With us, democracy is not a game to mislead. On the contrary, it is put into practice. Here one recognizes by the law and the other one unified state power, which stems from to them. Our state is the state of the dictator who made the laws and created its own revolving style at work, which expresses and defends:

COMRADES,

As you have been informed, the Presidium of the People's Assembly has issued the decree on the election of the deputies to the 9th Legislature of the People's Assembly, to be held on November 12, this year. At this meeting of the General Council of the Democratic Front, we shall take up the tasks facing our organization over the election campaign and its successful conclusion.

Elections to the People's Assembly are a great political event directly concerning all the citizens of our Republic, because thereby they will elect the deputies to the Supreme State Organ which represents and expresses the will and sovereignty of the people.

In our country, elections to the People's Assembly have always been a powerful manifestation of the unity of the people rallied around the Party, of their determination to defend the Homeland and promote the cause of socialism in Albania. These marked characteristics will be expressed even more powerfully in the forthcoming elections, too.

It is the duty of the Democratic Front, under the leadership of the Party, to turn this campaign into an all-round political, economic and cultural action of the broad working masses. The election campaign must give rise to even greater enthusiasm and more vigorous drive at work of the working class, the cooperative peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, in order to fulfill tasks in all fields, especially to conclude this year's state plan with success and to make best preparations possible for next year.

At the forthcoming poll the Albanian people will turn out united more than ever around the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, firmly confident of its correctness and determined to carry it out to the letter. Our people are characterized by their healthy patriotic spirit, immense love for their socialist Homeland, unflinching determination to safeguard its freedom, independence and sovereignty.

The entire Albanian people's unanimous endorsement of, and support for, the stand of our Party and Government towards the counterrevolutionary and anti-Albanian acts of the Chinese revisionist leadership once more testify to their close ties with the Party, their resolve to cope with any difficulty, to break any imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement.

The November elections find our country with a strong economy, a stable and dynamic economy, developing harmoniously and uninterruptedly. This is the result of the correct line pursued by the
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(1) the people,
(2) there is no dual power,
(3) thing de facto, here there is only the people and belongs
(4) worship of the proletariat, which has
(5) ordinary apparatus, its new method and
(6) the interests of the working people

Party for the all-round development and progress of the country.

In the implementation of the directives of the 7th Congress of the Party, successes have been achieved in the further development of industry, construction and communications. Thanks to the untiring efforts of our talented working class, technicians and engineers, new plants and factories have been set up, articles which formerly used to be imported are being turned out, new complete sets of equipment and machinery are being designed and made, all relying on our own forces. Work on the Metallurgical Complex, the Fierza Hydro-power Station and all the other projects is going on despite the damage caused by the pernicious cessation of aid from China. In opposition to the hostile aims of the Chinese revisionists, the Party has taken measures for the successful completion of all these projects.

Our socialist agriculture has made great progress. As a result of the great work of the cooperative peasantry, assistance from the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the special care of the Party, the area of arable land and the irrigation system have been extended, the use of chemical fertilizers has increased, many crop and livestock raising processes have been mechanized. All this has led to increased yields of all crops. Our agriculture which produces all the necessary quantity of bread grain locally, is better and better meeting the needs of the people and industry for agricultural and livestock products.

Evidence of our country’s healthy situation are the happy and optimistic life of the people, their increased wellbeing, their higher educational and cultural level and their improved health.

The election of the deputies to the People’s Assembly find our country stronger than ever. Today, we have an invincible defence. The directive of the Party that the defence of the Homeland is a task above all tasks, is being implemented more and more effectively. Our entire people, in a lofty spirit of patriotism, have undergone and continue to undergo military training to be able to cope with any situation. Albania’s land and sea borders and air space are and will be inviolable.

Socialist Albania enjoys today great prestige in the world, it enjoys the sympathy and support of true revolutionaries, of numerous friends and well-wishers in all countries. This is due to the correct, principled and consistent foreign policy our Party and state have always been pursuing, to the firm struggle the Albanian people have been waging against imperialism, social-imperialism, modern revisionism of all descriptions, and against reaction.

The new elections to the People’s Assembly will further strengthen the people’s state power, born from the glorious National Liberation War
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and tempered in fierce battles for the construction of socialism. With their free and democratic votes the Albanian people will express their determination to preserve the dictatorship of the proletariat, their reliable weapon for the defence of the gains they have achieved, ever pure and powerful, under the leadership of the Party, the great factor guaranteeing the continuous promotion of the cause of socialism in Albania. These elections will, as always, serve the further extension and strengthening of our socialist democracy, which is one of the fundamental features of our state power and entire life.

* * *

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania and our socialist society are radically different from the capitalist and revisionist states and societies in the various countries of the world. In what does this difference consist? In the first place, it consists in the economic base, the social structure and superstructure which reflects this base. In capitalist and revisionist societies the base and the superstructure are built on internal antagonisms, whereas in our socialist society they are free from class antagonisms and, as such, they are constantly perfected.

In our conception of the base and the superstructure, which characterize every socio-economic formation, we are guided by the theoretical principles inherited from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Our Party has correctly mastered and implemented these principles in theory and practice, that is why our country, once economically poor and culturally and educationally backward, has been transformed into a free, independent and sovereign state with a developed socialist economy, an advanced culture, educational system and science, a powerful defence potential and a correct and principled foreign policy.

The connection and interplay between the base and the superstructure, where the principal role is played by the economic base as well as the continuous revolutionization of our socialist superstructure, have convinced our people of the correctness of the road of progress towards the socialist society. The working class, its Marxist-Leninist vanguard, led us on the road to the construction of socialism, and that is why great successes have been achieved on this road.

In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the working class, the cooperative peasantry and other working people exercise power through the representative organs as well as directly. In Albania the mass of the people actively participate in governing the country, in managing the economy, in discussing laws and economic plans, in checking up on the activity of the organs of power, and so on. They have the right to air their views freely on all problems concerning society or themselves. They have been given this right by the Party under the Constitution, therefore, in socialist Albania alone, there can be talk of democracy in the real meaning of the word, which is not only proclaimed in words but guaranteed in deeds as well. These rights are formally proclaimed by the bourgeois and revisionist Constitutions, too, but in reality, they do not guarantee the premises for the implementation of the rights proclaimed. Attacking the bourgeois deception of the so-called equal rights in the capitalist state, Stalin wrote that they

"talk of equality of citizens, but they forget that there can be no genuine equality between boss and worker, between landowner and peasant so long as the former are in possession of wealth and political power in society and the latter are deprived of both, so long as the former are the exploiters and the latter the exploited."

Socialism in our country is being built successfully in the economic, cultural, educational, scientific, defence and other fields, in the interest of the broad masses of the people. Albania is steadily forging ahead towards an advanced socialist society and preserving the sovereignty of the people intact. Our Constitution reads: "All state power in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania derives from and belongs to the working people."

Our Party has always seen to it that our country is free from foreigners in every respect, that
is fully independent from the outside world and never endangered by the classes which our revolution has deprived of their economic, political and moral power.

Our Marxist-Leninist Party is inspired and nourished by the Marxist-Leninist ideology and its only aim is to raise the wellbeing of the people, to complete the construction of socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The socialist socio-economic system cannot survive without true proletarian democracy, without close and sincere cooperation between the various strata of the working masses which the Party makes conscious. Our society distinguishes itself in that it is governed by the laws of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist democracy, it is aware that the rights and duties of citizens are based on reconciling the interests of society and the individual, always giving priority to the interests of the society. The priority of the general interest of the society must guide everybody's thoughts and aspirations. For the general interests to take precedence and the blessings of our socialist system be realized, broad participation of the working masses is absolutely necessary in running the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the economy.

We can proudly say that our country is truly socialist. There is no other country in the world where citizens are so equal before the law, where differentials between workers' wages and employees' salaries are so insignificant as in our country. The ratio of remuneration between the worker and the highest ranking functionary is one to two. Foreigners ask: How is it possible that the difference between salaries of high ranking functionaries and workers' wages, is so small? The answer to such a question is not difficult. This happens in our country because the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, with its just laws, has sanctioned Marxist-Leninist principles with regard to remuneration. Referring to this problem, Lenin wrote that the turn from bourgeois democracy to proletarian democracy is «the abolition... of all monetary privileges to officials, the reduction of the remuneration of all servants of the state to the level of 'workmen's wages'». One of the measures taken by the Paris Commune, which Marx laid stress on, was the reduction of the remuneration of officials. We allow no distortion in the implementation of the principle of remuneration according to the amount of work done, hence there is no, nor will there ever be any, stratum of working people placing themselves above the others and taking decisions according to its desires and interests.

In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, not only has the way been barred by law to revisionist tendencies, but great educative work is being done to make people increasingly conscious so that every workman is remunerated according to the quantity and quality of work accomplished. Except for some degenerate elements, the bulk of the members of our society regard purifying their conscience of capitalist leftovers as a great task. In our country love and respect of man for man has been strengthened. Everyone does patient work to help his comrade correct his mistakes and condemns any violation of the laws regulating the juridical relations and socialist norms of our society.

This revolutionary situation has been achieved because there is complete freedom of speech in our country, with thorough and extensive discussions of most varied problems being held by the masses, and true proletarian democracy being implemented in a consistent manner. This accounts for our situation.

Let those who think that allegedly there is no freedom for citizens and no democracy, because there is no plurality of parties and no endless talking in the parliament in Albania, prattle whatever the fancy takes them. With us, comprehensive freedom for the working masses exists in the most appropriate and democratic forms, otherwise the country would not have flourished as it has been doing and the monolithic unity of the people around the Party could not have been achieved. Our Party people unity is the key to our victories, and it is precisely with the intention of making this golden key rust that the capitalist and revisionist enemies resort to most cynical calumnies.

If some foreigner, bourgeois or revisionist, were to listen to discussions by the representatives of the people in our People's Assembly, he would say: No debate here like in our parliaments, this is not normal. It is true that there is no debate for debate's sake in the People's Assembly, but this does
not mean that there is no debate. Political or economic problems taken to the People’s Assembly for discussion have previously been thrashed out in fiery and constructive debates and discussions, with related suggestions on the part of the working masses and their organizations, and the deputies have to attend them in order to listen to the voice of the masses and actively contribute to the discussion. There is no smooth sailing, nothing is achieved in peace, as this or that person may wish, or through dictate from above; everything is viewed from the angle of the general interest. So long as problems are discussed and thrashed out before being taken to the highest organ of the people’s power for endorsement, why should we engage in debate for debate’s sake, shout and scream at each other in our Assembly, only in order to make a show of democracy», as in the bourgeois parliaments.

It is not true that there is no debate in our organs of state power, either in the People’s Assembly or in the people’s councils at all levels. Not only in the organs of state power, but even at workers’ meetings, when a plan or law is taken up, much discussing takes place in the spirit of a broad popular debate, with people looking for conventional and unconventional means in order to find the most rational solution. Such debates are possible in no country of the capitalist and revisionist world. Hence, in these directions, too, the great superiority of the new, socialist society is evident, and we must always work for its development, strengthening and defence, as the Marxist-Leninist ideology teaches us. It is this society and ideology which make possible the development of the virtues of the people, which create the most convenient conditions for the development of the economy in the general interest, and not in the interest of a class of exploiters. Socialist society and Marxism-Leninism always show the way to finding the most perfect methods of administration of people’s material and moral values and placing them in the service of the Homeland.

In all non-socialist socio-economic formations, in all capitalist and revisionist states, society is not led by the working class, and, consequently, not by its revolutionary party nourished by the theory of Marx and Lenin. Various antagonistic classes exist there, led by their parties, which do not represent the true interests of the masses of the people, but those of the worker aristocracy or the big bourgeoisie. In their political activity, these parties pretend to quarrel with each other, and wage an allegedly «democratic» parliamentary struggle, but the bourgeois parliament «is given up to talk for the special purpose of fooling the common people».

The states ruled by the political parties of the bourgeoisie, no matter how they try to pass themselves for «democratic», have, in fact, not even a shred of true democracy or freedom, whether individual or social, in their activity.

In some of the non-socialist countries «democracy» is formally expressed in the organization of many parties which, in the course of campaigns for parliamentary elections, through their powerful influence on the working masses, deceiving them and rigging the elections and manipulating their results, manage to send a group of their deputies to parliament. The deputies of these parties are nothing but deceitful politicians specialized in defending the order in power, strengthening the positions of the capitalist state, the trusts and the monopolies. In the parliament, they pretend to stand for «freedom» and «democracy» of their country and people. No matter how much bourgeois deputies engage in idle talk about «human rights», in the final analysis, it is capitalism, the big bourgeoisie, which holds sway and now and then shares power with the middle bourgeoisie and keeps under its rule the proletariat, the poor peasantry and the rest of the working people, such as the artisans and the poor intellectuals, a social stratum whose revolutionary spirit has been weakened by unemployment and hunger. These wretched electors have to decide, as Marx says, «...each three or six years... which member of the ruling class is to misrepresent and oppress the people in parliament.»

Political parties, whether in power or in the opposition, have set up their own trade unions which they lead in allegedly democratic forms to protests or claims. All protests and claims encouraged by these parties have no political character, they are not intended to overthrow the capitalist order which ruthlessly exploits the working people, but aimed at such insignificant economic
reforms as do no great harm to the bourgeoisie (therefore, at times, it accepts them) and bring no substantial gains to the proletariat and the other oppressed and exploited strata. But all these “claims” are important for the defence of the bourgeoisie order because, through them, public opinion was the false impression that the working class and the other labouring people have their “free” say under capitalism. In order to be convinced of the deceptive nature of these actions, it is enough to mention that, when the claims of the mass of the people go beyond the guidelines set by political parties, and they insist on having the true freedoms and rights guaranteed to them, then the forces of capitalist law and order step in and drown protests in blood. World history has innumerable facts of this kind.

By referring to their stale arguments alleging that political parties have their own press, by means of which they can air their views about the country’s problems, the state power and its men, the capitalists try to back up their deceptive thesis that allegedly there is “democracy” in their social system. Exposing the “freedom of the press”, the bourgeoisie speaks about, Lenin wrote:

“...call ‘freedom of the press’ the situation in which censorship has been abolished and all parties freely publish all kinds of papers. In reality it is not freedom of the press but freedom for the rich, for the bourgeoisie to deceive the oppressed and exploited mass of the people.”

But what is in fact bourgeois democracy? It is a form of the domination by the bourgeoisie, with the rights and freedoms, though proclaimed “for everybody”, having an utterly formal and deceptive character, because in the conditions of the existence of private ownership, the socio-economic means which would ensure the actual implementation of these rights and freedoms do not exist. This bourgeois democracy allows you to make criticism of this or that person in the papers, at meetings, or in parliament, you are allowed to criticize the party in office or the government in power, you can talk on and on but this changes nothing, you cannot but confine yourself to words only, because the capitalist economic and political power, with its apparatus, is ready to hurl itself like a beast upon anyone opposing the ruling class, the financial oligarchy, in deeds. Recalling the cruelty of the French bourgeoisie in its onslaught against the workers, after the June 1848 uprising, F. Engels wrote:

“It was the first time that the bourgeoisie showed to what insane cruelties of revenge it will be goaded the moment the proletariat dares to take its stand against the bourgeoisie as a separate class, with its own interests and demands.”

Can we call “democracy” the form of bourgeois power which relies on the principle that the majority must submit to the minority? Absolutely not. This is democracy in name only, it does not benefit at all the mass of the people. This “democracy” does not ensure any true freedom for the people, it does not make a country independent of other states more powerful politically, economically or militarily. This is due to the fact that this kind of democracy is connected with other more powerful capitalist “democracies” which impose their will. Capital, national or international, imposes its own will, desires and views on the broad working masses. In the capitalist or revisionist countries, when something is presented as stemming from the “will of the working masses”, it must be understood that what really lurks behind it is the will of the worker aristocracy.

The laws approved in bourgeois and revisionist parliaments express the will of the ruling class and defend its interests. The parties of capital which make up the parliamentary majority profit from these laws. But the other parties, those which are allegedly in the opposition and often represent the interests of the worker aristocracy and the rich peasants, do not fail to make a profit either. These “opposition” parties, which pretend to stand up against the parties of the parliamentary majority which support big capital, clamour, “criticize”, and so on, yet all their clamouring and criticizing does nothing to end unemployment, emigration, or infla-
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tion. No amount of screaming by the parliamentary opposition can prevent price rises, chaos and degeneration of life, or even crime: killings, hold-ups and kidnappings, going on day and night in the streets, from becoming more and more alarming. And the capitalists and revisionists call this chaos and confusion, this freedom for evil-doers to perpetrate crimes, "genuine democracy"!

