will always have unshakable international positions and will always advance on a reliable course, proud and undaunted.

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## VI

### **THE MARXIST-LENINIST MOVEMENT AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST MODERN REVISIONISM**

Just as in the past, during the interval between the two Congresses, too, the Party has waged a consistent and principled ideological struggle against modern revisionism, has unceasingly exposed the evil, anti-Marxist, chauvinist and counter-revolutionary activity of the Soviet revisionists. With wisdom and courage, socialist Albania and its Party of Labour have faced up to all the hostile ideological attacks, political pressures and military threats, and with an iron fist have smashed the many counter-revolutionary activities which the various revisionists have undertaken against our country. This struggle of major ideological importance has armed the members of our Party and made them ever more aware of the great danger posed by Soviet modern revisionism and its adherents.

**Life has proved that the course of open and uncompromising struggle which our Party chose for the exposure of the Soviet revisionists, its resolute defence of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, was the only reliable course to save the situation and to triumph. This encourages us and makes us all the more determined and unyielding to the end in the struggle against revisionism and any other sort of opportunism.**

The Party of Labour of Albania has made an extensive and profound analysis of the revisionist betrayal, and it

has done this on the basis of the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the experience of the revolutionary struggle of the world proletariat, and its own experience.

Modern revisionism, which seized power in the Soviet Union and the European countries of people's democracy, with the exception of Albania, and established itself, also, in a large number of communist and workers' parties of the world, emerged as a strong international reactionary current. It represents a motley of anti-scientific currents and pseudo-theories which are counterposed to Marxism-Leninism with the aim of combating it and hindering it from becoming what it is, a powerful weapon and unerring guide to action in the hands of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, to destroy capitalism to its foundations and to build the new socialist society and later, communism, in its stead.

The seizure of power by the Khrushchevite revisionists in the Soviet Union and other countries was a heavy blow to the international proletariat and the revolution. The betrayal by the revisionist cliques in the communist and workers' parties that renounced Marxism-Leninism and the revolution, and followed the revisionist Soviet Union, made the situation in the communist movement even more serious. In power or not, the revisionists took Draconian measures against the true communists and revolutionaries, conducted a slanderous campaign of propaganda and denigration against the Bolshevik Party of Lenin, against the work and figure of Stalin, and the socialist victories achieved in the Soviet Union. They undertook the struggle to extinguish the revolution.

First, the Khrushchevites strove to deceive the peoples of the Soviet Union, to eliminate their own internal and external opponents, to mislead world opinion, and to show the capitalist world that the time of Stalin had come to

an end. The revisionists went even further in their slanders and adopted as their own the language of that propaganda with which, for years and years on end, international capitalism had been attacking scientific socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. These renegades and traitors did this also to win the trust of the world bourgeoisie, especially the US imperialists.

That was the big down payment the Khrushchevites made to world capital to ensure it that the era of revolutions had «come to an end», that «détente» had begun, that the theory of class struggle was being eliminated, both in the Soviet Union and beyond it, that co-existence and the «peaceful» competition in every field had started. The revisionist theoreticians, everywhere they happened to be, started to justify the abandonment of the great and essential thesis of Marxism-Leninism about the seizure of power through violence, by means of the revolution, and to spread the illusion about transition to socialism in a peaceful way.

The Khrushchevites waged a struggle over the whole front in all these directions. The strategy of Khrushchevite revisionism, based on the reactionary, imperialist, bourgeois ideology, was aimed at transforming the Soviet Union into a social-imperialist superpower, for the purpose of dominating the world and the nations together with the Americans.

The Party of Labour of Albania has courageously and consistently exposed the fiendish tactics which the Khrushchevites used in order to throw mud at Bolshevism and Stalin, at the revolution and communism. It has shown that the Soviet revisionists have destroyed all their connections with communism once and for all, and transformed the Soviet Union from a centre of the world revolution, as it was in the time of Lenin and Stalin, into a centre of the counter-revolution. Our Party warned that the Khrushche-

vite revisionists and their followers in the various parties and countries would turn into zealous collaborators of the bourgeoisie and strive, first of all, to destroy the socialist system, and not only would they work to do this in the countries where they were in power, but they would make, as they actually did, every effort to fight socialism in Albania and China, too. It also predicted that these savage enemies of communism would strive to weaken and eliminate the confidence of the world proletariat and progressive people in the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, in the future socialist and communist society.

Life has now fully vindicated these predictions and conclusions of the Party of Labour of Albania.

The Khrushchevite betrayal has transformed the Soviet Union into an aggressive, neo-colonialist, war-mongering imperialist power. The Soviet society has become bourgeois down to its tiniest cells and capitalism has been restored in all fields. The revisionist bourgeois dictatorship represented by the stratum of the new Soviet bureaucrats, technocrats and capitalists makes the law in everything. The former socialist base and superstructure have been destroyed to their foundations. Great Russian chauvinism has been set up as the dominant ideology, national oppression has become part and parcel of the bourgeois class policy pursued by the ruling clique.

The former socialist countries of Eastern Europe which tagged along behind Khrushchev's bandwagon ended up as mere vassals of the Kremlin. Modern revisionism has demonstrated in practice that it is not only an anti-working class and counter-revolutionary ideology, but also an ideology of national oppression and justification of imperialist slavery. The revisionist parties of the East European countries have become parties of national betrayal. Their leaders, who are removed and installed by Moscow accord-

ing to its desires and plans, have humbly accepted unrestricted Soviet domination as well as the chauvinist doctrines on «supra-national socialist culture», the «man of general socialist nationality», and so on, by means of which the social-imperialists want to erase the national identity of ancient and famous countries of Europe that have contributed so much to its culture and history.

Life has confirmed, also, that there is no longer anything communist about the pseudo-communist parties of Western Europe, Latin America and Asia, which embraced revisionism. They are no longer guided by the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism, but by anti-Marxist theories, distorted in content and form, though some of them, to disguise themselves, try to keep up a more or less Marxist phraseology. Their entire program, if it can be called a program, has been reduced to a few simple reformist demands which, far from threatening the bourgeois order, are intended to save it from profound upheavals and make it more workable in the new situations.

When Khrushchevite revisionism came out in the arena of the struggle against Marxism-Leninism, the bourgeoisie and all international reaction predicted the finish of socialism, the end of the international communist movement. But socialism and the revolution not only withstood the concerted bourgeois-revisionist onslaught, weathering the greatest and most severe counter-revolutionary storm that has ever crashed against them, but also succeeded in scoring victories of historic importance for the revolutionary and progressive development of mankind.

The dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of socialism which were betrayed by the the revisionists, have been carried forward by Albania and China, which remained loyal to Marxism-Leninism, defended it with determination, and declared stern ideological war on

Khrushchevite revisionism and its followers. Communism did not die out, as the bourgeoisie hoped, and the opportunists and the liquidationists rejoiced too soon. The proletariat rallied its forces, and as occurred in the time of Lenin, with the great split away from the Second International, brought forth the new Marxist-Leninist parties from its ranks. These parties shouldered the great historic mission of upholding and carrying forward the glorious cause of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat for social and national liberation, which the revisionists had betrayed and discarded.

The revisionist onslaught spread a thick fog over the fundamental questions of the strategy and tactics of the revolution and created no slight confusion that affected broad detachments of the workers' movement and the anti-imperialist forces. But Marxism-Leninism fought off this furious and fiendish onslaught and emerged victorious. While Khrushchev and the other petty theoreticians of their so-called «creative Marxism» suffered bankruptcy and disgrace, the science of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin remains deeply implanted in the minds and hearts of the entire world proletariat, and is at all times the unerring compass of the revolution and socialism, the victorious weapon in the class battles of the proletariat and the working masses.

At present, the entire revisionist camp is in disarray. The various detachments of modern revisionism have split into hostile rival groups, each struggling to defend and advocate «its own specific road to socialism», «its own national Marxism». All that each revisionist party thinks about, and works for, is how it can capture most positions of superiority and domination in the ranks of world revisionism and how it can make itself beautiful and attractive in the eyes of bourgeois opinion.

The Party of Labour of Albania long ago said that modern revisionism, like the earlier revisionism of Bernstein or Kautsky, can never build that cohesion, that steel-like unity which only Marxism-Leninism, the scientific ideology of the working class, is in a position to do. Revisionism is synonymous with splits, lack of unity, chauvinism and anarchy. Our Party was convinced that, with their slogans that they were «independent», «sovereign», and «capable» of applying the Marxist-Leninist theory in the conditions of their own countries, the revisionist parties would not only break away from the Soviet Union and the so-called «socialist family», but would become involved, as they have done, in irreconcilable conflicts with one another.

The Soviet revisionists have made many efforts to gather up all the revisionists and keep them united around themselves. They needed this united front of revisionism not only to cope with the great ideological and political struggle and polemics of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Communist Party of China and the new Marxist-Leninist parties, but also to stave off the competitive power of US imperialism.

To achieve and defend this «unity», especially to keep the parties of the countries where the revisionists hold sway under their thumb, the Khrushchevites have relied on their military and economic strength as well as on secret subsidies sent by Moscow to the revisionist parties of the capitalist countries. Nonetheless, they have not succeeded. Life has shown that in essence, the revisionist parties did not and do not agree with the Soviet revisionist party. The latter is now endeavouring to save face but its attempts are lame and the crutches with which the revisionist unity is propped up, are breaking one after the other.

Many and unceasing attempts have been made by the

Soviet revisionists, with Brezhnev at the head, to call the «communist» parties of the world to meetings, in which they are supposed to affirm their «Marxist-Leninist» ideological «unity», but these efforts were like trying to round up a flock of hares. Discussions went on for more than two years about a meeting of the European revisionists, and the procrastination, caprices, and unexpected difficulties, resulting from the existing contradictions, were almost never ending. But even when it was held, this meeting, like some previous one, showed only that the revisionists had sunk still deeper into the morass of opportunism and counter-revolution.

The anti-Marxist Berlin Conference will remain in history as a conference that publicly proclaimed the transition of modern revisionism to the social-chauvinist positions which social-democracy has defended up till now, that officially and publicly abandoned the idea of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The «specific national roads to socialism», which each of them advertised on its own behalf at the meeting, in fact, showed the roads the revisionist parties follow to betray socialism, the plans and methods they employ to undermine the revolution and to split the proletariat, and to sabotage the liberation struggle of the peoples. Under the bogus slogan of independence from a single leading centre, they rose against the scientific ideology of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism, and proletarian internationalism, which are one and indivisible. Their substitution of «international solidarity» for proletarian internationalism is a reflection of their replacement of the proletarian ideology with bourgeois ideology. To the revisionists, solidarity means solidarity with the bourgeoisie and struggle against the proletariat, solidarity with the imperialists and struggle against the peoples. On the lips of the revisionists, «solidarity», is a for-

mula of justification that allows them to join forces with the devil and his son, with the social-democrats and the Vatican, with the multinational companies and the fascists, with NATO and US imperialism, with anyone who is against the revolution, the proletariat and socialism, anyone who defends the system of capitalist exploitation.

The Berlin Declaration, in which the participants each put down their own political and ideological views as though it were the visitors' book of an exhibition, represents a really rare document of self-exposure of the revisionists as incorrigible opportunists and anti-communists.

In point of fact, the revisionist camp has now split into several opportunist trends, in which each has assumed a well-defined political and ideological physiognomy and is scrambling for pride of place in revising Marxism-Leninism and disrupting the revolution, by openly proclaiming their «specific», «socialist» «theories». On the one hand, this indicates the extent of the degeneration of revisionism, its utter disintegration, and on the other hand, it reflects the efforts of revisionism to serve the bourgeoisie better and to refine its methods in the fight against Marxism-Leninism and the revolution.

The situation in the revisionist camp is also a consequence of the persevering and incessant struggle the Marxist-Leninists have waged against them. This is a victory for the Marxist-Leninist parties and their revolutionary line, which we must always carry forward, increasing our vigilance still further and even more resolutely carrying on the ideological struggle against modern revisionists of all hues, as well as against all reactionary ideologies. The enemies of communism have now stepped up their diversion against Marxism-Leninism. Split or united, dependent on or independent of Moscow or anybody else, in their role as anti-communists, they fight in unison

against the revolution and our parties, against Marxism-Leninism.

The imperialist bourgeoisie and its ideologists have always worked against communism and continue to do so. Their aim is to disorientate the proletariat and its revolutionary parties, which are their sworn enemies. By spreading the idea that Marxism has allegedly become obsolete, that it has been left behind, that its basic theses and principles must be «reinterpreted» in the new conditions of the 20th century, their intention is to attack Marxism and to sow confusion about its fundamental principles. The bourgeoisie and its «theoreticians», including the revisionists, try to deny the need for revolution and, especially, for the violent overthrow of the bourgeois society, to reject the dictatorship of the proletariat and the class struggle, and to write off proletarian internationalism.

Thus the aim of all their work to undermine the Marxist-Leninist ideology is to distort its basic principles so that they will be inoperable. The bourgeoisie is trying to keep every demand of the proletariat within the framework of bourgeois laws, to entangle it in the spider-web of pseudo-freedom of speech, «democracy», and street demonstrations. It tries to have these demands «settled» by the bosses of the parties and the trade unions in the warm rooms with comfortable armchairs of the capitalist employers or their technocratic employees.

To confuse the people, to benumb the revolutionary thought and action of the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist parties, innumerable anti-Marxist trends are in action, the most varied revisionist and «Leftist» «theories» are emerging and being spread. They are the fifth column in the ranks of the world revolution, the aim of which is to prolong the life of international capitalism by fighting the revolution from within to prevent it from breaking

out and, in case it does, to have the firemen to put it out and the scabs to break the will of the working class.