In this atmosphere characterized by absence of all morality, lives the notorious bourgeois-democratic power dominated by several bourgeois parties in the capitalist countries, or by one anti-Marxist party in the Soviet Union, Titoite Yugoslavia and some former countries of people's democracy which have turned capitalist.

Up till the time of the spread of Titoite and Khrushchevite modern revisionism, the so-called pluralism was confined to participation of such pseudo-democratic parties — radical, socialist, social-democratic and of many other similar appellations — in the oppressive capitalist power. When the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin was demolished by Khrushchevite revisionism, when Titoism laid the foundations of a capitalist regime in Yugoslavia, the other communist parties, with the exception of the Party of Labour of Albania, degenerated and turned into revisionist, reformist parties seeking close collaboration with the parties of capital, in order to govern the bourgeois-capitalist society. This is openly proclaimed today by the revisionist parties of France, Italy, Spain, Belgium, etc.

No need for explanations to prove that, by sharing state power, many bourgeois, capitalist, revisionist and fascist parties of such capitalist and imperialist countries as the United States of America and others, do not in the least transform their societies from reactionary into progressive societies. On the contrary, under imperialism, the turn is made from democracy to reaction. A society which defends and relies on the exploiting order is neither progressive nor democratic. Likewise, when state power is in the hands of a single party, which does not pursue a Marxist-Leninist line, which is not a party of the proletariat, it can never lead to the construction of socialism. On the contrary, no matter what such a party calls itself, whether "Marxist" or "Marxist-Leninist", it is in reality a party of the bourgeoisie or a fascist party, which has the duty to see to the financing of private or capitalist state property and to providing for a new class of rulers.

On the face of it, such a party must necessarily preserve some Marxist forms; it seeks to give the power it wields socialist forms and names, but its essence and intentions as well as those of its state are anti-socialist, because its objective is to realize a regressive turn of the country and re-establish capitalism. In this case, the new bourgeoisie gradually assumes power to the detriment of the proletariat and its natural allies. This process has been confirmed in Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union and in many other countries of former people's democracy, where party pluralism does not exist. In these countries capitalism has been re-established in various forms, a class of new exploiters is emerging and growing strong. If the country which goes through this regressive process is big in territory, population, or economic potential, the state of this country turns social-imperialist, and if, on the contrary, the country is small, its state becomes a satellite of world capitalism, dominated by foreign capital and neo-colonialism, which exploit the wealth of this country and the toil of its people. Thus, all the so-called democratic states, whether with a system of pluralism, or one in which a single non-Marxist-Leninist party rules, do not want to substitute the new socialist society for the old exploitative capitalist society. There can be no genuine freedom, democracy, independence or sovereignty for the people in the old society where private ownership and capitalist exploitation exist.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat alone", Lenin teaches, "can emancipate humanity from the oppression of capital, from the lies, falsehood and hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy — democracy for the rich — and establish democracy for the poor, that is, make the blessings of democracy really accessible to the workers and poor peasants...".

Capitalist exploitation cannot be realized without intensive political propaganda to befuddle
people's minds or without a number of drastic laws limit the rights of working people to the same. The large propaganda apparatus at the disposal of the bourgeoisie is at work every minute of the day against the proletariat and its dictatorship against the people who have thrown themselves into the struggle for the defence of their interests. The entire economic political potential of capitalist-revisionist countries is in the hands of mendicant magnates, wealthy people, who have laid up an expensive and strong network of state mechanisms in order to maintain their power through violence. The army, the police, agents, agents and other means of class coercion, which are merely clamp down on any opposition, individual collective, on the part of the proletariat and other working people, which stamp out people's revolts, does this goal.

The bourgeois and revisionist champions of the capitalist state present nationalization of some sectors of the economy, transport, etc., as a symptom of transformation of the capitalist system. In their opinion, this process of transformation can further, provided the proletariat becomes reasonable and moderate in its claims, obey the treasonous political parties and the trade unions manipulated by the bourgeoisie and the revisionists. These theoreticians are reformists, as they hold at the capitalist state can be transformed into a socialist state through reforms. Structural reforms have been carried out by capital in various capitalist, revisionist, or imperialist countries, but all these reforms have not brought about the victory of the revolution and the revolutionaries, on the contrary they have created a situation in which capital escaped its overthrow, and the exploiting class its gravediggers.

Modern revisionism has in the order of the day reformism, which constitutes the essence of its views, theories and practices. Reformism is the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the overthrow of capitalism through the violent revolution. The driving force of the proletarian revolution is the merciless class struggle by the class of the proletariat and its allies, the poor peasantry and the other oppressed strata, against the bourgeoisie, late monopoly capital, financial capital, whereas reformism negates the necessity of the class struggle, the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Therefore, reformism is the grave-digger of revolution, it is the opposite of Marxism-Leninism; that is why it has been adopted by the revisionist parties of such countries as the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, China, the former socialist countries as well as all revisionist parties throughout the world. In their efforts to put down the revolution and to distort the basic theses of Marxism-Leninism, some parties, which call themselves «Eurocommunist», have openly rejected the Marxist-Leninist theory. These parties, with the «Communist» Party of Spain in the lead, have abandoned Leninism. The «Communist» Party of Spain has gone so far as to drop the name «Leninist» for the bourgeoisie to understand that now the period of the overthrow of capitalism and the violent take-over of power by the proletariat is supposedly over, that the revisionist parties are being transformed into parties of the bourgeoisie and only too ready to give any other proof in order to win the trust of national and international capital.

Likewise, the question of technological and scientific progress cannot be confused with the revolutionary transformation of society, with the liberation of the proletariat and all working people from the old exploitative system, and with the establishment of the new socialist order. Advanced technology and science are the fruit of the mind of the people, of workers and intellectuals, but under exploitative social orders, technology and science serve the strengthening of the economic, political and ideological positions of ruling classes inside and outside their countries. Development of science and technology, alongside the increase in the number of specialists, cannot heal the ulcers of capitalism, as the bourgeoisie and revisionist ideologists make out. Experience shows that productive forces may develop and science and technology may progress, but the violent socialist revolution for the transition from capitalism to socialism is irreplaceable.

Our Marxist-Leninist theory has made it quite clear that transition to socialist society is achieved not by remaining within the context of the capi-
talist order, but only by overthrowing this order and its institutions from their foundations, by setting up the state power of the proletariat, which is led by its vanguard — the Marxist-Leninist communist party.

The policy of our Party and state support the oppressed rising in revolution, and fights the oppressors who are doomed to disappear as a class. Our Party states openly that the wiping out of the exploiters can be achieved with no other means than through war, violent revolution, and not through reforms of the structure or the superstructure. For the complete and genuine liberation of the working class and all working people of the world to be achieved, it is necessary to overthrow the old power from its foundations, and establish the new state of the proletariat instead.

We are against decentralization of the socialist economy and for an irreconcilable fight against the capitalist-revisionist theory of «self-administration», «self-government of enterprises», which Titoism and its supporters sought to smuggle into our country through the traitors Begir Balluku, Abdy Këllez, Koço Theodhosi, and others. The socialist economy of our country develops on scientific bases, by a unified general plan, aimed at satisfying the material and cultural needs of society. Our Constitution has it: «The state organizes, manages, and develops all the economic and social life by a unified general plan...».

It is the right and duty of our state to supervise the implementation of this plan at all links and in all indices. This is realized through workers' and peasants' control, through control by the state, the Party and the organizations of the masses, which are forms of proletarian control.

Of course, this effective control is based on complete freedom of criticism and on a high degree of self-criticism, which serve the progress of work, a correct understanding of tasks, and the communist education of people. Checking up on the fulfillment of planned tasks is a complex problem of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the policy of the Party, our Marxist-Leninist ideology, co-ordinated with all the great work done under the leadership of the Party.

The capitalist bourgeoisie and the revisionists attack us for relying powerfully on the dictatorship of the proletariat. They accuse us communists of allegedly being disregardful of the personality of man in our society! This is a gross calumny meant to cover up the brutal oppression of the proletariat and the working people on the part of capital. Antagonist classes are the source of the oppression of the personality of man and the working masses. On the contrary, if there ever exists a social system which really frees man from anguish, worries, petty feelings, old idealist leftovers, this can be only the socialist social system which wipes out exploiting classes, private ownership, and puts an end to the exploitation of man by man.

The demolition of the power of exploiting classes, which lord it over the working people barbarously, and the establishment of the power of the working class frees man and raises him to a high pedestal, encourages him to work with a will, to give leadership with a pure conscience, to criticize and praise duly. Socialism sets man in a position to feel and see for himself that he is not isolated from the world, that he is a member of a new society, which has as its aim the welfare of the individual within the framework of the development of the entire society. In this society man is raised to his rightful place, on the basis of his ability and the work he does, he is free to work and enjoy the fruit of his toil. Freedom for the individual in our society is inconceivable for the bourgeoisie, the capitalist or the revisionist, because they measure the personality of man with their own yardstick of the standardization and manipulation of people.

By accepting the independence of the individual from society, the exploiting classes intend to ensure privileges for people of their own class, to enable them to acquire knowledge, to enjoy freedoms and wield competences and rule over the others. Our system has struck at the roots of bourgeois individualism and created unlimited possibilities for the individual and society to develop their abilities and enjoy all constitutional rights and freedoms.

Our course, capitalism and its propaganda are and will be at war with our socialist reality, with our dictatorship of the proletariat, because they
cannot put up with our morality which does not permit the economic, political and moral exploitation of man and his freedoms to be trampled underfoot. But our socialist reality cannot be obscured by any idealistic propaganda and "theory", capitalist or revisionist.

The capitalist world has plunged into a great crisis. The advocates of the bourgeois order, the bourgeois economists and sociologists, compelled by reality, see that the theses of Marx and Lenin in capitalism and imperialism have not grown outlived, that in the present capitalist society capitalism and imperialism are in a process of deterioration, just as Marx and Lenin predicted, but, in order to emerge from the crisis, these champions of the old order loudly adverize the "fight against terrorism", for the prevention of the revolts and the revolution of the masses of the working people against the capitalist order, or the fight against "riot", as they call them. Otherwise, these sociologists and economists of the bourgeoisie cry in despair, capitalism cannot emerge from the crisis and "stabilize" its system.

The capitalist and revisionist countries, where they pretend that man allegedly enjoys all democratic freedoms and "blessings", are seething with mass protests. If there is real freedom and the masses enjoy all material blessings, as they pretend, then why are the millions of people continually turning out in the street and clashing with the police of the bourgeoisie? It is plain that the masses are protesting because their life is far from good, that they suffer economically, politically and in many other directions, therefore they try to overthrow the state which is against genuine democracy.

The bourgeois state of the period of the domination of state monopoly capitalism seeks to give the impression that the law there is made by the parliament, where various parties, allegedly elected by universal suffrage, are represented. But it is common knowledge that the system of elections and the many restrictions imposed on it by law enable only those political parties which are the strongest pillars of capital always to gain the majority in the parliament. The parliamentary game in these countries is a mere masquerade, it is a means serving the power of the bourgeoisie to give the false impression that there is "democracy", and to present this false democracy as real. The high organs of state power and of the capitalist and revisionist administration are in the hands of the "delegates" of a power which is not sanctioned by law, which formally has nothing to do with the government, but which governs, in fact. This is the power of the big capitalists, who, through the power of their money, have delegated to the government or to the parliament their men-of-all-work to defend their interests from the "trouble-makers", from those who rise in revolt and want to recover the rights which the capitalist have robbed them of. To all this fraud the champions of capitalism and revisionism give the name of "genuine democracy".

Lenin said that, at given moments, the tribune of the bourgeois parliament may be utilized by the revolutionaries as one of the forms of their legal struggle in order to expose the capitalist system. However, at the same time he stressed that this should not create the illusion among the communists and the masses that power can be seized through the parliamentary road.

In the bourgeois-capitalist and revisionist society "parliamentary cretinism" is that form of "democracy" which the bourgeoisie uses to conceal the oppressing nature of its own state power, which it wields through the majority of the seats it secures in elections. But, in addition to state power, the bourgeoisie wields also big extra-state power, that is, through monopolies, trusts, joint companies and their investments inside and outside its own country. This power of big private property constitutes the economic force which appropriates the toil of the working people inside or outside the country and is in a position to buttress the superstructure which suits the rule of ferocious capital better. Bourgeois superstructure is a means for the implementation of a policy of enslavement of the peoples, a military, ideological and political force against the proletariat, the poor peasantry and working intelligentsia, it also endeavours to bring about the degeneration and destruction of the norms of proletarian morality, in order to spread the rotten bourgeois morality in the real meaning of the word.

The bourgeois parliament opens its doors to the "elected", but the dictatorship of the bourgeo-
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...does its own job; there they carry on endless discussions, voting follows voting and things continue to the liking of those who make the law, the rich, the owners of trusts, monopolies, and the banks, whose power, the second capitalist state, manipulates the parliament and the government, in spite of the fact that such manipulation is not stipulated by the Constitution in force. Proceeding from these reasons, Lenin wrote:

"In every parliamentary country... the real business of "state" is performed behind the scenes and is carried on by the departments, chancelleries and General Staffs." 3

In Albania, the national liberation councils which were created under the leadership of the Party at the time of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War and strengthened after Liberation and during the period of the construction of socialism, are organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, elected by the people and representing the will and desires of working people. The representative organs of the people in the state power are the People’s Assembly and people’s councils. Under the Constitution of the People’s Socialist Republic of Albania «the representative organs direct and control the activity of all other state organs, which are responsible before them and render account to them». With us, democracy is not a game to mislead the people, on the contrary it is put into practice. Here, there is no dual power, one recognized by the law and the other existing de facto, here there is only one unified state power, which stems from the people and belongs to them. Our state is the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which has made the laws and created its own revolutionary apparatus, its new method and style at work, which expresses and defends the interests of the working people.

In our country it is not violence which makes people observe the laws of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but their full conviction that the observance of laws benefits them and society. Our people implement the laws in a conscious manner, because they participate on a large scale in their drafting.

In the capitalist and revisionist countries the law is enforced through the savage violence of the bourgeoisie, there cannot be talk of conscious implementation of the laws by the people as long as their content is in open contradiction with the interests of the people. Speaking of the injustice of the bourgeois law, Marx says:

"Each paragraph of the Constitution contains its own antithesis... liberty in the general phrase, abrogation of liberty in the marginal note". 4

The citizen in these countries is a commodity and is treated precisely as a commodity, whereas in our country, the citizen of the Republic is highly appreciated, he plays a great role in society. For the citizen to play this role in a more active manner, it is necessary that he raises himself still higher ideologically, culturally, and scientifically, and becomes conscious of his own role.

Comrades,

The task of the Democratic Front is to ceaselessly fight for the defence and development of our democracy, this major victory of the Party and the people, and to implement the laws and norms regulating socialist life.

It must work unceasingly to solicit the opinion of the masses, ever better, to help them have their say on all state and social problems, so that the workers and peasants exercise their control over the state, economic and other organs.

Our Democratic Front is not an amorphous, lifeless organization. On the contrary, it is an organization with such political dynamism as to see every problem from the revolutionary angle and find the most suitable forms for its solution in a revolutionary manner.

The Democratic Front is led by the Party of Labour of Albania, which is the vanguard of the working class and expresses those ideas, those aspirations and that policy which bring benefit to the Albanian people, while it exposes and fights everything which may harm our socialist Homeland. Thus, the policy of the Front is a monolithic, consistent policy, because in the Front there are no antagonist political trends, no various parties de-
The political struggle of the Front tallies to the hilt with the policy of the Party, with the policy of our socialist state. The policy of the Democratic Front of Albania reflects and supports the revolutionary law of our People's Socialist Republic.

The enemies of our country abroad think that the policy of the Democratic Front of Albania is an inert, stereotyped policy devoid of content. They want the policy of our Front to be a confused and contradictory policy, a product of various tendencies, of contending views and aims, because this alone, they claim, is democracy. These opponents of our Front, our revolutionary organization, are not in a position to understand that when the people are united, as our people are, they can and actually hold correct, clear and unified political views on principles and objectives, and, when we say unified, we mean not a lifeless and stereotyped policy, but a policy which is in a position to give solution to all problems, whether complicated internal problems or very intricate external ones, through debate and discussion.

Where all this strength and maturity of the Democratic Front comes from? Precisely from the fact that the contents of this organization are really democratic, because our Front is an organization of the broad masses led by a Marxist-Leninist Party, which represents the most perfect democracy, the genuine democracy of the proletariat. The proletariat and its party are always in war and in revolution for the construction of a happy society for the people, a free society, a democratic society, a society which with every passing day rises higher and higher in its economic and intellectual development, in its healthy proletarian knowledge and morality. And this is done through continuous creative work, which calls for strenuous efforts and democratic debate.

Our Democratic Front pursues this policy and fights to achieve these objectives. The implementation of such policy cannot be the work of an organization created only for the sake of appearances, whose aim would be to mislead the masses of the people at home and abroad, and to show that there exists a political organization, at a time when such a thing is non-existent.

How does our Democratic Front see world developments? Our Front sees them with a realistic eye. This means that it is orientated by materialistic dialectics, by historical materialism, it relies on our scientific ideology, on Marxism-Leninism. It is precisely this which does not allow the policy of the Party, which is pursued also by the Front, to be a baseless, wavering, pragmatic and unprincipled policy. The policy of the Democratic Front is, therefore, a policy of a class character, and when we say of a class character we mean that it has always present in mind the class struggle being waged within the country and in the international arena, and bases itself on it.

Our Democratic Front encourages sincere love for the peoples of the world and in the first place the peoples seeking liberation, languishing under the bondage and heel of capital. This policy of the Front gives all-out support to these peoples for their aspirations. With its invariably correct, humanitarian and revolutionary word, our Democratic Front never hides the truth about the materialist development of history from the oppressed and exploited peoples and classes of the world, who aspire towards freedom, genuine democracy and sovereignty, it never hides from them the fact that their victory cannot be achieved without fierce class battles, without efforts, leading at times even to bloodshed, against the capitalist oppressors and exploiters. This is the basis of the Marxist-Leninist policy of the Democratic Front, which is also the basis of the policy of our Party of Labour.

The policy of the Front is a policy which supports, and complies with, the interests of the struggle which the world proletariat, the long-suffering and oppressed peasantry, are waging; it supports the struggle of the poor people of the town, the progressive intelligentsia, youth, all those who want to build a dignified, worthy and decent life, to win everything by their sweat, which must not serve to fill the pockets of the thieves, the capitalists.

In our policy we do not budge from these principles. Our Democratic Front cherishes feelings of love for the peoples of the world and so do they. Albania is a typical example of a small country which enjoys great sympathy everywhere in
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the world, which builds socialism by relying on its own forces, «frying in its own grease», as we Albanians say. Its aim is not to instigate wars, to conquer countries and peoples, hence its people desire to live in terms of friendship with other peoples, that is why their sympathy for the Albanian people is great, all too evident and tangible.

The various peoples of the world live under regimes different from ours; they are not governed by such a regime as the dictatorship of the proletariat which is established in our country. The governments there do not pursue the same policy as ours. Therefore, without budging from its basic principles, our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and consequently, our Democratic Front, with the Party in the lead and inspired by it, is able to make the necessary analyses of the evolving situations in the world, the individual characteristics of the various states, the aims and objectives of these states towards their own peoples, other peoples, and especially our people. This helps build a correct and sound policy, and not a policy based on passing circumstances. Relying on these universal principles, our Party and Democratic Front can distinguish between the degree of the well-wishing aims of one bourgeois state from the degree of the well-wishing aims of another bourgeois state towards Albania and towards other small nations in general, they can assess the danger posed by one big capitalist power in comparison with another big capitalist power, as well as the danger it poses to other smaller capitalist states, they know how to see the great danger posed by the imperialist and social-imperialist super-powers, in general, and to adopt the proper stand towards all of them. The stand adopted by our Party, our socialist state and the Democratic Front of Albania is not opportunist and unfounded, nor is it dictated by somebody else, it is a principled, well-wishing and sincere stand. It is stern and irreconcilable towards enemies, but well-wishing and above-board towards those bourgeois states which pursue a policy of friendship with socialist Albania and adhere to some democratic principles, allow some reforms, and so on, within their own countries. We have our own views on the «democracy» that exists in these countries as well as these kinds of «reforms», their content and the aim they are instituted for. This is our right which nobody can deny us, just as nobody can prevent us from expressing our views freely. This is what we precisely do when we explain to the peoples theoretically and politically the content of «democracy» and «reforms», their limitations, character, and so on, in a bourgeois state. We do this without interfering in others' internal affairs, because, after all, it is up to the peoples of various countries to judge for themselves the value of these phenomena in their own states.

Nevertheless, our Party and Democratic Front make the necessary distinctions, and they do this to defend not only the interests of their people and country, but those of the other peoples, too, for they never separate the general interests of their country and people from those of the peoples of the world and the world proletariat. Herein lies the great and mighty truth expressed by the policy of our Party and the Democratic Front, herein lies the source of the support the policy of our state enjoys in the world.

Our policy does not resemble the policy of the bourgeois and revisionist capitalist states, which is like the yellow leaf turning to the autumn wind. No, our policy has not turned nor will it ever turn from the principle under which we must and will be brothers with the peoples, united with them for our same aims: true freedom, democracy, sovereignty and independence; we are linked with the peoples in the struggle against the oppressors and exploiters of the peoples, in the struggle against those who instigate and prepare predatory imperialist wars, waged at the expense of the peoples. Ours is an unchanging policy and we will never budge from this policy, whatever the form of government this of that people are under.

Therefore, the declaration by socialist Albania that it wishes to live in good friendship especially with the neighbouring countries, and that it regards their peoples as brothers, is an undeniable truth. We are pleased to see that some leaderships of these and other countries, though under different social regimes, pursue a well-wishing policy towards our country. For its part, the Albanian
proletarian state, too, pursues a well-wishing policy of mutual interest, that is, it duly distinguishes among those various bourgeois states which are progressive and well-disposed to it. We want to have similar relations with all those states, big or small, which respect the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and desire to maintain friendly economic and cultural relations with our country, in spite of the fact that they may be opposed to it on a series of issues, just as we do on a series of questions of principle.

We declare that ill-intentioned relations are always harmful and fraught with danger, and it is difficult to conceal them. Life and the history of mankind have taught our people to be always on their guard against relations behind which perfidy lurks. There are already many individuals or official circles abroad, who know that the Albanian people have always condemned perfidy, for it has never been and is not in their character. We condemned the perfidy and treachery committed by the Titoites, the Soviet revisionists as well as the Chinese revisionist leaders against Marxism-Leninism. Our rupture with these reactionary revisionist groups was due to profound ideological and political reasons and not to trifles. They were not of a national character only, because they affected not only Albania's economic interests, no; they had and have more of an international character, because they violated the great principles for which the peoples, the world proletariat and progressive mankind are fighting.

The policy of our Party and Front has been and is known to young and old at home and abroad, therefore it is not necessary to go in detail about it in this speech. I would only like to drive home especially to some circles abroad that the policy of our Party and the Democratic Front of Albania will not vacillate or depart, however little, from its correct, definite and permanent principles based on Marxism-Leninism. Our policy will always be a class and principled policy complying with the lofty interests of our country, socialism and the liberation struggle of the peoples. Our people will always fight unwaveringly against US imperialism, Soviet socialimperialism and all reactionaries; nobody must cherish the smallest illusion that social-

ist Albania will change its stand towards them. Likewise, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian state will fight and expose Chinese socialimperialism which has taken sides with US imperialism and world reaction in its struggle against the peoples, especially against socialism in Albania.

Besides, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has pursued and pursues a well-wishing policy towards those states which wish our state well, do not seek to harm anybody, just as we do, never trying or intending to harm their peoples, but always wishing to be in harmony and co-operation for the sake of the lofty aims and ardent desires of all the peoples who aspire to liberation, freedom, democracy, independence, sovereignty and socialism.

Comrades,

The campaign for the election of deputies to the People's Assembly is a great political action of our organization of the Democratic Front. On this occasion, let us, together with all the other mass organizations, go all-out to achieve still greater results at work. With firm confidence in the correct line of the Party and the brilliant prospects opened to our people, let the political enthusiasm and mobilization of the workers, peasants, youth, the women, our entire working people, burst out powerfully in this campaign in order to crown these elections with full success.

LONG LIVE OUR HEROIC PEOPLE!
LONG LIVE THE PARTY!
LONG LIVE THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT!

2) V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 25, p. 495 (Alb. ed.).
5) V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 25, p. 444 (Alb. ed.).
MESSAGE OF GREETINGS
OF THE CENTRAL COMM
OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA
ENVER HOXHA ON HIS 70

Dear Comrade ENVER,

Today on Your 70th birthday all the communists and the working people of our country feel a great joy and express their ardent and unbounded love for you, by closing their ranks more tightly around the Central Committee of the Party with you at the head, in order to make our socialist Homeland even more prosperous and strong.

On the 70th anniversary of your birth, the Central Committee of the Party, on behalf of all the communists and the whole people of Albania, send you their most ardent revolutionary greetings and from their hearts wish you a long, long life. May you live as long as the mountains of Albania, in order to lead us, as always, with the highly-principled Marxist-Leninist determination which characterizes you, on the glorious road of socialism and communism.

Your life as a revolutionary, Comrade Enver, is the life of a loyal son of the people, of a son who, for more than half a century, has poured out all his energies in consistent struggle in the service of the people, the Homeland, the revolution, and socialism.

From the first days of your youth, when you were still a school-boy, you hurled yourself into struggle in defence of the lofty interests of the people, against the social injustices of that time, against the Zogite feudal-bourgeois regime. Advancing on this revolutionary road, you have always served the people loyally and have fought courageously for the interests of the people and

the Homeland. From the time of your early youth you embraced the Marxist-Leninist ideas and, with exemplary revolutionary courage, you set to work for their dissemination in Albania and for the creation of a genuine communist organization.

In the grave and gloomy years of the Italian fascist occupation, when the Albanian people were faced with the question of whether they would rise in armed struggle for the liberation of the country or would submit to the invaders and be eliminated as a nation, you, at the head of a handful of bold and devoted revolutionaries, heroically overcame all the obstacles of illegality as well as those raised by the elements hostile to Marxism-Leninism among the ranks of the communist groups of that time and, on November 8, 1941, founded the Communist Party of Albania, thus giving the Albanian people the revolutionary staff which was to lead them in the uprising and the revolution, to true freedom and socialism.

For 37 consecutive years right from its founding, you, at the head of the Central Committee of the Party, have led the Party and the people with courage and heroism, with unbounded dedication and lofty Marxist-Leninist principles.

During the National Liberation War, our people wrote the most glorious page in their ancient history. In it they displayed their lofty virtues of valour and courage, their freedom-loving aspirations, which they have maintained indomitably through the centuries. But these virtues erupted like a volcano because in the forefront was the
THE OFFER OF THE PARTY TO COMRADE BIRTHDAY

Party of the communists, because at the head of the heroic partisans stood the Commander, Comrade Enver Hoxha. The Party and you knew how to realize and unite the old Albanian traditions of people's uprisings with the Leninist content of the revolutionary struggle.

At the head of the Party and the people, you continue to implement the truth of Marxism-Leninism in the concrete conditions of our country, resolutely and consistently. Your profound Marxist-Leninist understanding of the laws of revolution, your absolute confidence in the indomitable strength of the people and their inexhaustible creative abilities, the steel will and courage of the highest level to carry the revolution through to the end, which characterize all your revolutionary work, as the son of the people and the loyal disciple of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, have been embodied in the creation of the people's state power in Albania. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which is led by the Party with you at the head, has become the guarantee for the freedom and independence of our people in their unaltering march on the road of socialism.

Your name, Comrade Enver, is indissolubly linked with the entire life and activity of the Party, with the people, the Homeland, socialism. The organization and leadership of the National Liberation War and the carrying of it through to complete victory with the establishment of the people's state power; the accomplishment of the great people's democratic reforms and the successful going on to the socialist road; the wiping out of illiteracy and the age-old backwardness; the great revolutionary socialist transformations made in the economy, in education and culture and in social life, which turned Albania into a socialist country with its own socialist economy, with its own socialist culture, with impregnable defence; the high level of respect for and the prestige of our Party and Homeland in the international arena — all these together constitute the great deed of the Party, loyally and heroically led by its Central Committee with you, Comrade Enver, at the head.

Our Party and people have had to fight not only against innumerable difficulties to overcome the great backwardness inherited from the past, but also against numerous internal and external enemies.

The struggle of the Party and people for the liberation of the country, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of socialism are characterized by the fierce and extremely complicated clashes which have always ended with the defeat of enemies and our victory. The most important among them are, especially, the armed struggle against the Italian and German invaders and the local traitors, who placed themselves in the latters' service; the struggle against the conspiracy of the Yugoslav revisionist leadership and its agents in Albania, such as Koçi Xoxe and others, who intended to liquidate the independence of Albania and transform it simply into...
a Yugoslav province; the struggle against the conspiracy of American and British imperialism and their lackeys for the overthrow of the people’s state power and for the re-establishment of capitalism in Albania; the struggle against the great conspiracy of the Soviet Khrushchevite revisionists to turn Albania into a vassal state of Russian social-imperialism; the struggle against the Chinese revisionists, who sought to subjugate socialist Albania in the interests of their hegemonic and social-imperialist plans; the liquidation of the major plot of putschists and saboteurs led by the traitors Beqir Balluku, Abdyl Këllezi and others, who had become the spokesmen and blind tools of foreign states, that sought to subjugate Albania, to liquidate socialism and to re-establish capitalism in our country.

From all the fierce class battles our Party emerged triumphant and the enemies were defeated, because the Central Committee with you at the head, has always been vigilant and resolute, in steel like unity of thought and action, and has allowed nothing to be put above the people’s freedom, above the sovereignty of the Homeland, and above the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The struggle which the Party and you, Comrade Enver, have waged against internal and external enemies, has been the salvation of the people and socialism.

The class struggle in Albania, wisely and patiently led by the Party and waged according to your teachings, has been and remains a great motive force of our society, a decisive factor in the steel-like unity of the people and their unity around the Party, a reliable protection of the freedom and independence of the country, and the ideological and moral purity of our people.

Only a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, such as our Party of Labour is, with a correct line and with confidence in the strength of the people could have embarked on such a colossal undertaking as the rapid industrialization of the country, the complete collectivization of agriculture, the revolution in the field of ideology, education and culture, the complete emancipation of women, etc. The consistent implementation of the line of the Party, with unwavering confidence in the strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the abilities of the party members as leaders, organizers, and mobilizers, in the talents of cadres, in the self-denying work of our workers, peasants and people’s intelligentsia, tempered by the Party with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, with your irreplaceable teachings, alone made it possible that among us there is no citadel which the communists cannot take.

When around us and all over the world we see the grave crisis which has afflicted the capitalist and revisionist countries, the correct economic line of our Party for the industrialization of the country and modernization of agriculture, the great force of the principle of self-reliance so strongly defended by you, stands out with even greater majesty.

Under your direct care, Comrade Enver, the age-old dream of our people for light and knowledge, for education and culture, has been realized. The new Albania can be proud of the high level it has attained in the general education of the people and in the training of cadres.

Under your careful leadership, the defence of the Homeland has been strengthened and our borders have become impregnable. Your military thinking and theoretical and practical concepts on people’s war, based on the Marxist-Leninist military science, on the brilliant fighting traditions of our people and the world revolutionary experience, are the foundation on which the strategy and tactics, the organization and leadership of our people’s defence, which have made our country inviolable, have been built.

You, dear Comrade Enver Hoxha, gave the Albanian people their first Constitution under which they reconstructed their country and healed the wounds of the war, collectivized agriculture, built their socialist industry, and achieved all these major successes in all fields of activity that the entire world knows of. Likewise, you gave our people their second Constitution, the most advanced Constitution in the world, in which the victories achieved are consecrated and brilliant prospects are opened to the uninterrupted socialist development of our country. All the great Marxist-Leninist principles of socialist life are included in our new Constitution. This shows the special concern of the Central Committee of the Party and you personally to ensure the protection and strengthening of the dictatorship of the prole-
In your intensive revolutionary activity at the head of the Party, you, dear Comrade Enver Hoxha, continue, as always, to wage an all-round struggle for the revolutionization of the Party and the entire life of the country. The measures for the deepening of the ideological revolution, the uprooting of alien remnants and influences, for the revolutionization of the base and the entire superstructure of our socialist society, have barred the way to the emergence of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism in our country.