One of these pseudo-theories is that of the technical-scientific revolution. According to its authors, this revolution makes Marx's proletarian revolution unnecessary, because, as a result of the technical-scientific revolution, capitalism and the capitalists have been weakened, the capitalists no longer play any role, and technique and the technocrats have the decisive say. This is a big bluff. Not only have capitalism and the capitalists not been wiped out or weakened, but they are oppressing and exploiting the proletariat and the working people as before, they still have the means of production in their hands and are the real rulers, whereas the technicians and the technocrats are nothing but their obedient employees and servants.

Other «theoreticians» try to «provide arguments», to justify replacing the revolution by the «solution of day to day problems» and changing the «way of life» according to the possibilities created by the consumer society. Here the efforts to weaken the class struggle, to prevent attacks on the system, attacks on bourgeois society, are very obvious. But to redress social injustices, the proletariat needs political power, its dictatorship. And this can be attained only through violent revolution, and not by changing the way of life on the model of the consumer society.

The bourgeoisie and its press have given and give a major space to all the propagandists of anti-communism, ranging from Marcuse to Garaudy, from Gilas to Fisher. The theories of Proudhonist anarchism against the revolution and communism are flourishing all around, and Trotskyism has become the fashion.

To hinder the proletariat on its revolutionary road, modern revisionism is assisting imperialist reaction in this field with all its means and in every way, open or disguised,

with all sorts of pseudo-scientific philosophic theories and slogans.

The first to come out in support of world capitalism and to apply itself with unrestrained zeal to the fight against the revolution and Marxism-Leninism was Yugoslav revisionism, the so-called «self-administration socialism». Born as an opportunist ideological trend and as a political practice to undermine socialist society and the true communist parties from within, it remains a favourite weapon in the hands of the international imperialist bourgeoisie in the struggle against socialism and the liberation movements. The danger of Yugoslav revisionism stems from the fact that it offers ready-made concepts and «tested ways» to all those who embark on the road of revisionist betrayal and capitalist degeneration. First the Khrushchevites, and then the Togliattists and others have been inspired by Yugoslav revisionism, and found support and encouragement to fight socialism and the Marxist-Leninist ideology in it.

Masquerading as a «socialism non-aligned» with Soviet «socialism», Yugoslav revisionism carries on sabotage and undermining activities among the progressive forces of the developing countries, striving to set their sincere socialist aspirations on a wrong course, and mislead the efforts many of them are making to eliminate the vestiges of colonialism and create free, democratic, and independent states. Everywhere and on the largest scale possible, it engages in demagoguery of the 'ouvrierist' type, and has become the greatest champion of anarchist and liberal-Trotskyite views. Titoite «self-administration» has proven to be an eclectic bourgeois doctrine which has led to permanent political and ideological confusion, to weak and disproportionate economic development, to great social differentiation, to squabbles among nationalities, and degeneration of spiritual life in Yugoslavia.

The «self-administration structure» which covers all the fields and all aspects of life, the elimination of democratic centralism and the role of the unified management of the state, the anarchist federalism and the anti-state ideology in general, have brought about a great fragmentation of the working class, a competitive opposition among its various sections, and what is worse, a marked bourgeois individualist spirit of looking after local and sectional interests. Not only does the working class not play a hegemonic and leading role in the Yugoslav state and society, but on the contrary, through the system of self-administration, it has been placed in such conditions as to be unable to defend its overall interests and act as a compact and united body.

As always, in the future, too, our Party will fight to expose the deceptive nature of the Yugoslav variety of revisionism and the danger it presents.

The ideological struggle against modern revisionism is broad and all-sided. The theories and views of the Soviet revisionists, their opportunist practices, must be dealt with and denounced, as up till now, but with even more determination. Being the ruling ideology of a big country which has large material and propaganda means at its disposal, Khrushchevite revisionism remains the leader of the modern revisionist front. The theories of Bernstein and Kautsky were codified at the 20th Congress, which became a source of inspiration and a base of support for all the revisionist trends. Soviet revisionism represents the most complete and highly elaborated «theory» and practice of revisionist counter-revolution, which has revised the Marxist-Leninist theory in all fields and on all questions.

Time has proven that the theses of the 20th Congress were neither «simple ideological distortions», nor erroneous assessments of situations. The «Khrushchevite theories»

represented a consciously chosen course for the elimination of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the restoration of capitalism, ideological and political means specifically chosen for the transformation of the Soviet Union into an imperialist state and the liquidation of obstacles to the implementation of the policy of great — power chauvinism.

The 25th Congress of the revisionist Party of the Soviet Union, which was held at the beginning of this year, confirmed the intentions of the Soviet leadership to persist in this course. This means that in the future revisionism will continue to step up its savage ideological aggression against Marxism-Leninism and the true socialist countries, that it will continue to fight to undermine the revolution, to subjugate the liberation movements of the peoples and to sabotage them.

Despite the defeats it has suffered, Soviet revisionism still continues to exert influence, not only where it represents the ruling ideology of the state, but also in the majority of revisionist parties, as well as in some national-democratic parties of the developing countries, and elsewhere. It is still able to speculate on the past of the Soviet Union, on the name of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, and its use of communist phraseology as a mask has been improved further. It is clear that without a radical exposure of the ideological platform of Soviet revisionism, which also constitutes the theoretical basis for its imperialist policy, its expansion and hegemonism cannot be effectively opposed, the mobilization of the genuine anti-imperialist forces to the necessary extent and in the proper form, cannot be carried out, and the aggressive plans of the superpowers cannot be defeated.

The historic importance and necessity of exposing the ideological roots of Soviet revisionism also rests on the

fact that this serves to expose all other opportunists, too, who pose as opponents of Soviet hegemonism, but who, with their policy and attitudes, actually serve it.

**Our Party holds that the continuation and extension of the ideological struggle against revisionism in general, and of Soviet revisionism in particular, the deepening of that great polemic which began after the 1960 Moscow Meeting, constitutes an important and imperative duty for all the Marxist-Leninists, for all true revolutionaries.** Now, as at that time, the historic burden falls on them to defend Marxism-Leninism from revisionist attacks and distortions, to defend the revolutionary line of the true world communist movement from influences and pressures brought to bear upon it by the bourgeoisie and the various opportunist forces, to defend proletarian internationalism against the great-power chauvinism of the Soviet social-imperialists and bourgeois nationalism of the other opportunists. Lenin's saying that, without fighting opportunism, it is impossible to fight imperialism, remains just as valid and indispensable today. The defence of Marxism-Leninism is a question of principle. It cannot be made dependent on the circumstances which arise, on the basis of which the enemies of the proletariat combine and divide their interests.

The Khrushchevite idea, so loudly trumpeted, that the time of violent proletarian revolutions has allegedly gone, and that state power can be taken from the hands of the bourgeoisie «in a peaceful way», «in the parliamentary way», was music to the ears of the revisionists in the various countries of the world. Exploiting this idea, they built up such strategies and tactics which they thought would help them to win the trust of their bourgeoisie, who would see that the communists had now become tame, that the dangerous old doctrine preached by Marx and

Lenin was dead, that their revolution would be a «peaceful», «reformist», «humanitarian» revolution.