The Party and the entire people consider your teachings, your great, theoretical and practical work, which covers all fields of the life of our Party and people, the entire 37 years of the history of the Party and the struggle of the people for freedom and socialism, as an outstanding contribution of great value to the general treasury of Marxism–Leninism.

Your activity of historic significance, as a leader at the head of the Central Committee, has ensured for our Party the steel-like unity of its ranks, has secured its indissoluble links with the people. All the victories of our Party and people bear the stamp of your Marxist–Leninist personality, as a consistent revolutionary leader, the loyal continuer of the immortal work of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Dear Comrade Enver Hoxha,

Your life and activity as an unwavering communist, as a proletarian leader and teacher, are and will continue to be for us, your comrades and co-fighters, a lofty example of inspiration in our work and struggle for the consistent implementation of the Marxist–Leninist line of the Party, for the preservation and strengthening of its monolithic unity, for the ceaseless enhancement of its leading role.

Once again, dear Comrade Enver Hoxha, from the bottom of our hearts we wish you good health and long life to lead us, the Party and the people, as always, in the great battles that await us against imperialism and revisionism, towards new heights of socialism, for the glory of Marxism–Leninism.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

Tirana, October 16, 1978
ENVER HOXHA

ALBANIA IS FORGING AHEAD CONFIDENTLY AND UNAIDED

The unwavering stand of Albanian is resolute and correct, because it is guided by the theory of Marx, Engels.

DEAR COMRADE ELECTORS,

I AM VERY HAPPY TO HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO MEET YOU AGAIN, DEAR MOTHERS AND FATHERS, SISTERS AND BROTHERS, WORKERS, INTELLECTUALS, MEN OF OUR GLORIOUS ARMED FORCES, AND BOYS AND GIRLS, TO TALK OVER OUR COMMON PROBLEMS ON THE EVE OF SUCH AN HISTORIC EVENT FOR OUR ENTIRE PEOPLE AND THEIR STATE POWER AS THE ELECTIONS OF THE DEPUTIES TO THE PEOPLE’S ASSEMBLY.


THE SITUATION IN OUR COUNTRY IS REVOLUTIONARY AND OPTIMISTIC. WE LIVE IN AN ADVANCED, FREE AND DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST SOCIETY.

WHAT HAS MADE OUR SOCIETY ADVANCE SO GREATLY, SO THAT THE WHOLE APPEARANCE OF OUR COUNTRY HAS CHANGED, ALL THIS INDUSTRY HAS BEEN SET UP, AGRICULTURE HAS ADVANCED, EDUCATION AND CULTURE HAVE DEVELOPED TO UNPRECEDENTED PROPORTIONS, AND TENS OF THOUSANDS OF HIGHER AND MEDIUM CADRES AND TENS OF THOUSANDS OF SKILLED WORKERS HAVE BEEN TRAINED? WHAT HAS MADE OUR LIFE SO FINE THAT EVERYONE, FROM THE CHILDREN TO THE ELDERLY, FEEL SO HAPPY?

ALL THESE ACHIEVEMENTS HAVE THEIR SOURCE IN OUR SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYSTEM, IN THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, IN OUR FREE, DEMOCRATIC, INDEPENDENT AND SOVEREIGN LIFE, IN THE HEROIC WORK OF OUR PEOPLE. IT IS THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA, THE UNERRING MARXIST–LENINIST GUIDE TO OUR BRILLIANT FUTURE, WHICH HAS BROUGHT US ALL THESE BLESSINGS.

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

As you know, here the plans for the development of the economy and culture are worked out from below up, by the broad masses of the work-

Speech delivered at the meeting with the electors of constituency № 209, Tirana, November 8, 1978.
ing people. The masses make many valuable proposals, raise complaints and criticism over failures to fulfil the plans, and suggest their creative ideas to the Central Committee of the Party and the Government. In this way true proletarian democracy is expressed in theory and practice on the vital, cardinal issues. The working masses give the State this great assistance because they love it wholeheartedly, because they know the economic potential both of their places of work and of the Republic as a whole, through the clear orientations issued by the Central Committee of the Party and the Government, not only when the plan is being drafted but continuously, during the whole period of its implementation.

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

The same thing can be said of the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries. Thus, for example, in the Yugoslav system of «self-administration», which is publicized as a system in which everything is allegedly in the hands of the workers, the worker is deprived of any power. In the enterprise which he allegedly runs himself, the worker, in fact, decides nothing. There, the director and his staff decide on the plan, investments, the way income is distributed, who should be favoured and who should not, etc. The workers of the «self-administrative» enterprise know nothing at all about the plan of the republic, or the plans of other enterprises, because they have no interest in this question. There, the enterprises compete with one another in order to make profit for those who run them. From this struggle waged there in the fields of production and marketing the workers gain nothing. On the contrary, their interests are undermined by competition, and the bourgeois spirit of localism and individualism is widespread among them.

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

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

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

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

Our Marxist-Leninist Party and our socialist State are irreconcilably opposed to and in struggle with imperialism, be it American, Soviet, Chinese, Japanese, or any other. We are opposed to that socio-economic formation in which base and superstructure serve to exploit and oppress the peoples. Our policy is such because it is a policy of proletarian principles. To follow the developments in the world with a proletarian class eye means to defend the interests of the working people, to side with the oppressed, those who want to overthrow the old world and to replace it with a new world in which people will live in complete freedom and genuine democracy. We are supporters of the revolution, of that revolution which brings about qualitative progressive changes in the life of the peoples and mankind as a whole. We do not cloak our stand with clichés, nor do we make concessions to the detriment of the revolution, socialism, or people's liberation.

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

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

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

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

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

The capitalists and revisionists have called the policy of Albania «anachronistic» and are trying, with such artificial labels, which never find approval among the peoples of the world, to make it ineffective on world public opinion. Why do they make these efforts? They do this because our policy is the policy of the new social order, socialism, which is the dream of the proletariat and all the oppressed of the world, who constitute a colossal force which has risen to its feet. This force is terrifying to the capitalists, the monopolists and their ideologists, hidden in the host of parties with various names, ranging from «democratic» to «communist». And it will become even more terrifying in the future. That is why our policy upsets those who are against the proletariat and their interests.

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

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

Although they may be of the one nature, the States have distinctive features in their policies, and these must be examined closely in order to define correct stands. It is not right to lump all States together or classify them in «three worlds» and advocate the alliance of these «three worlds» against one member of the «first world», Soviet social-imperialism. When we, as Marxist-Leninists, speak about the world and its different States, we judge them according to dialectical and historical materialism, and not arbitrarily, therefore we are against the division which the revisionist theory of «three worlds» makes.

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

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

It is clear to our Party, to our socialist State, to the Marxist-Leninists, the proletariat and all the peoples of the world, that imperialism, social-imperialism, world capitalism and reaction of every hue are fighting to maintain their domination over the peoples, whereas the peoples are fighting to cast off the yoke of hated rulers and to take power into their own hands. This is a relentless fight which will end in the victory of the peoples, and which, of course, will not be attained immediately, without sacrifices and bloodshed.

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

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

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

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

We Marxists-Leninists, on the contrary, are aligned with the revolution. We are aligned with the peoples who are fighting to gain their freedom, independence, and sovereignty, therefore we stand resolutely on the side of the peoples who are hurling themselves into revolutionary and national liberation wars to liberate themselves from every kind of bondage. We are committed to the common struggle of the peoples against imperialism, social-imperialism, and reaction, and as such are opposed to the «theoreticians» of «non-alignment» who beg aims from the imperialists and are for the preservation of the status quo.

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

We say openly, also, that the beautiful words about the problems of disarmament that are spoken at the United Nations Organization, at the Conferences of Helsinki, of Belgrade and elsewhere, are sheer demagogy, just «beating the air». Disarmament can never be achieved through the desire of imperialism which has established its monopoly in strategic weapons and its superiority in conventional weapons, not in order to disarm but to suppress the revolution and the peoples, to unleash aggressive wars. Many years ago Stalin said, «The bourgeois States are furiously arming and rearming. What for? Certainly not for friendly chats, but for war. And the imperialists need war, for it is the only means for the redivision of the world, the redivision of markets, sources of raw materials and spheres for the investment of capital.»¹ This opinion of Stalin's is more relevant than ever today.
Disarmament will be achieved only when the peoples rise in revolution, only when they wrest the weapons from the hands of the imperialists and make them ineffective. If such a situation is achieved, then imperialism, the strength of which lies in these weapons, will give up the ghost.

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

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

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

From the Letter our Party and Government addressed to the party and government of China, you know that the Chinese revisionist leadership cut off all credits and aid in a brutal and hostile manner, withdrew its economic and military specialists from our country and failed to fulfil its obligations on a number of projects for which contracts had been signed in official agreements. Under the agreements it had signed and international norms China was obliged to complete these projects. Now it does not want even to carry on mutually beneficial trade with us.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

They were not in favour of talks and consultations with us, because they wanted us to accept their views and dictate without any discussions. As you know, the Chinese leadership, through Cho En-lai and company, several times tried to blackmail us in order to impose a military alliance with Yugoslavia and Rumania on us. Of course this alliance was planned to achieve the aims of China against the Soviet Union in the Balkan area and to instigate an imperialist world war. We rejected these attempts of the Chinese. But they continued to plot against socialist Albania, against the Party of Labour and its leadership. They tried to achieve their ends by inciting and organizing the treacherous sabotage activity of the putschist group of Beqir Bajraktari, Abdyl Kellezi, Keço Theodhosi, etc., whom our Party and people put in their proper place. So we made the mines explode in the hands of the Chinese. Then, the Chinese leaders were left with nothing else they could do except to resort to their final means, which they thought would have a major effect in Albania and throughout the world: they took the hostile, arbitrary and perfidious decision, cut of their credits and withdrew their specialists from Albania.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

China, which aspires to become a new superpower, continues to develop its policy of hegemony over the entire world. This is the context in which the treaty it signed with Japan must be seen, that is, its alliance with one hegemonic power against another hegemonic power, the Soviet Union. Like the alliance with US imperialism and the capitalist bourgeoisie, this treaty, too, under the present conditions, spells no good for the Chinese people and the other peoples. On the contrary, it incites war, it has a racist character. Only a few days after the signing of the Sino-Japanese Treaty, Teng Hsiao-ping suggested to the rabid Japanese militarists that they should strengthen «their defence potential» and remain under the «nuclear umbrella» of US imperialism, because such a thing is allegedly of «mutual benefit» to both countries, Japan and China!

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

Only brainless fools can be taken in by the intrigues of the Chinese leadership, and consequently spark off the catastrophe. We Marxist-Leninists must oppose this catastrophe, not only with our vigilance, but also with our active deeds, in order to prevent it from happening, because if it does, the burden of it will fall on the peoples. It is the peoples who pay the price for these expansionist ambitions of a handful of capitalists, be they American, Soviet, German, Japanese, or Chinese, with their own blood. The plans for war cannot be foiled if the peoples do not make life impossible for the imperialists and for capital, if they do not rise in revolution and do not fight fascism and all inciters to war.

Hua Kuo-feng’s visit to Belgrade proves that China has not been and is not a socialist country, that it has not been and is not guided by the Marxist-Leninist ideology. The Chinese leadership is in complete accord, ideologically, with Yugoslav revisionism. It is trying to paint Titoism with Chinese red, just as the Khrushchevite revisionists, the «Eurocommunists», and others, have done and are still doing on their own behalf.

For his part, Tito «magnanimously» turned over the page and said that now a new page was being opened in the relations between China and Yugoslavia. Of course, the friendship between them will be developed in the interests of capitalism in these two countries and in the interests of world capitalism.

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

During his visit to Yugoslavia, the chief of the Chinese revisionists and friend of generals and marshals, Hua Kuo-feng, came close to our borders in order to hatch up intrigues against socialist Albania and other Balkan countries.

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

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

In his speech at the main banquet, in the presence of Tito and the top Yugoslav officials, Hua Kuo-feng did not mention Marxism-Leninism, and he had no reason to do so, because he does not believe in it. But neither did he mention the theory of the «three worlds», or China’s being in the «third world», while he repeatedly praised the «non-aligned movement». This he did, not as a compliment to Tito, who poses as the leader of the «non-aligned world», but because China and Hua Kuo-feng intend to take the leading position in the «non-aligned movement» after Tito’s death. But these calculations of the revisionist leadership of China also will turn out to be mistaken.
Although China's intentions will be exposed, they are very dangerous, just as dangerous as those of the Soviet Union, the United States of America, and the other capitalist countries. The Party of Labour of Albania is acting correctly by exposing the anti-Marxist theories and activity of the Chinese leadership, which are based on what is called Mao Tsetung thought, which cannot be and has never been Marxist-Leninist. We are proving this, and proving it with facts, with theoretical and concrete facts.

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

Comrades,

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

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

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

vène, either with diversion, or with armed attacks.

Apart from commercial relations, we also have cultural relations with many countries of the world and want to develop them further. Progressive world culture ought to be absorbed, but we are not in favour of opening our doors to every kind of "culture". In socialist Albania, the interests of socialism and the revolution require the dissemination of that progressive culture which serves the all-round communist education of working people and helps to bring the peoples closer together and develop friendship. We do not feel about with "a hundred flowers" and "a hundred schools", nor do we go from one extreme to another in our assessment of the achievements of the progressive world art and culture. Our Party teaches us not to be xenophobic in regard to progressive world culture.

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

The enemies accuse us of having allegedly closed our doors to cultural and scientific communication with the world! This is not true. Our doors are always open to progressive world culture and real science, because we are interested in progress. However, as we have frequently declared, we shall never grantify the desires of those who demand that we open our doors to degenerate and decadent culture, as the enemy of the Party, Fadil Pacrami, endeavoured to do, when he negated and fought against the healthy traditions of our national literature and art and encouraged and supported the spread of alien modernist influences and manifestations. The Party of Labour of Albania and our State of the dictatorship of the proletariat are wide awake to this danger. They know how to defend themselves, how to separate the wheat from the chaff, therefore they are not bothered about what ill-wishers say about them.
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Being in favour of developing trade and cultural relations with other States, and expressing the desire for friendly and mutually beneficial relations with them, does not mean that we should abandon our principles and standpoints. The claim of the Yugoslav and other revisionists and the capitalists that, for the sake of these relations, we must not expose them as long as they allegedly are not attacking us, is absurd. It is by no means true that they are not attacking us. Their attack against us, against socialism, against Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and the dictatorship of the proletariat, is evident and unrelenting. If they give themselves the right to defend their ideas and pursue their own policy, why do they complain when we exercise our rights to defend our ideas and pursue our own policy?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

To attempt to gather together the diaspora of centuries and to liquidate a nation and nationality thousands of years old, while creating a new diaspora and a "modern" tyranny, to practise genocide, to abolish the rights and freedoms of a nation in the name of a nationality of dubious authenticity, this is condemned by the progressive nations and peoples of the world, and sooner or later the latent hatred will result in a bloody national liberation war, just as it has done with the heroic Palestinian people.

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

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

However, the Arab peoples, who have ancient cultural traditions and who have bravely fought for their freedom and independence through the centuries, will know how to cope with the new situations and will assuredly defeat every anti-Arab plot, will strengthen their unity and, on this militant basis, will forge ahead in their struggle to complete victory over the Zionist and imperialist enemies.

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

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

THE ADVANCE OF OUR ECONOMY AND CULTURE RAISES THE WELLBEING OF OUR WORKING PEOPLE AND STRENGTHENS THE DEFENCE OF OUR HOMELAND

Dear comrades,

With the development of the productive forces, the perfecting of socialist relations of production and the methods of management and administration of the people's property, our economy has made continuous progress, while the well-being of the working masses and their educational and cultural level have steadily improved.