The Italian revisionists, headed by Togliatti, and with all his followers up to Berlinguer, this big landowner from Sardinia, had long been waiting to kindle the fire of the struggle against Marxism-Leninism. Since early on they had been sharpening their weapons for the anti-communist struggle, first by proclaiming their theories of «polycentrism» and «structural reforms» and later with their «historic compromise».

Our Party long ago exposed the opportunist character of the Togliattist theories and their counter-revolutionary aims. At the same time it explained that the Togliattists, encouraged and supported by the Soviet revisionists, would go further with their betrayal, that they would become the most zealous champions of European opportunism.

And the facts show that, from seeking collaboration with social-democracy, the Togliattist revisionists went on to turn into social-democrats themselves, from demanding the implementation of the bourgeois Constitution, they became the most zealous defenders of the bourgeois order, from peaceful travellers on the road to socialism they turned into armed soldiers of capitalism.

Like all the other revisionists, the Italian revisionist leadership boasted loudly that with its new theories it had found the key to the explanation of world events which neither Marx, Engels, Lenin nor Stalin had foreseen, that it had found the most creative solutions to the problems of the revolution. But phenomena and events overturned all the theories and sermons of the revisionists.

This is especially the case with the events in Chile, which brought to light just how silly the revisionist theories are and the great damage they cause the revolution. The revisionists advertised Allende's Chile as the most

correct example of the struggle for socialism, which conformed completely to the new revisionist standards. To them, Chile proved that the transition to socialism could be made in a parliamentary and peaceful way. To them, Chile was the «living proof» of the implementation of the so-called «pluralist», «democratic», and «national» socialism, the concrete implementation of all theories trumpeted by the whole revisionist world chorus.

But what for the Chilean people is a great tragedy, although a temporary and passing one, for the modern revisionists constitutes an irreparable defeat, a collapse of castles built on sand, of all their opportunist theories.

The fascist coup in Chile was a very stark disproof of the revisionist theories on the peaceful and parliamentary way, just as in the case of Indonesia several years earlier. It showed that the iron laws of class struggle, of revolution and counter-revolution do not change to suit the morbid dreams and subjective desires of the revisionists.

Following the events in Chile, the Italian revisionists, as the zealous servants of the bourgeoisie they are, further elaborated their «theories» committing themselves even more deeply to their course of betrayal. They came out with the thesis that, under the «new conditions», a communist majority in parliament was no longer sufficient for the transition to socialism, that they had first to conclude a general alliance with the main bourgeois parties as well. Thus, the «historic compromise» with the Italian Christian-democrat Party, with the party of the Vatican and FIAT, NATO and the Common Market, came into being. Now the Togliattist revisionists, entangled in their reformist theories, are insistently begging the social-democrats and the Christian-democrats for a slice of the profits which speculative capital is drawing from the sweat of the Italian people.

It is regrettable that these renegades, who seek to become administrators of the affairs of the bourgeoisie, continue to mislead the Italian proletariat. But we express our belief that the working class of Italy will emerge from the stagnation into which the revisionists and their reformist anti-revolutionary trade unions have plunged it and will realize that in the present conditions of Italy, it must take up the red banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and forge ahead towards the revolution, or fascism is bound to come with all the grave consequences with which it is only too familiar.

In step with the Italian revisionists march the French revisionists, who also have become zealous mouthpieces of the bourgeoisie to attack and denigrate Marxism-Leninism.

The revisionist party of France has now turned into a party of the bourgeoisie. This came out very clearly at its 22nd Congress, when its secretary, Georges Marchais, presented his «strategy» for the transition to socialism. The French revisionists dropped all disguise. They launched an attack against Marxism over a broad front and on the most fundamental principles. They declared to the world that they have renounced the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, that their socialism would be achieved without class struggle or the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, without the need for the leading role of the party of the proletariat. The revisionist Marchais called it «socialism in French colours». From all the colours in which this «socialism» is decked out only the red of Marxism-Leninism is missing, the colour which infuriates and terrifies the bourgeoisie and the traitors.

According to Marchais, the transition to socialism will be achieved through the development of bourgeois democracy and freedoms. Under this socialism everybody will

live in peace, the wolves and the lambs together. The thesis on the utilization of the bourgeois democracy and freedoms as the road to socialism, is a great deception for the masses, a veneer over capitalist society. It is known that in the epoch of imperialism a development of increasing freedoms and democracy for the masses can never take place within the framework of the bourgeois society. On the contrary, this is the period of the great development of the forces of reaction, the militarization of the economy and the other aspects of life, the oppression of the proletariat and nations, which reaches its most savage and barbarous stage under fascism. Only the violent revolution and establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat can secure the conditions for freedom and democracy for the broad masses of the people to flourish.

In his report to the 22nd Congress of the French revisionist party, the petty-bourgeois Georges Marchais, borrowing from the reactionary theories of bourgeois ideologists, to the effect that class differences are smoothed out in the industrial society, said that now, «in France one can no longer speak of a proletariat, but of a working class». But the revisionist Georges Marchais cannot liquidate the proletariat with a stroke of the pen. It lives on and fights to dig the grave for capitalism and revisionism.

It is not without a purpose that the modern revisionists and the ideologists of the bourgeoisie change the name of the proletariat. Here we have to do not with a simple question of the name, but with the denial of the absolute necessity of overturning the social relations through revolution, through violence. The revisionists know that, if there is talk of the proletariat, which in capitalism has nothing but the strength of its arm, then it is automatically implied that it must fight its exploiters and oppressors, must break the shackles. It is precisely this struggle,

which has the objective of destroying the old power of capital to its foundations, that the bourgeoisie fears. Therefore, its ideologists and its lackeys of the Georges Marchais type, strive hard to convince people that the proletariat today is allegedly no longer as Marx defined it, exploited by the capitalists, that it is no longer its labour force which creates surplus value and capital, that allegedly the means of production are no longer in the hands of the capitalists, but of the administrators, the technocrats.

In negating the existence of the proletariat as the main revolutionary force of the society, as the grave-digger of capitalism, the revisionists want to open the way to other anti-Marxist theses, too. Since there is no proletariat, there is no longer any need for a dictatorship of the proletariat, either. On this key problem of the theory of scientific socialism, in fact, everybody in the revisionist camp takes the same positions. However, for tactical reasons, for the sake of appearances, some of them defend the form of the «dictatorship of the proletariat», as do the Soviet revisionists and the parties of the countries taking part in the so-called socialist family, while others, like Marchais, Berlinguer, and Carillo, drop this mask. In fact this is a bluff on the part of the Moscow revisionists, because the dictatorship of the proletariat no longer exists either in the Soviet Union or in the countries of Eastern Europe. Only one dictatorship, the capitalist, fascist dictatorship, exists there.

In the Soviet revisionist «bloc» they even talk about the theory of class struggle, but this, too, only for appearances' sake, for the purpose of misleading people, because class struggle in its Marxist-Leninist sense is not waged either in the Soviet Union or in the other countries of Eastern Europe. Marchais, Berlinguer, and company, for their part, preach «fraternization despite divergencies», fraternization and unity to go «to socialism through

reforms»: bourgeoisie, capitalists, workers, police, bourgeois army, etc., all together. Long ago the Khrushchevites declared the class struggle within the Soviet Union to be extinct. But in fact the struggle which the new bourgeoisie is waging against the working class exists there. In the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries, the struggle of the proletariat against the savage exploitation by the new bourgeoisie exists and is developing, and as the events in the Soviet republics, in Poland and elsewhere show, the working class is rising in revolts against exploitation. This struggle is bound to gather momentum in the future.

In working out his theory of scientific socialism, Marx refuted all the old forms of socialism preached by the utopians and the others before them. He taught the world proletariat that it must organize itself and fight for the establishment of a new social order based on scientific socialism. Marx denounced and refuted «feudal socialism», «clerical socialism», «petty-bourgeois socialism», «bourgeois socialism» and «conservative socialism». He sternly condemned and unmasked Proudhon's «The Philosophy of Poverty» and to this end wrote his renowned work «The Poverty of the Philosophy».

Now, the new Proudhonist Georges Marchais is seeking to impose this philosophy, dressed up in different garb, on the French proletariat. With their theories of «creative Marxism» all pseudo-Marxists like Marchais are trying to deceive the proletariat by depriving scientific socialism of its foundations. When they say they are objective in their recognition of the laws of development of society, they are simply telling lies. In fact they are the lackeys of the consumer society created by the capitalist and imperialist bourgeoisie.

**This revisionist activity, with shades of a certain inde-**

pendence from Moscow, allegedly to mislead the bourgeoisie of their own countries, but in fact intended to mislead their own and the international proletariat, is gathering momentum in all the revisionist parties of the capitalist countries. **The Party of Labour of Albania has a duty to unmask this revisionist activity, which is not something separate from the activity of the Khrushchevites.**

Taken as a whole, the revisionist trends, which emerged on the basis of the deviation from Marxism-Leninism and the betrayal of communism, are the offspring of their capitulation in face of new situations in the conditions of the further sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism and the pressure of the bourgeoisie, in the conditions of ever increasing contradictions between western capitalism and Soviet social-imperialism, the result of the rivalry between the two superpowers, in general.

The bourgeoisie and the social-democrats are jumping with joy now that the revisionists have thrown out the «Leninist heritage» and are putting themselves forward as «loyal partners in the democratic confrontation». But the bourgeoisie and its lackeys are rather hasty in celebrating their «victory».

The betrayal and opportunism of the social-democratic and revisionist chiefs has brought grave damage to the class interests of the proletariat, but the revolutionary struggle of the working class can never be extinguished. Opportunists and renegades come and go, but the proletariat and its ideology, Marxism-Leninism, remain an indomitable force. The socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat are an historic necessity, and there is nothing which can stop them from coming about.

In the revisionist parties of the 'world, the Soviet, French, Yugoslav, and other definitions of proletarian internationalism are being discussed. In fact what they

are discussing is how to oppose proletarian internationalism.

In the phrase «proletarian internationalism» only the term 'proletarian' links internationalism indissolubly with the world proletariat, links it in unity of struggle against the capitalist bourgeoisie, against the trusts and monopolies, against imperialism and social-imperialism. Proletarian internationalism is the unity of thought and action of the proletariat of each country in particular and of the world proletariat in general, for the purpose of overthrowing the old capitalist world by violence, smashing the power of the bourgeoisie to its foundations, and becoming the masters of means of production and everything else that serves the capitalists for the exploitation of man by man.

The goal of the proletarian revolution is to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat through which the construction of socialism and the suppression of the remnants of the ruling classes is realized. If the class struggle is allowed to die down, these remnants constantly strive to seize back state power and restore the old bourgeois-capitalist order either in the guise of «constitutional monarchy», «bourgeois democracy», the «progressive republic» or, finally, the bourgeois-revisionist, social-imperialist «socialist republic», etc.

To carry out its program, whether a minimum or maximum one, the proletariat of each country must be led by its vanguard, the revolutionary party of the working class. This party cannot be other than a communist party, a party that in all its struggle, before and after the seizure of state power, is guided by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. The revolutionary party of the working class always applies these ideas in the correct way, without distorting or deviating from them, both in organizing itself and the proletariat, and in leading the revolutionary struggle.

It also makes the teachings of Marxism-Leninism the basis of its work to map out and implement its policy of alliances, which are necessary over different issues and at different moments, in order to prepare, organize, and wage the revolutionary struggle that will lead to the overthrow of the capitalist order. The essence of proletarian internationalism lies in this interpretation and implementation of Marxism-Leninism.

Today, the world proletariat is not a single bloc, it is split by various bourgeois ideologies: capitalist, reformist, social-democratic, «socialist», revisionist, etc. All these different ideologies and political trends have the single objective: to split the proletariat, to prevent it from rallying and organizing itself into a great force as the gravedigger of capitalism that it is. Therefore, all these anti-Marxist ideologies and trends are props for local and international capital, are forces against the revolution, socialism and proletarian internationalism.

For us, Marxist-Leninists, the international solidarity of workers and proletarian internationalism is understood from the angle of, and developed according to, the principles of Marx and Engels expressed in the Communist Manifesto: «Workers of all countries, unite!». This motto of Marx and Engels, to which Lenin and Stalin remained loyal and which they carried further ahead, is militant, revolutionary, and always very important. It was a call for unity among the workers by the First International, it was a call for unity among the workers by the Third International.

The Second International betrayed Marxism, and its parties became mouthpieces of the bourgeoisie, turned into reformist parties. They disowned the call of Marx and Engels, «Workers of all countries, unite!».

With the formation of the Third International the call,

«Workers of all countries, unite!» resumed the genuine revolutionary meaning of the Communist Manifesto. This call gained still greater power of inspiration and mobilization with the setting up of the first socialist state in the world which became the pivot of this slogan of the Manifesto. The world proletariat now had the first fatherland of liberated proletarians.

When the Comintern decided that the existence of the Communist International was no longer necessary, because the communist and workers' parties in the world had been formed, strengthened and tempered in class battles, Marx's formula, «Workers of all countries unite!» still remained a powerful call for unity.

After the Second World War, with the victory over fascism and the reactionary bourgeoisie, the working class took state power into its hands, established the dictatorship of the proletariat, and began the construction of socialism in many countries of the world. The motto of Marx and Engels became still more powerful, because the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin had triumphed in many countries, and the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism was thus confirmed in practice.

But modern revisionism emerged and usurped power in the Soviet Union and in many other former socialist countries. Many communist and workers' parties of the world deviated from, and betrayed, Marxism-Leninism, they turned into social-chauvinist parties, even into social-fascist parties. In this situation, in which these pseudo-socialist states are no longer the dictatorship of the proletariat and these pseudo-communist parties are no longer parties of the proletariat, whether in power or not, they have definitively broken all their connections with communism, with Marxism-Leninism, with scientific socialism, the proletariat and its doctrine which Marx, Engels, Lenin

and Stalin elaborated. To them, the call, «Workers of all countries, unite!» has lost all meaning.