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

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

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

Our heavy industry has been strengthened and is making progress. This fact has very great importance, because it is known that the development of heavy industry opens up possibilities for rapid progress in all branches of the economy. This success has been achieved by relying on our internal material and human forces. As is known, heavy industry consists, first of all, in the extraction and processing of minerals. Our country has a great wealth of different minerals, ranging from oil to chromium and the polymetals. We are exploiting this wealth, which supplies the economy with very valuable and irreplaceable raw materials, in a rational way. At present, minerals sufficient to last us several decades have been discovered in our country. We shall discover further deposits of minerals, our underground resources of which are rich, both in regard to reserves and quality, and in regard to their variety, and we shall open up even greater prospects for all of them to be processed within the country in the future. Thus our industry will be built up and further strengthened and exports will increase, which will bring about the strengthening of our socialist Homeland and guarantee its defence against any danger.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We older people have seen and remember the misery of Albania's agriculture and of the Albanian peasant, with the land lying unused under the fetid swamp waters. We have seen it when grain yields never exceeded 5-6 or at best 8 quintals per hectare, and when no industrial crop at all was sown. Now, wherever you turn your eyes, wherever you set foot, you see nothing but land tilled and sown, thriving land planted in trees, healthy live-stock, and so on.

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

The Party and the People's State Power do not negate the people's personal interests. On the contrary, when these interests do not come into opposition with the laws and rules of socialist coexistence, they are defended within the context of the general interest. The general interest must predominate, must be placed above the personal interest, because in this way everyone will improve his own economic and cultural situation.
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and will cleanse his consciousness of every alien remnant. It is essential to carry on such wide-ranging educative work continuously in the process of the construction of the socialist economy, so that people do not oppose their personal interests to the general interest.

Comrades,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Appreciating the great power of unity, the Party, in the first months after its founding, laid the basis for the fighting unity of the Albanian people, which in the war against the nazi-fascist occupier, brought about the complete liberation of Albania and the victory of the people’s revolution. Today, the unity of our heroic people, achieved under the leadership of the Party, has been siezed more than ever and constitutes one of the basic factors for the defence of socialism and the socialist Homeland.

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

The struggle for the construction of socialism, the ardent desire to defend the freedom, independence and the sovereignty of our people, the need to defend this most progressive democracy so that our citizens can be the freest people in the world, impose all those imperative tasks upon us. We must never forget that our struggle is of great importance, not only because it strengthens our internal situation, but also because of the fact that it serves as an example of a country on its own, building socialism in the epoch of decay of imperialism and the advance of proletarian revolutions and people’s national liberations wars.

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

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

Revolutionary vigilance does not mean sectarianism. In judging people, the Party and our State of the dictatorship of the proletariat make a clear distinction between those who are linked with the people and, without any hostile intention, make mistakes in their work, and those who are declassed elements or who, without being such, have degenerated and, through their actions, harm the socialist Homeland. Towards the former, the method of persuasion and education is used, while towards the latter, the dictatorship of the proletariat strikes with its stern justice.

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

On polling day, the faces of our people shine with their happiness and joy at their fine socialist life, their eyes, with an eagle glint in them, reflect their firm determination to defend the victories achieved. The electors pour in a torrent past ballot boxes, to express their boundless love and support for the People’s Power and the Party. The brilliant results in the polling for the candidates of the Democratic Front prove this love and support.

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

The Party and the organizations of the Democratic Front organize a big campaign for the elections to the different organs of State Power. The open propaganda of the Party and the mass organizations aims at strengthening the unity and alliance between the working class and the cooperativist peasantry. The alliance of these two friendly classes, under the leadership of the Party, has brought all the material and spiritual blessings, all the happiness, which all our people, without exception, enjoy. There are no privileged people in Albania.

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

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

The total participation in the elections and the unanimous vote for the candidates of the Democratic Front will be another expression of the ardent approval by the working masses of the general line of the Party, of the majesty of the unity of the people around the Party, and their unwavering confidence in their ability to carry our triumphant revolution forward. This will contribute to the further strengthening of the international position and prestige of socialist Albania in the world.

Comrades,

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

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

Once again thanking you for your consideration for me personally, allow me to cheer from my heart:

LONG LIVE THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE!
LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE’S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA!
LONG LIVE THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA AND ITS CENTRAL COMMITTEE!
GLORY TO MARXISM—LENINISM!

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THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT, LED BY THE PARTY IS THE WHICH UNITES, ORGAN AND EDUCATES THE PEOP...

All the honest and progressive people the world see in Albania a living example surrounded by capitalism and the bour invincible and building socialism with

TOMORROW THE 5TH CONGRESS OF THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT, THE GREAT POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF OUR COUNTRY, WHICH IS LED BY THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA, OPENS IN HEROIC VLORA.


In the great struggle for the freedom of the Homeland and for social liberation, the Albanian people have clashed with rabid external and internal enemies. In this struggle they have had to bear in mind and to achieve two main aims: to ensure a leadership loyal to their interests and to achieve their unity. Without achieving these two aims they could never have taken their fate in their own hands. How did the Albanian people
achieve these two capital aims? With foreign aid from abroad? No! They achieved them guided by their own great experience over the centuries and enlightened by the universal and immortal teachings of the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

How many wise and outstanding men, how many heroic fighters, ready to sacrifice themselves for the freedom of the Homeland, this small country of ours has produced! The valiant deeds of our people have astounded mankind at various times. The wisdom of the outstanding men of Albania has contributed to the treasure-store of world science and knowledge.

But despite the efforts, despite the great sacrifices of these men, the people for whom they gave everything did not properly achieve these two aims, which represented their permanent salvation. Nevertheless, the toil and bloodshed of our forebears was not in vain. This blood which was shed on the soil of the Homeland strengthened the foundations of Albania, while their wisdom left indelible traces in the subsequent generations. They left us a great lesson: He who fights together with the people and for the people will triumph, not as an individual, but the people, the whole nation will triumph.

The voice and the work of the great men of Albania, their powerful call has been: Albanians unite! While the screams of our enemies have been: Albanians divide! The great imperialist powers have always spoken in this language, because in this way they would be able to dominate and oppress us, would be able to enslave our nation in their own interests.

The fine and patriotic men of Albania sought unity for the liberation of the country, for the defence of the language and the Albanian alphabet, against the Ottoman occupiers and Phanariot Patriarchy. They went from one country to another in the hope that abroad they might find defence and support for the rights of the Albanian nation,
for the cause of its independence and freedom, but they found no support anywhere. Their only reliable support was the people, but their unity was not complete because there were social forces from the ranks of the wealthy, the feudal lords and the bourgeoisie who were in the service of the foreigners and opposed this unity. Nevertheless the contribution of the Albanian patriots was valuable. The seed which they planted did not rot. The day was bound to come when this seed would sprout through the earth, to grow powerful and flourish.

Not just the words and thoughts of our forefathers, but their rifles and pistols, too, never rested during their whole lifetime for the freedom of the Albanian people. The foreigners and evil people within the country who sowed disruption, claimed that a small country and a small people like ours could not exist without the aid of a great power. But the good people, who fought with the sword, the rifle, and the pen, thought otherwise. And they were quite correct.

Unity! cried the old man of the Northern Alps, Baca Bajram, strong as the lofty mountains of Albania, which gave him birth. Unity! cried Avni Rustemi to the people, because the boys want to enslave and subjugate us. Bajram Curri knew what he was saying and thinking when he wrote to Lenin, «You will save Albania for us». Avni Rustemi, that young man, knew what he was doing when he fired his pistol at the traitor Pasha in the middle of Paris. That revolutionary democrat knew what he was doing when, in the Parliament of that time, he called on them to stand in memory of Vladimir Ilich Lenin, that great man of Russia and all mankind.

And the day which these martyrs were waiting for came. The seed spread by the good, wise and great men of our country sprouted in the Albanian soil. The seed had to be clean, had to be washed in order to sprout strong and healthy, so that no gale or tempest could flatten the crop. For this objective the Albanian people had to follow their centuries-old tradition of the fight for freedom and for unity, and also to follow the great theory of Karl Marx, and Vladimir Ilich Lenin, to follow the example of the Soviet Union, led by the Bolshevik Party and Stalin. The Communist Party of Albania, the leader in the struggle of the Albanian people, had to emerge from the working class and the bosom of the people.

After 1912 a number of parties were created in our country, but irrespective of the fact that some of them were guided by fine aims, they had no basis and no clear program. Life demanded profound social changes and the objective conditions for this were becoming better prepared each year. But the subjective factor was lacking, the leadership was lacking, and for this it was not sufficient to have a group of people with certain progressive ideas, but it was necessary that there should be a party which would represent the future and progress. This party could not be other than the party of the proletariat, of the most advanced, strongest, most organized class, the one most interested in the revolution, of that class which had its own scientific theory, which led it and its allies in the fight for the revolution and national and social liberation.
For the formation of a genuine party of the people, just the good desire of a few persons is insufficient. It requires the preparation of a suitable terrain, requires the drafting of a program, which will represent the interests and the aspirations of the working people, based on the pure ideals of these people. The formation of such a party requires boundless loyalty to the people, so that their hopes and noble sentiments, their valor and desires, are never betrayed.

Bajram Curri and Avni Rustemi did not create any party to which they could give a name, as did certain intellectuals, unclear and vacillating elements of feudalism and the bourgeoisie. These intellectuals who posed as if it was they who carried out the Revolution in 1924, created several parties on the example of the parties of the European bourgeoisie. Whereas Bajram Curri and Avni Rustemi, before they created any party, created the political organization «Attëheu» and later the «Bashkimi» Association in Vlora with their branches in all parts of the country. These associations had as their aim precisely the achievement of that unity of the poor youth, of honest and courageous people who had to hurl themselves in the struggle to win the genuine freedom and independence of the Homeland and social rights.

At the most difficult moments which the world and the Homeland were going through, the Albanian communists were nurtured with the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and in the heat of the war formed the Communist Party of Albania, which was to become, and did become, the true leader, loyal to the end, of the working class and the Albanian people.

With the Marxist-Leninist ideology which inspired it and with the militant progressive spirit of its own people that characterized it, the Party hurled itself into the fire for the most sacred cause, to carry out the revolution in order to achieve the objectives of our grand-parents and parents who had fought to see Albania free, independent and democratic. At this period the situation had altered. By now the October Socialist Revolution had triumphed in the Soviet Union. The great example of the Soviet Union illuminated the road for the Albanian communists, who showed our people, not just in words but also in deeds, with fighting and bloodshed, the only road to salvation: the road of unity and resolute struggle against foreign occupiers, who had trampled on our country, as well as against the internal enemies, who collaborated with the foreigners.

The Comintern, the Communist Third International, which Lenin and Stalin led, advised the Albanian communists to find the right road of the struggle, that road which the Marxist-Leninist ideology showed them. It taught them to link themselves with the working class, to go among the masses of the working people, to gain strength from them, like Antaeus, and in the appropriate concrete conditions, to create their communist party. Precisely because we followed this road, we Albanian communists triumphed.

The nazi-fascist occupiers were afraid of us. They knew that the Communist Party which had been created would never leave them in peace. The gentry, as the people call them, who were always comprised of the bastard offsprings of the Albanian nation, who have supported the foreign occupiers in the interest of their own class at all times, and not in the interest of Albania, felt the great danger threatening them, made common cause with the occupiers, and together with them, took all measures to defeat us. Thus the fight against the Communist Party began.

The Party issued the call: We must create the National Liberation Front to unite the whole people! And this is what was done. The Front advanced and triumphed, because it had deep roots among the people, because it had at the head the wise, reliable, strong Communist Party unafraid of the demagogy and lies, of the tanks, artillery and machine-guns of the enemy.
ENVER HOXHA

THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT
LED BY THE PARTY IS THE GREAT
ORGANIZATION WHICH UNITES,
ORGANIZES AND EDUCATES
THE PEOPLE POLITICALLY

The «Balli Kombëtar» also called for unity, although for other aims, but, as we all know, it sank into the swamp.

The Party gathered representatives from all the strata of the people, in heroic Peza, and put before them the need to create the Front, which would be a great political organization led by the Party, with a broad program, in which people of every political conviction or religious belief, without discrimination, could take part provided they were united for one aim, in order to fight the enemy with every means, with the gun, with the pen, with open and secret resistance, without waverings, without losing heart. The Party expressed the aims of the Front and its tasks for total war against the enemy, openly and clearly.

At this historic meeting, the organizational forms of the National Liberation Front, which was to spread over the whole of Albania, languishing under the foreign occupation, were decided. The Conference of Peza also set the councils of the Front the task of supplying the army and the National Liberation War with everything necessary, and gave these councils the embryonic form of the People’s State Power, which was to be developed and perfected later as the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The enemy used every means, from slanders and lies down to arms, but the Party, the National Liberation Front and the united people smashed them to smithereens.

Why did they smash them to smithereens? What was this phenomenon which was taking place in this small country? It was the phenomenon which proved that even a small country, with a small, pure and honourable people, but firmly united, arms in hand, and guided by great revolutionary ideas, could preserve its great, centuries-old traditions, could fight and win freedom, independence and sovereignty, could carry out the revolution and establish the People’s State Power. This was the triumph of the freedom-loving ideas of our forbears combined with the great ideas of Marxism–Leninism. The revolution in Albania triumphed because it was the Communist Party of Albania which placed itself at the head of the masses of the people and brought about their powerful unity.

The elements of the «Balli Kombëtar», the traitor organization of collaborators sold out to the occupiers, tried to distort, to confuse, to damage and to defeat the National Liberation Front. But in vain. From the historic day on which it was formed, the Front, led by the Party, became the great broad organization of the Albanian people, became a means of uniting, organizing and educating the people politically. The secret of the overwhelming strength of our people and their triumph over the enemies lay in their monolithic unity. Relying firmly on these vigorous forces, our Party was to perform miracles, to lead the revolution successfully from the democratic anti-imperialist stage to the stage of the socialist revolution, the stage of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of socialism.

After winning its freedom, our country again went through difficult days. Countless efforts, mighty battles and wise actions of our heroic Party were required to overcome the difficulties. The energies of the people, united in the great organization of the Front and in all the other
organizations of the masses, had to be mobilized. Within two years, without assistance from anyone, we managed to rebuild all the objects destroyed in the war, which killed 28,000 of our finest comrades, and devastated the whole country. The damage suffered during the war was colossal, but the Albanians did not lose heart, because it had mighty people, just as the Party and the ideology which guided it were mighty, too.

The unity of our people was tempered in stern struggle with the foreign and internal enemies, with the remnants of them, who tried to raise and re-establish capitalism. With the end of the war, those imperialist powers which, up till yesterday, were allies in the fight against fascism, turned into dangerous enemies who worked to overthrow our People's State Power. However, they were quite unable to conquer the Albanian people, the Albanian working class, and its glorious Party of Labour.

The construction of socialism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat became a great reality in Albania. The construction of the foundations of socialism in accordance with the teachings of Lenin and Stalin commenced. The teachings of these two leaders of the world proletariat assisted us in our road. As long as he was alive, the great Stalin gave us every possible assistance. The Khrushchevite revisionist traitors and all the traitors of Marxism-Leninism throughout the world threw mud at him, but they cannot dim the glory of his name. Joseph Stalin, the centenary of whose birth we shall celebrate this year, was a great Marxist-Leninist, a loyal pupil of Marx, Engels and Lenin, was the teacher who enlightened the Albanian communists and people and gave them strength, and contributed a great deal to ensure that the new Albania would advance fearlessly and proud and overcome every enemy that it would come up against.

External enemies and internal enemies, open enemies and disguised enemies, were to emerge continually to hinder our course. The Party knew how to uncover them one after the other, to expose their plots against socialism and the freedom of the Homeland, and render them powerless, because it was a party of the working class, a party which loyally followed Marxism-Leninism, a party which relied on the broad masses of the people.

Hence, without a Marxist-Leninist party, without a clear minimum and maximum program, without uniting the Albanian people both in the war for the liberation of the Homeland and in the construction of the country, victory would have been impossible. Only Albanian blood was shed to liberate this small country. Only Albanian sweat was shed to rebuild, after the devastation of the war, and to build socialism in this small country.

There were and still are people who allege that Albania existed thanks to the aid of the Soviet Union and other former socialist countries, thanks to the aid of the Titoites, when it is known that the latter not only did not assist us, but on the contrary, robbed us of everything they could. It is alleged also that Albania existed thanks to the aid of the Chinese! This is another lie. We accepted the credits which they accorded us, thinking that we had to do with Marxist-Leninists, although these credits represented no more than a very small percentage of the investments which our people have made.

With the credits they provided, the pseudo-socialist states, which have been exposed one after the other, and in this the Party of Labour of Albania has played an important role, had imperialist aims. But these sinister aims were uncovered by the Party of Labour which put a stop to their game and left them smarting. We have no debts to anyone, we have repaid the credits we received, and only a few things still remain to be sent back to them, therefore let them shut their mouths. Their «aid» had evil aims. Through this «aid» they
ENVER HOXHA

THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT LED BY THE PARTY IS THE GREAT ORGANIZATION WHICH UNITES, ORGANIZES AND EDUCATES THE PEOPLE POLITICALLY

wanted to make Albania their tool, to make it a neo-colony. But they did not succeed with us. The Party of Labour of Albania has never betrayed its own people, its ideology, Marxism-Leninism, and that is why it has triumphed.

The Khruschevites, the Titosites, the Chinese, the «Eurocommunists» and others have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and become lackeys of the bourgeoisie, but irrespective of this, Marxism-Leninism is and will remain the invincible doctrine of the proletariat, which will light the way for millions and millions of mankind who have risen or are rising in revolution to destroy the decayed society of capitalism.

Albania is small, its people is small in numbers, too, but their example is great, because they defend a great cause. Someone abroad raises the question: Where do the Albanian people find this great spiritual, economic, cultural and military strength now to withstand the furious onslaught of capitalism and modern revisionism, American imperialism, Soviet and Chinese social-imperialism, and so on, the hatred of fascist dictatorships and foreign reaction, who are trying to damage and destroy them? They have found this strength not in the support of some great power, but in themselves, in their manly, patriotic feelings, in the Marxist-Leninist ideology, in the correct line of the Party, in their steel unity with the Party, and in the support of the genuine communists and the proletariat and peoples of the world. It is precisely these factors which make Albania fearless of anyone.

All the honest and progressive people throughout the world see in Albania a living example in which a small people, completely surrounded by capitalism and the bourgeoisie, stand unyielding, invincible and building socialism with their own forces.

At a time when the great world crisis has engulfed the capitalist, imperialist and social-imperialist countries, when the prices of all things necessary for the people are rising, when millions of workers are thrown out of their jobs, our country is successfully building socialism. Here a powerful industry, an advanced agriculture, and a profoundly humane and pure culture are flourishing and developing. Our culture not only serves the progress of the country but also makes its own contribution to the great treasury of world culture.

In our independent and sovereign country, man lives free and does not hold out his hand to beg from anyone. The Albanian has never held his hand out to anyone, he has been capable of earning his bread honourably, by the sweat of his brow. It is not in our nature to be beggars, but in the nature of those who are sold out to capital. We have held out our hands to others seeking sincere friendship, but never for charity. Just as they were capable of shedding their blood for the liberation of their land yesterday, our people are capable of shedding their sweat for the construction of socialism today.

The earthquake which struck a few weeks ago was the heaviest earthquake known to have struck our country. Whole villages were destroyed. We shall cope with this damage with our own forces. Within five months, all the devastated villages will be rebuilt more beautiful than they were.
they will be new socialist villages. In order to express their gratitude to the Party for its parental care, the peasants who suffered damage in the earthquake say: the Party was here besides us before our neighbours could get here. All Albania is a man rose to its feet to overcome the difficulties which were created. This is what always occurs amongst us when the need arises. One for all, and all for one. Thousands of people have gone, and tens of thousands of others have expressed the desire to go to work to liquidate the grave consequences which the earthquake caused our brothers and sisters in the damaged zones. On our roads and railways one sees endless lines of tracks and trains transporting building materials. Right from the first day, the people who suffered this calamity, especially in the North: in Shkodra, Lezha, Mat, Mirdita, Kruja, Dibra, Puka and Tropoja, were never short of anything. People were housed in tents with lightening speed and they never found themselves hard pressed even for sugar or coffee, let alone for bread, meat and vegetables, of which they had more ample supplies than before.

There are others who are begging aid all round the world. Ten years have gone by, and they are still not building those villages and zones which were ruined by the earthquake. Of course, we regret the suffering of the population, because we know that they are not to blame for this situation, but the blame lies with the social and state system which exists there. In the socialist system, every misfortune is overcome together and rapidly, while in the capitalist system man suffers not only at the moment when he is struck by a natural calamity, but his whole life.

Our great organization of the Democratic Front has had, has, and will have very great importance for the construction of socialism. The Party which leads and inspires it, equips the members of the Front with the lofty patriotic virtues of our people, with the teachings of the Marxist-Leninist ideology. The Party of Labour of Albania works to ensure that the Front will always be strong and active, just it has been up till now, and in the future, too, it will continue its struggle to carry out successfully the tasks which the Party sets for the complete construction of socialism, for the protection of the freedom of the people and the independence of the Homeland, so that Albania will always be a sovereign country with full dignity and respected by the other peoples.

The Party teaches the communists that they must stand, as always, in the forefront of every work and every effort, and display vigour and self-sacrifice in the performance of tasks. Being members of the Democratic Front of Albania, they must be among the most outstanding militants, display political maturity and modesty in their attitudes, love the people and be closely linked with them, preserve the unity of the Party with the people, strengthen the organization of the Front, and all the other organizations of the masses, which are levers of the Party and enliven and give vitality and force to its great activity and thought. The more the directives and the problems which the Party puts forward are discussed in the Front, the more criticisms are made of impermissible laxity, harmful habits which exist or might emerge, alien manifestations, liberalism and bureaucracy, the stronger and more stable socialism will be in Albania, and the stronger our Homeland will be.

This is why the Party gives such great importance to the organization of the Front. The course which the Party has set for this organization is a glorious one. The Democratic Front of Albania has passed through many difficult and historic stages and has carried out its great tasks with honour. From now on, too, it will certainly continue to be a major political organization of our people, led by the Party of Labour of Albania.
A BRILLIANT MANIFESTATION OF THE UNITY OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE AROUND THE PARTY OF ALBANIA

In an atmosphere of indescribable enthusiasm and of the steel unity of the Albanian people around the Party of Labour of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, the 5th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania, the political organization of the broad masses of the country, held its proceedings at the Hero City of Vlora.

This organization was created in September 1942 in the heat of the struggle of the Albanian people against the fascist occupiers and the local traitors, on the initiative of the Communist Party of Albania (today the Party of Labour of Albania), and personally of its leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha. The Democratic Front of Albania, which during the period of the war was known under the name of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Front, realized the most powerful unity of the Albanian people in their centuries-old history, both as regards the extent of this organization, which was never seen in their history, as well as its form of organization and its lofty political consciousness.

Both during the Anti-fascist National Liberation War and in the gigantic efforts for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland, under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, the organization of the Front has continuously made a tremendous contribution to the monolithic unity of the people, to the strengthening of the People's Power of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the moulding of the new man in the norms of communist morality.

For this reason, every Congress of this organization is considered to be an important event in the life of the country, because these congresses have helped make this organization better able to carry out its historic mission.

The 5th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania, also, like all the other congresses prior to it, was transformed into a great assembly of the people, one which once again expressed the determination of the entire Albanian people to march as one around the Party of Labour of Albania, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, on the difficult but glorious road of the construction of socialism and communism by wholly relying on their own forces, and in uncompromising struggle against all the enemies of the peoples – the imperialists and social-imperialists, the revisionists and their minions of all hues and descriptions.

The Congress was attended by 2,000 delegates from all over the country, representing all the strata of the population – workers, cooperativist peasants, office workers, armymen, veterans of the war and work, workers of art and culture and science, etc. Also present at the Congress were leaders of the Party and State and many guests.

Amidst enthusiastic applause the Congress was declared open by the beloved leader of the Party and the Albanian people, the Chairman of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha.
DEAR COMRADES,


I INVITE YOU COMRADE DELEGATES TO HONOUR THEIR BRILLIANT AND UNFORGETTABLE MEMORY BY STANDING FOR ONE MINUTE IN SILENCE.

The Democratic Front is the militant organization which, under the leadership of the Party, unites the whole Albanian people, which organizes and mobilizes the working people in the struggle in defence of the freedom and independence won with bloodshed and sacrifice, which works untiring-
gly to build a new socialist life and to educate the broad masses with boundless love for the Homeland, with the ideals of socialism and communism.

The Democratic Front is the bearer of the outstanding freedom-loving traditions of our people, the continuers of the great efforts which the Albanian patriots and progressive democrats of all times have made for the unity of the people in struggle for a free Albania, for the preservation of the unity of the nation against the attempts of imperialist and chauvinist powers which aimed to partition the country, for a better life and social justice, for the defence of the mother tongue and our ancient culture.

Our Party raised high and further enriched these traditions and ideals of our people, when in the heat of the heroic partisan war it created the Anti-fascist National Liberation Front.

Through this organization the Party achieved the most powerful unity in the history of our people, unprecedented for its breadth, for the strength of its organization and its high political consciousness. The war against the foreign occupiers and the local traitors strengthened and tempered the unity of the people and made it a decisive factor in the historic victory of November 29, 1944.

This was the unity of the people around the Party which was raised to a new higher level in the struggle for the socialist transformation of Albania, against which the many plots and attempts of the imperialists and revisionists have been destroyed, and against which the counterrevolutionary attempts of internal enemies have been smashed to smithereens. This is the unity which makes socialist Albania invincible and indomitable, which makes it stand proudly and march forward, free and independent, on the road of socialism.

This great people's unity and solidarity once again showed its vitality and power when our whole population arose immediately to go to the aid of their brothers and sisters who suffered damage in the serious earthquake of April 15.

From this lofty tribune of the 5th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania we send the families of the victims the most heartfelt condolences of the Democratic Front, the Party, the whole people, and all us delegates over the losses and grief which this great natural calamity caused them.

We admire the courage and heroism of all those who, despite the great damage which they suffered from the earthquake, neither lost heart nor dispaired. We admire the great and unshakable faith they have in their beloved Party and the People's State Power.

From this Congress we send our greetings to all the volunteers from all over Albania who are working self-sacrificingly, day and night, to rebuild the devastated houses and villages and to ensure that the word of the Party is kept that on the 1st of October everything will be rebuilt, and built more beautiful than before.

The Congress of the Democratic Front is meeting at a time when our whole people have mobilized their strength and risen to their feet to carry out the historic decisions of the 7th Congress of the Party, to put into practice the majestic program of the complete construction of socialist society. It is meeting in the jubilee year of the 35 anniversary of the liberation of the country and the establishment of the People's State Power, of that great victory of the glorious National Liberation War, led by our heroic Party. Let this outstanding anniversary serve the further strengthening and progress of our beloved Homeland, of our socialist Albania!

With its proceedings and decisions our Congress will certainly give a fresh powerful impulse to the work of the Front for the mobilization of the working people in the struggle to carry out the state plan, to increase production still further, to carry further ahead the development of culture, and to raise the level of well-being higher.

The proceedings of this Congress will serve the organizations of the Front to intensify their work for the patriotic and revolutionary education of the masses. By always waging the class struggle correctly, as the Party teaches us, we must further strengthen the unity of the people and their links with the Party, must sharpen our vigilance even more and increase the readiness and ability of the people for the defence of the Homeland.

It is a special pleasure for me, comrade delegates, to bring you the ardent greetings of the Central Committee of the Party and, on its behalf, to wish the 5th Congress of the Democratic Front success in the fulfillment of the lofty and important mission with which it has been charged.

I declare the Congress open.
The opening speech by Comrade Enver Hoxha was listened to with great attention and was frequently punctuated by stormy applause and long cheering.

The report «On the Activity of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania and the Tasks for the Future» was delivered by the vice-Chairman of the Democratic Front of Albania, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, Ramiz Alia.

Many contributions were made to discussion about the report which were also listened to with great attention and interest.

Workers from the «Steel of the Party» metallurgical combine and from the construction site for the building of the «Light of the Party» hydro-power station in Fierza, cooperativists from flourishing Myzeqe, once a malaria hot-bed, an area of dire misery and poverty and most savage exploitation, cooperativists from the prosperous fields of Korça and Vrugu, highlanders from the Northern Mountains and peasants from the Upper Drepull district at the southernmost tip of the country, armymen, scientists and writers, veterans, young men and women who are taking over the torch from the older generation in order to carry it to new heights, workers from construction sites where they have been working with a will and enthusiasm for the liquidation of the consequences of the earthquake which struck some districts of the country on the 15th of April this year causing heavy damage, as well as participants in various mass actions all over the country, one after the other spoke from the lofty tribune of the Congress.

All of them had the most beautiful words to once again express their love for the Party of Labor of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha, who knew how to temper that brilliant unity of the Albanian people in the Democratic Front of Albania, against which all the enemies, from the fascists, nazis, and their servants, down to the imperialists, social-imperialists, both Soviet and Chinese, and the reactionaries and revisionists of all hues and descriptions, have always smashed their heads.

With their contributions, the speakers expressed to the Congress the determination of all the members of the Front, which they represented, to defend and further strengthen this unity, to make the organization of the Front more powerful, and all of them, united as one around the Party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, to march always ahead on the road of the revolution until the complete triumph of socialism and communism.

The 5th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania was greeted by a group of young pioneers, who with the fine songs they sang and the moving poems they recited, touched the hearts of those present and further raised the enthusiastic atmosphere that existed throughout the three days of the proceedings of the Congress.

Before winding up its proceedings the Congress approved a call to the whole Albanian people, and elected the leading organs of the Democratic Front. One hundred seventy five people were elected to the General Council and twenty-five to the Presidium of the General Council.

Comrade Enver Hoxha was unanimously elected Chairman of the General Council.

Winding up the proceedings of the Congress Comrade Enver Hoxha said:
COMRADE ENVER HOXHA’S CLOSING SPEECH

DEAR COMRADES,

THE PROCEEDINGS OF OUR CONGRESS ARE COMING TO AN END. THE NEW GENERAL COUNCIL WHICH YOU ELECTED UNANIMOUSLY, AT THE FIRST MEETING WHICH IT HELD, ELECTED ITS LEADERSHIP LIKewise UNANIMOUSLY, BY ACCLAMATION,

1. ENVER HOXHA  
   president

2. MYSLIM PEZA  
   vice-president

3. RAMIZ ALIA  
   vice-president

4. PILO PERISTERI  
   vice-president

5. GJELA BIBA  
   vice-president

6. XHORXHI ROBO  
   secretary

7. ALEKS BUDA  
   »

8. AGIM KELLIQI  
   »

9. BESIM DAVA  
   »

10. DRITERO AGOLLI  
    »

11. ATHEM BAHMANI  
    »

12. FAHRIE SALIÇAJ  
    »

13. IDEALE HASKO  
    »

14. JORGO SELO  
   »

15. KOLI MONE  
   »

16. MAMAN SALIU  
   »

17. MEHMET RAMA  
   »

18. NAZAR BERBERI  
   »

19. NIAZI ÇEPANI  
   »

20. QIRJAKO HARITO  
   »

21. RAMIZ AGOLLI  
   »

22. SHPRESA JANO  
   »

23. TISH DAIJA  
   »

24. VITO KAPO  
   »

25. VALDIE SALA  
   »


We assure the Congress, the whole organization of the Front, the entire people, as well as our Party, that we will devote all our strength and will spare nothing to successfully fulfill the lofty and responsible duty with which you have charged us. We promise you that we shall work untiredly to mobilize the people in the struggle for the construction of socialism, for the realization and overfulfillment of present and future state plans, for the strengthening of the defence, the freedom and the independence of the Homeland.

The proceedings of our Congress, the discussion which was held here, were vivid testimony to the high political consciousness which characterizes our people, the sense of responsibility and concern of our people to successfully carry out the tasks which the development of the country and the situation in which we are living, place before us. The 5th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania has been a brilliant manifestation of the steel unity of the people around the Party, of the determination of workers, peasants, intellectuals, of all our working people, to carry the cause of socialism in Albania ceaselessly ahead.