The evil, the danger, is that by way of disguise, the modern revisionists, whether in power or not, continue to utilize these formulae that are the guiding essence of our doctrine, depriving them entirely of their force for leadership and organization. The revisionists not only apply these formulae in practice in the opposite sense, but they also distort and deform them in a cunning and sophisticated way. The whole aim of the modern revisionists is, by preserving some formulations, to distort the entire Marxist-Leninist doctrine, to build a set of other anti-Marxist theories meant to disorganize the proletariat of a given country or the world, to extend the life of the capitalist bourgeoisie, to put off the proletarian revolution, if not to suppress it altogether, be it in a single country in which the conditions are ripe for it or in several countries simultaneously.

The next great, though not insurmountable, evil is that the modern revisionists who have seized power, have profited from the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and become superpowers or important states, as in the case of the Soviet Union, while the revisionist parties, big or small, misuse the past and the previous struggles which the proletariat of their countries has conducted on the Marxist-Leninist road, for their own ends. The Soviet revisionists proclaim, «We are Leninists», «We defend Lenin», at a time when they have trampled underfoot and betrayed his teachings. The others do the same. They try to weaken, to raise doubts about, or to wipe out altogether the love, respect, and trust which the proletariat has for its great leaders and the revolutionary doctrine of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

In this situation the greatest evil is that amongst the

proletariat there still exists the correct idea created in its consciousness about the first socialist state, the Soviet Union, which Lenin founded after the triumph of the October Socialist Revolution and which became the first powerful state of the proletariat and a colossal support for the entire world proletariat. Now this state no longer exists, because the revisionists have turned it into an anti-proletarian state. This situation can and does cause weaknesses, uncertainty about final victory, because willy-nilly, the cult of the «great proletarian state» has been created. This weakens the unity of the proletariat and its «bite» in the struggle against the capitalist bourgeoisie and the traitors to Marxism-Leninism.

The present situation in the international communist movement resembles the heroic period in which Marx and Engels struggled and worked. The world proletariat, we Marxist-Leninists, must return to, and study, the doctrine of Marx and Engels, their strategy and tactics of struggle and victory. Marx and Engels are no longer alive, but their doctrine lives on, and it should guide us. They are our irreplaceable leaders.

The present situation in the international communist movement resembles the period of the principled revolutionary struggle of Lenin, Stalin and the Bolshevik Party. They had Marx and Engels as their only and unerring guide. At the head of the Russian proletariat, they led the revolution to its triumph and established the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin and Stalin died, the Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union turned into a revisionist party and the first state of proletarians was transformed into a bourgeois chauvinist and social-imperialist state. Neither Lenin nor Stalin had the experience of a proletarian state prior to them, but they created it with the revolution, through revolutionary violence and work, being

guided step by step by the doctrine of Marx and Engels which they further enriched.

Now the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice remains as a great store of wealth for the world proletariat. It should study and apply it consistently. The study and implementation of Marxism-Leninism in the correct way on the part of the proletariat and its revolutionary communist parties on the basis of the situation in each country and in the international arena, the merciless struggle against modern revisionism in whatever form it crops up, the exposure of the bourgeois ideology, the struggle against the disruptive activities, oppression and exploitation by the enemies of the working class, all this is the struggle for the cohesion and unity of the proletariat of the world. This is an indispensable prerequisite for success in the fight against world imperialism, social-imperialism, the capitalist bourgeoisie and world reaction. **In this great and difficult struggle the proletariat should act in close unity, but the unity of its ranks is achieved only by faithfully following and applying the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. Our Party has marched and will continue to march on this road. It has and always will put Marxism-Leninism in command.**

Proletarian internationalism is the ideology of the proletariat, is one of the most powerful weapons and a condition for the triumph of the revolution and the construction of communism. It is an indivisible whole, and there are not several kinds of internationalism, one Soviet, one Italian, one Yugoslav, one French, etc., as the revisionists claim.

*«There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism», wrote Lenin as early as April 1917, «and that is working wholeheartedly for the devel-*

*opment of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in one's own country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) this struggle, this, and only this, line, in every country without exception»<sup>1</sup>.*

In struggle for the cause of the revolution and communism, in struggle against modern revisionism, the Marxist-Leninist parties of the various countries of the world are developing, growing stronger, and achieving successes. Our Party sincerely rejoices at their victories which it regards as common victories that belong to the world proletariat as a whole.

The existence of Marxist-Leninist parties in all the continents and regions of the world shows that conscious champions, determined revolutionaries who fight with all their strength for the great cause of communism, have now risen in defence of the interests of the world proletariat, of the revolution and socialism.

A good number of fraternal parties are working in difficult conditions of illegality because the fascist regimes attack them with the most furious means of suppression and terror. Others are compelled to carry on their activity under the difficult circumstances of the struggle that the big bourgeoisie, the social-democrats and revisionists conduct against them. But all these difficult conditions and circumstances have failed to check the revolutionary drive of the Marxist-Leninist communists, have not been able to prevent the consolidation of their ranks, or the ever greater growth of the influence of these parties among the working class and the masses of the working people.

Many outstanding fighters of the Marxist-Leninist

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, «Collected Works», Vol. 24, p. 63 (Alb. ed.).

movement have been barbarously murdered by the fascist criminals who are ruling in many countries, have died under police torture, or are still languishing in the dark dungeons of reaction. Through their determination, their courage, their lofty spirit of self-denial and their devotion to the great cause of the proletariat, they have become radiant beacons of the struggle of the masses of the working people for national and social liberation.

With very deep respect we honour the memory of our beloved comrades Pedro Leon Arboleda, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia (M-L); Carlos Daniel, Member of the Executive Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil; Thakin Zin, Chairman of the Central Committee, and Thakin Chit, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Burma; Charu Mazumdar, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist); as well as the memory of the brave Spanish FRAP fighters and the Basque patriots. Their unblemished image and revolutionary life will live on in the hearts of all true patriots and communists as a lofty example of inspiration, a call to arms in the struggle against the bloodthirsty bourgeoisie and reaction.

**The Party of Labour of Albania proclaims its complete internationalist solidarity with the Marxist-Leninist parties.** The bourgeoisie and the revisionists would like our Party to stop supporting and helping the new Marxist-Leninist parties. But this will never happen. Now, as always, our Party is of the opinion that for the freedom of a nation, the revolution, the defeat of the bourgeoisie, imperialism and social-imperialism, it is an important duty to give internationalist aid. Marx and Lenin have taught us this, and this lesson guides the struggle of our Party. **Just as the Marxist-Leninist parties and the progressive**

**peoples everywhere in the world have helped us, in the past, in our struggle for national liberation and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we, too, are duty bound to help the proletariat, the Marxist-Leninist parties and all the progressive forces in the struggle they are waging so that their peoples, too, will win their freedom and build socialism.**

This aid is by no means interference in the internal affairs of other states or export of revolution, as the imperialists and social-imperialists, together with all the lackeys of the bourgeoisie, would like to present it. We know why they do this. They want to have their hands free to oppress the proletariat and the peoples, to keep them under their yoke and prevent them from organizing and making revolution.