The problems which we discussed, the opinions which were expressed and the proposals which were made here have very great importance, because they will assist to raise to a higher level the work of the organization of the Front, the enthusiasm of the people, and their all-round mobilization in work. Our task, comrade delegates, is to carry the militant revolutionary spirit, optimism and confidence that were expressed here, to the broad masses of the people, to the four corners of the Homeland, to the cities, villages, suburbs and every family, so that all the work, in agriculture, in industry, in education, in culture and in defence, will take a new impulse, and the targets everywhere will be fulfilled and over-fulfilled.
The successful achievement of targets, fulfillment of the 6th Five-year plan in all sectors and all its indices, will be a powerful basis for the coming five-year plan, which the Central Committee and the Government are drafting. This plan, which will be bigger than all the plans up to date, will open new, even more majestic perspectives to our country. Our heavy and light industry will be further developed, the energy base will be further extended, the extraction of oil and minerals will increase, more equipment and machinery will be produced in the country, agriculture will go even further ahead, education and culture will assume a new impulse and the wellbeing of the people will be raised to a higher level. The new five-year plan will be the first to be based entirely on our own internal resources and carried out with our own forces alone, without any credit or economic aid from abroad.

With this five-year plan, too, as with the previous ones, the Albanian people will show the whole world, even the skeptics, how a country can be constructed and developed with its own forces, when it is guided by Marxism-Leninism and has at the head a party loyal to the cause of socialism, the interests of the Homeland and the people. The marvelous reality which exists in our country and the brilliant prospects which are opened to us are due to our heroic patriotic people, the working class, the cooperativist peasantry, the people’s intelligentsia, the women and the youth. They are due to the correct line of the Party, which has always guided us wisely from victory to victory.

This reality and these prospects are a vivid proof of the vitality of Marxism-Leninism and of the inexhaustible power and undisputable superiority of the genuine socialist order over the bourgeois and revisionist capitalist system.

Imperialism, revisionism and other ideologies attack our socialist order, our proletarian democracy, because they want to conceal the decay of their system and the reactionary character of their regimes, because they want to keep the workers in ignorance, in oppression and exploitation.

In order to remain in power, imperialism wants and is working for the physical and spiritual enslavement and destruction of man, while socialism fights for the opposite, for his all-round emancipation and development. Capitalism spreads and develops corruption, religion, crime, drugs and degeneration, while socialism fights all these evils of bourgeois society and does not allow them to spread. Capitalism wants to keep the exploiting class in power and to oppress the broad masses of the working people, while socialism overthrows the exploiting class and gives the working people complete freedom. Socialism fights for people’s happiness, while capitalism causes their misery. Socialism is opposed to predatory wars, while imperialism has them in its bloodstream. Through war and aggression, it seeks to prolong its existence, to suck the blood of the peoples, to prevent them from winning their freedom and independence and building their new life. Socialism creates the unity of the people and affinity between one another, while capitalism creates splits, grudges and squabbles among the masses. The capitalist-revisionist bourgeoisie exploits these divisions and squabbles to oppress the working class and the other working masses.

World capitalism, American imperialism, Soviet and Chinese social-imperialism are sinking ever more deeply into the economic, political, ideological and moral crisis which has overtaken them, and which is making all their internal and external contradictions and antagonisms more acute. They have begun quake with fear, because the situation is developing in their disfavour. Now the peoples are not only moving, but are rising in a revolutionary and liberation struggle, which is endangering the capitalist-revisionist domination. A vivid example of this is the revolution which overthrew the Shah of Iran. The problem of oil, which this revolution made even more acute is shaking the capitalist and revisionist world even more.

The struggle of the working class in the four corners of the earth, with which the democratic and progressive forces are uniting more and more each day, is striking powerful blows at the capitalist system of oppression and exploitation. Against the ceaseless decomposition and decay of the capitalist order, a mighty tempest — the liberation struggle of the peoples, is rising. This great awakening of the peoples is apparent everywhere, on all continents. It can be seen even in Africa, the peoples of which have suffered the heaviest colonialist oppression. More and more each day, the peoples of this continent, the pro-
The proletariat and the new intelligentsia, which is proving to be very revolutionary, are looking with an ever more realistic eye at the oppression both of foreigners and of their internal enemies. They are rising with determination against this double oppression.

The revolt against imperialism and its enslaving policy, against American imperialism and its Zionist tool, against the interference of the Soviet social-imperialists and the intrigues of the Chinese social-imperialists is mounting and extending in the Middle East. The peoples of Latin America and Asia, also, are fighting for freedom and independence against the oppression of foreign imperialists and reactionaries.

Today the world is living in the epoch of the decay of capitalism, at a time when the strikes and demonstrations of the world proletariat and people's national liberation wars are simmering, when quantity will be transformed into quality, when the shahs, kings and tyrants will be brought down from their thrones and imperialism will be smashed. This is the objective law of development of society. There is no other road. The revolution is a matter of time, and time is working for socialism, and not for imperialism. In the present epoch, no revisionist demagogy, no bourgeois political shibboleth, no police club or bullet, can halt the triumphant march of the revolution. The Albanian people have been, and will always be, in solidarity with and in support of the peoples, have given powerful support to their revolutionary liberation struggles and will continue to do so. Albania and its people want to live in friendship with all states which do not pursue hostile aims towards our country. We are for Leninist peaceful coexistence, but not for revisionist coexistence à la Khrushchev. We do not want oppression, plunder, or expansion; we want to live in freedom, independence, and honourable friendship with others. Those who seek to violate the principles of equality, of non-interference in internal affairs and respect for sovereignty, the Albanian people hate and fight.

We do not impose on anybody, but we demand that others keep their hands off socialist Albania. If anyone lays a finger on our Homeland, he will suffer badly. The times have changed. Present day Albania has a master — the Albanian people are united like a powerful steel fist. They know how to defend themselves politically, economically, and militarily.

Comrades,
Now you will go back to your districts, to the great work and tasks which await you. The Congress of the Front has armed us, inspired us, and given us new strength to fight with greater determination and enthusiasm for our beloved Albania, for our marvelous people, socialism and communism.

LONG LIVE THE HEROIC ALBANIAN PEOPLE!
LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF THE PEOPLE IN THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT!
LONG LIVE OUR GLORIOUS PARTY!
GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM!

Before we close the Congress, allow me, Comrade delegates, on behalf of all of you, to send our most ardent thanks and gratitude to the heroic people of Vlora who welcomed us with such great hospitality, affection and patriotism, and created splendid conditions for us to successfully complete the proceedings of this Congress.

I declare the 5th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania closed.

* * *

The closing speech of the Chairman of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania was received with long applause and acclamations which often turned into ovations. The conference hall resounded for minutes on end with the tunes of a very popular song dedicated to the leader of the Party and the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha.
DEAR COMRADES, SISTERS AND BROTHERS OF THE DISTRICT OF SHKODRA AND ALL ALBANIA.

THE SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION OF ALL THE CONSTRUCTIONS IN THE DISTRICTS OF SHKO-
DRA, LEZHA, MIRDITA, DIBRA, KRUJA, MAT, FUKA AND TROPOJA, WHICH WERE GRAVELY
DAMAGED BY THE STRONG EARTHQUAKE OF APRIL 15 THIS YEAR, IS AN OCCASION OF
INDESCRIBABLE JOY TO THE ENTIRE PEOPLE, TO THE PARTY AND TO ME. IN NO COUNTRY
OF THE WORLD THE CONSEQUENCES OF A DISASTER OF SUCH MAGNITUDE AS THAT WHICH
STRUCK YOU, HAVE EVER BEEN ELIMINATED IN THIS RECORD TIME, AS WAS THE CASE WITH
OUR SOCIALIST COUNTRY.

EARTHQUAKES ARE NATURAL PHENOMENA, WHICH SCIENCE KNOWS, BUT CAN DO
NOTHING TO PREVENT. SEVERAL AREAS OF THE GLOBE, FOR KNOWN REASONS, ARE INTER-
MITTENTLY AFFECTED BY MAJOR OR MINOR EARTH TREMOURS.

ALTHOUGH OUR COUNTRY DOES NOT COME INTO AN AREA OF PARTICULAR SEISIMICAL
ACTIVITY, EARTHQUAKES ARE NOT INFREQUENT HERE. THE FACTS OF HISTORY SHOW THAT
IN ALL TIMES EARTHQUAKES HAVE OCCURRED AND CAUSED DAMAGE IN OUR COUNTRY,
AS WELL AS IN OTHER COUNTRIES. THERE ARE RECORDS OF ESPECIALLY STRONG EARTHQUA-
KES IN OLD DYRRACHIUM, TEPELENA, GJIOKA STRA, ETC.

Prior to the liberation of Albania, in the time of the rule of the foreign occupiers and the local feudal landlords and bourgeoisie, earthquakes were among the major disasters for our people who, poor, worn-out and exploited to the bone as they were by the foreign invaders and the local ruling classes, could not find the slightest possibility to somehow cope with the disaster descending on them. In the past, the collapse of a house was a great misfortune for its owner and his family. Saving on his bread and his children's he had to struggle against great difficulties for tens of years before being able to build a roof to shelter his family. Nevertheless, even in those times of misery and suffering, when the rulers did not give the slightest assistance to the victims, mutual aid was never lacking among our common people, with the brother helping his brother, the friend his friend, and the comrade his comrade. Mutual assistance in calamity, despite all the poverty and misery existing in the country, has been one of the characteristic features of our people. One contributed a blanket, another a quilt, a third a bowl or a spoon, a fourth helped with
his work to build a mud hut or a makeshift shelter.

After Liberation, with the great historic victory of the National Liberation War, with the seizure of power by the people, with the establishment of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the leadership of the glorious Party of Labour, as in every other direction, in coping with such natural calamities as earthquakes, too, the situation changed radically. The destructions caused by earthquakes, which gravely affected entire regions, began to be eliminated with great determination, without much pain and within a very short time. Today, when it comes to helping the victims of some calamity and eliminating its consequences, the entire people rise immediately to their feet, in answer to the call of the Party, just as they did yesterday, during the National Liberation War. When the Party called on the people to fight for the liberation of the Homeland, they rose to a man and were ready to answer its fiery call. The same happened with us after Liberation, too, when our country was struck by earthquakes, as those which ravaged Dibra and Librazhd, Tepelena and the villages of Mallakastria, Saranda and, of late, the districts and towns of Shkodra, Lezha, and many villages of some districts of North Albania. On the call of the Party and with boundless confidence in it, our entire people rose to a man immediately and set about work to cope with the damage caused by the earthquake, to alleviate the great pain of their hard-hit brothers and sisters and share it with them.

On April 15 this year, the earthquake killed and wounded many of our brothers and sisters, hit 500 villages and some towns where more than 17,000 houses, economic and socio-cultural objects were put out of use, and as a result, about 100,000 inhabitants were left without shelter. For a moment, the earth trembled, our hills trembled, our mountains trembled, houses and villages were razed to the ground, everything trembled with the exception of the Albanian. He stood firmly on his feet, as he has always done in front of the storms that have threatened him, as he has stood up to the enemies when they have tried to violate his freedom and to encroach on the borders of his Homeland.

Never, whatever the circumstances, has the Albanian lost heart, but with his eye on the sight of his rifle, he has kept himself upright, has rolled up his sleeves, boosted his courage and mobilized all his physical and mental energies
to cope with the dangers. On the ashes, on the destructions wrought by the barbarous wars of the different occupiers, the Albanian has been able to stand defiant and to rebuild his Homeland.

In our times, too, with the titanic National Liberation War against the Italian fascists and the German nazis, our people liberated their country and, following this war, rebuilt their Homeland burnt down by the enemies. They built it quickly and such as they liked it to be. Later, they built and are still building the true socialist society, where they live free, in complete democracy and in sovereignty. Our people live united in indescribable love with one another, with the Party and their state power.

We are a small country and a small people. But the Albanian people are characterized by great, unexampled strength and stamina in their efforts to defend their Homeland and their life. This strength and stamina of the Albanian people are proved by history.

We are the descendants of the Illyrian tribes. The Greeks, Romans, Normans, Slavs, Anjouins, Byzantines, Venetians, Ottomans and many and many others invaded these ancient territories of our forebears, but they did not succeed in wiping out the Albanian nation, the ancient Illyrian culture, or its Albanian continuation. This shows the great love of our people for life, this shows their exemplary determination to defend their hearths, their culture, their unity and everything sacred to the Albanian nation.

In the recent times, too, the Albanian people have suffered many calamities. Attempts were made to wipe them out as a people and a nation and liquidate them as a living and acting unity. The foreigners tried to dismember our country, and did so they also tried to make our people forget their customs, to bastardize their culture and their language, but to no avail.

In modern times, on April 7, 1939, our people and country, under the rule of a feudal, hostile and treacherous hangman of a king who had sold Albania out to Italy, were attacked by Mussolini’s fascist army and, later on, by Hitler’s army, too. But the people and the working class of Albania brought forth from their bosom the glorious Communist Party, today the Party of Labour of Albania, which, right from the first days of its founding, issued the call: Rise, men and women of Albania, rise, young and old, to withstand the storms that threaten us and to emerge victorious over the enemies! And we emerged victorious thanks to the correct leadership of our Party, thanks to the glorious war of the Albanian people, thanks to the ardent patriotism of the sons and daughters of this generous soil, thanks to the immortal ideology of Marxism—Leninism.

The war ruined us, it destroyed everything, thousands of our brothers and sisters were killed, but we never lost heart. Our people were not such as to weep over calamities, they were a people of brave men and women who knew how to fight and to win and, after the victory, to carry on the struggle for the construction of a new society, the socialist society. And now our people live in and enjoy this socialist society defending and carrying it ever more forward.

Today, thanks to the correct line of the Party and the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Albania belongs to the working people and nobody dares touch it. Even a great natural calamity with heavy consequences, like that of the earthquake of April 15 this year, which razed entire regions to the ground, did not dishearten our people.

Sisters and brothers,

Never before, any country of the world struck by earthquakes, has built in the space of five months so many dwelling houses as to shelter a population equal to that of our two major cities — Durrës and Vlorë, taken together, that is to say, procured shelter for about 100,000 inhabitants in new, modern and better houses.

In the other countries, where the bourgeoisie and capital make the law, earthquakes are terrible calamities, as you may have heard, which inflict on the victims such wounds as they are unable to heal even for a long time.

There are countries where the victims of earthquakes live miserably for scores of years waiting to be granted at least a hut, but even this is a dream that never comes true. They live in difficult conditions sheltered in makeshift tents, in mud, rain and snow. A great noise is made about the construction of houses for these unlucky people, even huge sums of money are earmarked for this purpose, allegedly to help them, but nothing is done in fact, because these sums in the rotten capitalist-revisionist world are stolen and pillaged by all those who are allegedly charged to collect and administer these funds and by all sorts of dealers and speculators.

When such calamities hit the capitalist or revisionist countries, their governments stretch their hands for help to all quarters, wherever they can and as much as they can, in order to be granted aid in money, blankets, clothing and footwear, medicaments and any other necessity,
but despite all this, the poor victims still live in misery, with no shelter over their heads. Whereas our socialist country, just as it coped with the previous earthquakes, also succeeded in eliminating the consequences of this destructive earthquake with its own forces, without holding out its hand, without accepting aid from any quarter.

With the Party of Labour of Albania at the head, our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, our socialist society, with their inexhaustible economic possibilities and reserves, with the energies and the generous spirit of our indomitable men and women, quickly overcame the consequences of the earthquake, rebuilt everything that was destroyed—schools, culture centres, creches and kindergartens, maternity houses, roads, water pipes, and many other necessary objects, and gave them to their brothers and sisters of the affected areas.

The families that have moved into their new and modern homes are celebrating today, they are full of joy and happiness, they take great pride in their beloved Party, in their powerful state power.

All these beautiful houses are personal property of the families that have been sheltered in them. We wish these families to live in joy in their homes for many long years. The state of the proletarians will not take from them any compensation, any tax, or rent. This, brothers and sisters, comrades and friends, is what socialism is, this is what the dictatorship of the proletariat is, this is what the triumph of the socialist revolution over the capitalist enemies, both external and internal, is. This is the line of our Party which expresses the will and the interests of the people and the socialist Homeland. This correct line, which is guided by the ever triumphant doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, the Albanian communists and the Albanian people enrich, develop, defend and keep as pure as amber. This shows the vitality of our socialist social order, the great strength and stability of our socialist economy.