But our actions, our thoughts, and the correct meaning of our aid to the peoples and revolutionaries cannot be put on a par with the aggressive actions of imperialism, revisionism, and the reactionary bourgeoisie, against the peoples fighting for their liberation and the Marxist-Leninist, progressive, and revolutionary parties that lead them. Our actions constitute a proper internationalist collaboration, whereas their actions are brutal, aggressive, colonialist attacks.

The Party of Labour of Albania supports the revolutionary struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties with all its strength. In our view, each Marxist-Leninist party relies, first of all, on the proletariat and the broad masses of the working people of its own country, but it also enjoys and should enjoy the support of the proletariat of the whole world, the support and solidarity of all the true Marxist-Leninist parties of the different countries and, above all, of the true socialist countries. But in order to ensure this support continuously and unsparingly, it is

essential that each party should be guided consistently by Marxism-Leninism, the ideology of the proletariat.

Today, the new Marxist-Leninist parties are resolutely facing up to the savage and wily struggle of the capitalist and revisionist bourgeoisie, as well as of their ordinary and secret police. Our comrades have gained rich experience in this struggle, which helps them take the necessary measures to repulse the attacks that may be launched against them from various quarters and in the most varied forms. The Marxist-Leninist parties cherish not the slightest illusion about «bourgeois democracy», and the sham «trade union freedoms» of the capitalist countries.

At the same time, as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin teach us, the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries also take advantage of the legal conditions, but always bearing in mind that our principles must not be caught up and damaged in the thorn the bourgeoisie has planted on the road to the revolution. The true communists never for a moment forget these lessons, but strive to make them their own flesh and blood, for it is only in this way that the new Marxist-Leninist parties can successfully lead the struggle of the proletariat and the democratic and freedom-loving forces, a struggle that is neither easy, nor painless, nor without sacrifices.

Great sacrifices have been, are, and will continue to be the order of the day for the members of the true Marxist-Leninist revolutionary parties, and they are conscious that they make these sacrifices for the sake of the lofty interests of the revolution and socialism. Without these sacrifices, without fighting with lofty revolutionary self-denial, victory cannot be attained. Under the example of the sacrifices of each Marxist-Leninist party, the proletariat of each country marches forward, and likewise the

proletariat of the world. This is what instils confidence in Marxism-Leninism and its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist communist party, among the proletariat. The Party is tempered in unceasing battles and struggles till final victory.

The bourgeoisie is afraid of the revolutionary organizations of the proletariat and its vanguard. On the face of it, the capitalists and the revisionists pretend to make light of the new Marxist-Leninist parties, but this attitude of apparent unconcern is by no means real. They fear the revolutionaries, therefore either openly or secretly they prepare their attack. The great leaders of the revolution have taught us that, along with the legal struggle, we must also organize the illegal struggle. Our Party has been and still is of the opinion that the second variant, the illegal struggle, is the greatest guarantee for the achievement of victory. If this is not organized, at the moments it finds appropriate, the great striking force of the bourgeois dictatorship works havoc and extinguishes any resistance of the proletariat and its vanguard.

The bourgeoisie has adopted and continues to adopt numerous laws to protect itself against this organization. Apart from its incessant surveillance and onslaughts on the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries, it encourages crime, anarchist and terrorist struggle, prepares, supports, and sets in motion fascist gangs that kill, attack, and rob the masses in the streets, and it does this in order to keep the working people under terror, to intimidate them. In the end they carry these actions as far as the establishment of a fascist dictatorship in this or that capitalist country.

But through these organizations and actions the bourgeoisie is also trying, on the one hand, to create confusion

among the masses, and on the other, to present them as actions of the communists and the revolutionary proletariat, in order to discredit them. The Marxist-Leninist parties always bear in mind these manoeuvres and wiles of the class enemies and fight to expose and foil them.

Every day the Marxist-Leninist parties are confronted with a deafening demagogic, pseudo-democratic, pseudo-Marxist, pro-fascist propaganda conducted by the reactionary bourgeoisie in every capitalist country, as well as by social-imperialism and the revisionist traitor parties in the world. The aim of the enemies is to influence the immature and untested revolutionaries with the aim of throwing them into confusion. They think that, through such intensive demagogic propaganda, they may gradually and imperceptibly create dangerous illusions in the ranks of Marxist-Leninist parties in order to make them lose their revolutionary impetus and lead to their weakening, degeneration and liquidation.

The Marxist-Leninist parties respond to these all-round attacks and manoeuvres of the enemies by unceasingly strengthening the party, by always aiming at quality rather than quantity in their ranks. Along with this, they attach importance to the theoretical education of party members in Marxism-Leninism, to their constant tempering in the daily revolutionary activity to make them vanguard fighters, unwavering under any circumstances. They keep in mind the well-known fact that, if their ranks are not strengthened with members of a special quality, the enemies, who are very experienced in undermining the revolutionary parties, will smuggle their agents into the organizations in order to cause disruption and create factions in the ranks of the party, to weaken and liquidate it.

Lenin and Stalin have taught us that the assessment of the people to be admitted to the party should not be based on words, but on deeds. Communists are tested and tempered through concrete revolutionary actions, which require maturity and also courage and a lofty spirit of sacrifice and self-denial. Such virtues are found, first and foremost, among the best elements of the working class, of the poor, oppressed and suffering peasantry, in the ranks of the pure and truly revolutionary youth.

Facing a savage enemy of many faces, who strives to infiltrate our ranks by all manner of means, the Marxist-Leninist parties also thoroughly understand the need which the working class of each country has for unity, for a truly revolutionary leadership, its Marxist-Leninist party, of which there is only one, because Marxism-Leninism is only one, and the proletarians have no differing or opposing interests among themselves. The Marxist-Leninist parties have gained valuable experience in the struggle for the unity of the Marxist-Leninist forces. They fight both against narrow sectarian and subjective attitudes, and against the liberal concept of unity for unity's sake, which may endanger even what has been built with so much difficulty and effort. The Marxist-Leninists cannot accept unity divorced from principles and revolutionary actions, or unity which may bring the spirit of opportunism, liberalism, dogmatism and sectarianism into the party.

Our Marxist-Leninist parties are preparing the revolution and are in struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism and the reactionary bourgeoisie. In order to come out victorious from this struggle, they draw up a correct and appropriate strategy and tactics, which enables them to find loyal allies from among the various strata of the masses of the working people, first and foremost, the

poor peasantry. On this question Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have bequeathed us very valuable teachings. We must deepen these teachings in the conditions of the epoch we are living in without being deceived by pacifist slogans, or bourgeois parliamentarianism and electoralism.

In the countries dominated by capital, the youth constitute a great reserve for the revolution. The mass of the unemployed youth, abandoned and deprived of all hope and prospects by the bourgeoisie, number millions. A great revolt against social injustice is seething among them. Great forces are gathering and building up for revolutionary outbursts. It is up to the Marxist-Leninists to unite the enthusiasm of the youth, its revolutionary aspirations, with the drive and aspirations of the working class, to lead it on the correct course towards the liberation of all society from the yoke of big capital.

The problem of unity and alliances in various fronts and organizations, in which the Marxist-Leninist parties should never conceal their identity, is a very delicate problem of first-rate importance. A single mistake in line, an incorrect or rigid attitude, disregard of progressive thinking on this friendship and unity created in struggle, is fraught with great dangers.

The Marxist-Leninist parties of different countries face a common enemy and wage a common struggle, relying on common basic principles, on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. But their struggle cannot be the same, it cannot be waged without regard for the conditions and circumstances in each country. It is impossible to lay down prescriptions on how to act in all the varying and intricate situations which arise and which cannot be foreseen, and in any case, they are not always advantageous. On the contrary, striving to implement a rigid line which does

not conform either to Marxism-Leninism or to the concrete conditions of the particular country in which each Marxist-Leninist party is carrying out its activity, is often harmful and dangerous.

In its time the Comintern carried out intensive and very useful activity for the organization and tempering of communist parties. It was created at a time when it was essential to carry Marxism-Leninism, as a scientific theory, deep among the masses of the world proletariat, when it was necessary to clear the minds of the revolutionary elements infected by the opportunist ideas of the social-democracy of the Second International, and make them conscious of the need for the consistent implementation of the ideas of Marx and Engels in their struggles. In creating new Marxist-Leninist and worker's parties in the world, the Comintern tried to help them become independent from the bourgeois parties, to launch them into struggle against those parties and the capitalist bosses. Thus, in the time of Lenin and Stalin, the Marxist-Leninist parties were restored and strengthened, and they passed, so to say, from the stage of infancy, to a higher stage of revolutionary maturity and organization.

The revisionists savagely attack the great work of the Comintern, precisely because it created and developed the communist parties in the world, which taught the millions of the proletariat how to fight the bourgeoisie of their own country so that it would not be able to perpetuate its power. The modern revisionists and, together with them, the bourgeoisie, unceasingly attack the Comintern and spread the slander that it had allegedly become a tool of the Soviet Union and Stalin. But, at that time, the Comintern was an indispensable organization which made a major contribution to the strengthening of the revolution and the victory of socialism. It was the great good fortune

of the world proletariat that the Soviet Union of the time of Lenin and Stalin became a powerful support for the proletarian struggle all over the world.

There are people who do not fail to say that the Comintern allegedly made mistakes. That mistakes may have been committed cannot be ruled out, but mistakes involving violation of major principles were not made. On the other hand, it should be realized that, even those mistakes that may have occurred, were either brought about deliberately by deviationist elements who had managed to infiltrate the world communist movement or, some of them, by inexperienced revolutionaries. Thus, sometimes, inaccurate or completely wrong information was sent to the Comintern, and consequently, being misinformed, willy-nilly, it took incorrect decisions in some cases. However, the grave conditions of the bourgeois-fascist terror under which the communist and workers' parties and their sections in the Comintern had to carry on their activity, must not be forgotten. The present critics of the Comintern fail to realize that the communist and workers' parties of that time had to seek and create alliances with progressive elements and groupings who sometimes changed their positions. Thus, the directives issued by the Comintern were useful for activities at a given time, while later, when new circumstances arose, they lost their value.

It is not our intention here to analyse the activity of the Comintern or to raise the question of setting up such an international organ again. For the time being, it is inappropriate and it would not bring the benefits expected to the revolutionary struggles which are being and will be waged by the Marxist-Leninist parties all over the world. Our Party holds that having a correct concept of the major role formerly played by the Comintern at the

time of Lenin and Stalin, we the Marxist-Leninist and workers' parties are duty bound to constantly strengthen and temper the close cooperation among our parties, of course, with none being dependent on, or taking orders from, any other. As internationalist communists, we need to exchange our experiences and, each of us, in the conditions of his own country, must act on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. It is essential that this should be done, because, of course, the bourgeoisie and the revisionists are carrying on the collusion between them, and are doing so in many forms and ways, right up to holding so-called regular «international» meetings. Their aims are clear to us. First and foremost, they are struggling to preserve their exploiters' state power to the detriment of the people and, by means of the numerous intrigues they hatch up, to fight the proletariat and prevent it from organizing and tempering itself with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and establishing socialism and communism through revolution.

We think that the cooperation in the true revolutionary way between our Marxist-Leninist parties must be many-sided. The exchange of experience may be done on a bilateral or multilateral basis. The situation may also mature to the point that a large meeting of the representatives of all the Marxist-Leninist communist and workers' parties can be achieved. Long ago, at the time of its 5th Congress, our Party raised this important question. Our Party is determined to defend and implement the great principle of revolutionary cooperation between the Marxist-Leninist parties.

We the Albanian communists assure our brothers of the same ideals and comrades-in-arms that we shall continue to fight with determination against the common enemy for the victory of the revolution and Marxism-

Leninism, as we have done up till now. The international working class and the Marxist-Leninist parties, all those peoples who are fighting against the superpowers, against the bourgeoisie and reaction, have found and will always find in the Party of Labour of Albania, in the Albanian working class and people, a loyal ally, a reliable support and backing. We consider this our basic internationalist duty, which we shall carry out resolutely and conscientiously.

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Comrade delegates,

In concluding this report, the Central Committee expresses its complete confidence and conviction that the communists, the working class and all our working people, will set to work with renewed revolutionary vigour, to translate the great tasks put before us by our 7th Congress into life.

Let us work tirelessly, comrades, with multiplied energies, to strengthen and temper the Marxist-Leninist unity of the ranks of our Party and the steel-like unity of the people around it more and more, to raise the leading role of the Party to a higher level, and make it more effective in all fields, in the entire life of the country.

Let us work unceasingly for an ever better implementation of the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, which is the line that guarantees the present and the future of our socialist homeland and our heroic people. Let us assimilate and resolutely implement the teachings of the Party, and carry the socialist construction in Albania constantly forward.

Let us mobilize ourselves totally and with great enthusiasm to fulfil and overfulfil the new five-year plan. Let us master the Marxist-Leninist science, let us acquire as much knowledge as possible, and make ourselves talented workers and consistent fighters for the further strengthening and progress of our socialist homeland. All of us, the entire people with the communists at the head and on the most difficult fronts, must master our Military Art, be vigilant and fully prepared to make even the supreme sacrifice to defend the homeland from any danger.

With the Party in the forefront and the banner of Marxism-Leninism aloft, forward to new victories, comrades, for the happiness and prosperity of the homeland, the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, the defence and victory of the Revolution!

Long live our heroic and industrious people!

Long live the glorious Party of Labour of Albania, the loyal, wise and reliable leader of our people!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

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