The bourgeoisie and the revisionists have tried for many years on end to mislead the world by telling it the contrary of what has happened in Albania, they have tried to present the white as black and to deny all that has been done in our country, to slander that all these achievements do not belong to the Albanian people led by their

Participants at the meeting listening attentively to comrade ENVER HOXHA's speech.
glorious Party of Labour, but to foreigners. The bourgeois and revisionist governments have tried and continue to try to convince the world that allegedly Albania cannot be built, live free and independent relying on its own forces, on the work and the iron will of its people. But life itself has exposed and is exposing all these lies, one after the other. The peoples of the world are seeing ever more with their own eyes the victories the Albanian people are achieving, they are hearing with their own ears the powerful voice of this people always rising in defence of right, in defence of socialism, in defence of their own interests and those of the other peoples of the world. They are hearing with pleasure the powerful voice of the proletarian revolution, which will one day destroy the old bourgeois, capitalist, imperialist and revisionist world to its foundations.

The capitalists and revisionists are raising a hue and cry about «humane feelings» and «human rights», but the facts show that in the countries ruled by them there is neither humanity nor freedom, but misery reigns there for the people, for the working class, for the peasantry. There the unemployed die in their millions from diseases and starvation. Strikes, anarchy, inflation, crime, demonstrations are everyday phenomena in all these countries where clashes are taking place between the exploiters and the people, where the working people are worried by innumerable problems which the regimes in power are unable to cope with. In these countries the life of man is never sure.

The opposite happens in our socialist country where the people are struggling, working and living in happiness. Their living is improving with each passing day and each passing year. With us there is no unemployment, there are no taxes, price rises, or inflation, and such vital necessities as the health service and education are free of charge. Rents with us are so small that people in other countries have difficulty in believing this truth. But the facts, and our reality speak for themselves.

This beautiful and prospering socialist Albania has been built by its people and not by the foreigners, it has been built neither by the Yugoslav Titoites, nor the Soviet or the Chinese revisionists. American imperialism, the capitalist countries of the world, the Soviet revisionists, the Chinese revisionists and all the other revisionists have always had our country and our socialist regime like a thorn in their flesh. All these enemies have tried in a thousand and one ways to harm us, to enslave us. But a people like ours, who have shown their bravery in the centuries, who are showing it even today and will show it at any moment of their life, with their fierce struggle of principle carried out together with the Party and the state power to expose all those who have tried or are trying to harm us, are not enslaved so easily.

Let any capitalist, revisionist or imperialist state come out and deny this great reality — the construction of socialism in our country, our happy and joyful life, the correct and independent policy of the Albanian state, the great friendship our state of the proletarian dictatorship has with the peoples of the world, and in particular, with all those peoples that fight for national and social emancipation.

Let the capitalist or revisionist try, if they can, to conceal the undeniable and magnificent fact that all the buildings destroyed by the earthquake in Northern Albania were rebuilt within a few months. This is a colossal work, a tangible reality which the enemies cannot deny or conceal.

The capitalist and revisionist world has said that our policy will be subjected to some great power and that our country will fall prey to them. But this has not happened, nor will it ever happen. Such shortsighted predictions were made as early as when we began our struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists. The story repeated itself when we exposed the Soviet revisionist traitors with utmost fierceness and with revolutionary justice. The same thing happened when we exposed the Chinese revisionists and the ill-famed Mao Tsetung thought. After the break with the Chinese, the various capitalists and the Soviet revisionists expected that we would join them, expected that Albania would, first stretch out its hand, and then, bow down and become one of their colonies. But they have been waiting in vain, this could never happen in the past, nor can it happen in the future. The Albanian people do not accept any kind of yoke or chains.

Let the peoples, the revolutionaries and progressives, our Marxist-Leninist comrades have an unshaken faith in socialist Albania which will always hold high and sustained the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. This year we
will commemorate with solemnity the centenary of the birth of Joseph Stalin, this glorious Marxist-Leninist, this great proletarian revolutionary whom, with the exception of the enemies of the revolution, all the peoples and the progressive world honour and respect.

We have maintained and will continue to maintain normal state, trade and cultural relations with all those states with which we have such links, as well as with other states that will be willing to have correct relations with us, with the exception of the United States of America, the revisionist Soviet Union and some other states which have committed and continue to this day to commit injustices towards socialist Albania. Nor will we have relations with those states which, without any right, persist in not returning the assets they have robbed the Albanian people of and in not paying reparations for the damages they have caused us during the Second World War. This has always been the will of the Albanian people, this is and will be their will in the future, too. Let world reaction have no hope about a change of stand in regard to our just demands.

This time, too, our people clearly showed the strength of their combative and indomitable character, their undaunted revolutionary spirit, their unexampled determination and courage. They revealed once more what colossal possibilities were hidden in their bosoms, what magnificent projects they were capable of realizing under the leadership of the Party, with their laborious hands. Young and old rose to their feet, our working class, our cooperativist peasantry, our youth, our intelligentsia, our militarymen threw themselves into action and, with lightning speed, dispatched volunteers and material aid to the affected areas. All rushed immediately to the assistance of their brothers and sisters at these moments of calamity. From this high readiness and mobilization once more came out the wonderful spirit of socialist solidarity which the Party has imbued our people with, the unshaken militant trust of our people in the Party.

It is now publicly known that all these objects were built neither by the pope of the Vatican, nor by the holy ghost or the so-called immaculate virgin, but by the strong hands and the acute mind of the working class and the other working people of Albania. Neither the prayers of the pope of the Vatican, nor the lies of Washington and Moscow, nor the construction of church towers or mosque minarets can save the peoples and the poor from their suffering and misery. Only the work of people liberated from capitalist slavery can work wonders. Only the struggle against reaction, capitalism and revisionism can save mankind. Only socialism, built according to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, is the socio-economic order that, at any time, turns any calamity into a great revolutionary strength that overcomes any pain, that copes with any difficulty, and makes people happy.

We Albanians live and will live in friendship with the peoples of all the world, and in particular with the neighbouring peoples. We are very grieved that the people of neighbouring Montenegro and the Albanian population of this republic were hit by the same grave natural calamity as us. We wish and hope that in this country, too, where we, together with the Yugoslav partisans, have shed our blood in the liberation war against the nazi-fascist invaders, the ruined houses will be rebuilt, first of all, and this calamity will not impel people to emigrate foreign lands.

Sisters and brothers,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and my own I greet and congratulate from my heart the population of the affected districts and the volunteers who have come from all the regions of Albania and who, unsparkingly and tirelessly, shed their sweat for the realization of this monumental project of the Party; I greet and congratulate all the working people of our country who, in a lofty revolutionary spirit and with steel proletarian discipline, aware of the difficulties created and inspired by the lofty sentiments of socialist patriotism, successfully coped with the planned tasks, replacing the work of thousands of their comrades who had volunteered to go to the assistance of the ravaged areas. I also greet and congratulate the party organizations, the state and economic organs, the staffs for the elimination of the consequences of the earthquake, the designers and all the other specialists on their organizational and leading work for the complete success of this mass action which became a true school of revolutionary education and tempering and rich experience.

Workers and cooperativists, young men and women, and other working people all over Albania.
This year we will celebrate the glorious jubilee of the 35th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution, hence, in order to meet this jubilee with honour, we are constantly faced with the major task of rolling up our sleeves, shedding our sweat, and putting in all the energies of our hearts and minds for the realization of the tasks we have been charged with, whether economic, political or in the field of defence. Let us work for our national economy to advance and be strengthened incessantly, for our defence capacity to rise ever higher and our socialist Homeland to become invulnerable by any enemy. No Albanian should ever forget that all the possibilities we have for the improvement of life were created through work and struggle. We must think of today, but we must also think of the morrow, therefore we must overfulfil plans, increase reserves and put the interests of the people, the interests of the socialist Homeland, above everything. In this prism the Albanian people should judge everything they do and every political stand they maintain. The Party, the people and the socialist Homeland above everything!

As always, in the future, too, let us transform these calamities, if they ever happen, which have become for us major tests of our unity, courage, bravery and revolutionary tempering into an inexhaustible force, let us transform them into victories. Let us turn into a great force for the complete construction of socialism and the further strengthening of the defence capacity of the Homeland the deep sorrow we feel for the loss of our people through the April 15 earthquake and the premature death of our glorious comrade, the outstanding leader of the Party and our people, the brave and heroic fighter of the National Liberation War and the construction of socialism, Hysni Kapo, who up to the last moment of his life spoke and thought about the Party and the people and who precisely here, at Balcëllëk, some weeks before he died, put the first stone on the foundations of this socialist village that lies here before our eyes.

The brilliant figure and work of the great militant Hysni Kapo will remain immortal and perpetually alive for the Party and our people.

The success we have achieved should serve, encourage and inspire us to increase ever more our love for one another, to increase our love for our great Party which is leading us with great wisdom, courage and bravery from victory to victory in all fields. Let us put fully into practice the behests of thousands of our comrades who fell in the National Liberation War and of many others who fell on the front of the work and struggle for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland; let us keep forever alive the memory of the martyrs of the nation who fought to bring about the happy days our strong socialist Homeland, our happy and prosperous Homeland, is going through.

On this occasion, on behalf of the Central Committee and my own, I also want to warmly congratulate the people of the Shkodra district on the highest order of the «Hero of Socialist Labour» it was awarded by the Presidium of the People's Assembly on the proposal of the Political Bureau. The historic Shkodra, the Shkodra of the outstanding fighters of the pen and the rifle, the Shkodra of Renaissance and the National Independence, the Shkodra of the National Liberation War, the Shkodra of the unifying work for the construction of socialism, for the realization of the economic and cultural plans and the building of defence works, fully deserves the great honour our whole Homeland — Albania, is doing it today.

Once more, brothers and sisters of Shkodra and all the towns and villages which were ruined by the strong earthquake of April 15, I wish you to enjoy your new homes, to live there a life of joy and happiness with your children, whom we will educate to become brave and faithful fighters of the Party, will temper into laborious, modest and determined men and women, like all our people. With the example of our immortal people in the centuries, let us kindle in the hearts of the young generation the purest feelings of freedom, independence, mutual love and, in the first place, boundless love for the Party of Labour of Albania, for the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Let us make our children ardent internationalists who, if necessary, will throw themselves into fire, always ready to defend the borders of the Homeland, the proletarian revolution and the anti-imperialist national liberation struggles.

LONG LIVE THE PARTY!
LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE!
ENVER HOXHA

THE PROGRESS OF THE NATION IS INSEPARABLE FROM THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Science and technology have progressed and developed in order to meet the needs of production and social life, just as they are factors stimulating the development of science and technology.

The analysis and discussion of the problems of science at this Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party were necessary and useful.

At present our country has reached an advanced stage of socio-economic development, in which creative and transforming scientific activities and research work have had a very important place and role. However, more work is still needed to raise them to an even higher level qualitatively and quantitatively, so that they make a greater and more effective contribution to all this development.

Our Homeland is the only country in the world which successfully builds the genuine socialist society in the specific historical conditions of the encirclement by the capitalist-revisionist world without any economic aid or credits from abroad. This does not happen either in the smaller countries or in the biggest countries, which, due to their capitalist and revisionist nature, utilize everything, even science and technology, in order to oppress and exploit the broad working masses, in order to realize their predatory imperialist aims.

Our country today faces the magnificent tasks of the 7th Five-year Plan, which we are drafting and which we shall carry out entirely on our own. Precisely these main circumstances induced our Political Bureau to decide on calling this meeting of the Central Committee for the specific purpose of discussing the problems of science and scientific research work so that science and technical progress are better placed in the service of the present and perspective development of the country, of the development of the economy, the education of the new man and the strengthening of the defence of the Homeland.

The report of the Political Bureau on scientific research work, submitted by Comrade Ramiz Alia, gives a correct and synthesized view of matters, an outline of the program of scientific work in the main directions. The report raises problems, gives orientations, or defines the objectives to be reached. This is important for a better direction and advancement of the whole scientific-research work. The comrades' contributions to the discussion completed our understanding of the problem raised, informing us better about the stages of development of the sciences up to this day. This is absolutely necessary and we, as well as all the working people, who contribute with their work to scientific and technical progress, must know exactly how things stand in this field.

Just as in every other activity, before declaring what you will achieve, and defining your tasks, you must be well-acquainted with the existing situation from which you start, and consider it from all aspects. This is how it is with science too. If we say that we want to achieve this or that objective, to take this or that step in the development of the
In the direct service, and in turn have been and are constant technology themselves.

different sciences production, we must have a good knowledge of the existing situation in the development of the sciences and their application in production. Similarly, if we say that scientific study and research must precede every kind of work and open the road and broaden the perspective for production, we must be informed of the level this has been realized in practice.

With this I mean that, just as we went about it here at this Plenum, or even more so as will be done when these materials are studied by the central organs and institutions, in the districts and at the grass-root level, a thorough analysis of the successes, the shortcomings and gaps must be made, examining how the different disciplines of science have developed in our country, what level has been reached in scientific-research work and innovations, what obstacles have impeded or continue to impede further progress, what concrete measures should be adopted and what should be done in the future for this purpose.

Our Party has attached and will continue to attach great importance to science and scientific-technical progress in our country, because their development has been and is inseparable from the fulfilment of the needs and the development of our socialist social life. Our Party and state have never regarded science and scientific-technical progress as an aim in itself. Science and technology have progressed and developed in the direct service of the needs of production and social life, just as these in turn have been and are constant factors stimulating the development of science and technology themselves.

The sciences, whether technical or natural, are a form of the social consciousness, just as literature, the arts and others. Science promotes the general development of civilization, society, the same as the arts, literature, technology and others. Science is not an isolated epiphenomenon, on the contrary, it is connected through deep and strong roots with the social, ideological, economic and political terrain. Science is connected with various epochs and develops in various epochs. Science, or scientific thinking, cannot and must not be divorced from the social context in which it evolves. So it is inseparable from the history of mankind, in general, from the progress of society.

Social practice is the source of development of the sciences and the criterion to assess the correctness of their theses. There is an even closer connection between the development of science, technology and the productive forces. The impact of science and technical and scientific progress is felt in the increase of the material and intellectual potential of society, which in turn gives a new impulse to the development of science. This always follows a dialectical materialistic course. The advance of chemistry, as our great classical writers teach us, led to materialism, the development of mathematics led to determinism and atheism. Through geometry Archimedes rejected Aristotle's theory of the world and the properties of bodies and so on.

Naturally, proper acquisition of scientific knowledge, even by specialists themselves, is not quite simple, on the contrary, is very complicated. At the present stage, sciences have expanded so much that even the ablest of scientists is at a loss, we may say,
and finds it difficult to give a concise formulation of the scope of this or that science. Every science is divided into specific branches and each branch is a specialty on its own. The development and proliferation of knowledge gives birth to specialization, and specialization calls for the closest possible cooperation between the various scientific disciplines, fields of research and the various and sundry technologies. Because of the very greater specialization and cooperation in science, it is becoming more and more difficult to distinguish the limits of scientific disciplines and to understand them independently of each other.

What is the relationship between physics and chemistry, for instance? Through their interconnections these two sciences have become, so to say, "relatives". Their objects and methods are very closely linked with each other, we may even say that they are interrelated. Both of them serve the study of the universe and became differentiated just like the other natural sciences.

In giving a congruous explanation of the world, science would have left in the dark many things and phenomena, which bear a resemblance to one another, had it not discovered the connections between them. Therefore no science can be grasped, applied and further developed without connecting the problems and methods of its domain with those of the other sciences. Physics or chemistry, electronics or the study of the atom could not have advanced without using the language of mathematics, to put it like this. A close dialectical connection also exists between technical and natural sciences, on the one hand, and social and economic sciences, on the other.

This is conditioned by the very complex nature of the different problems and phenomena of life, where the material, technical and technological aspects are not divorced from the political, economic and social aspects. From this ensues that, in our practice, we must overcome incorrect manifestations, which are noticed in both directions. In many cases problems of technical and natural sciences are considered closed immediately after finding technical or technological solutions to them, without due regard for their socio-economic aspects. On the other hand, economic and social sciences must have their say more forcefully and comprehensively about the ways and directions of utilizing the achievements of technical and natural sciences, about the possibility, time and utility of their practical application.

If we consider the question from this angle we will understand how strongly the sciences are connected with one another, whether in fundamental research or, more so, in research for application purposes. Hence, concern about promoting cooperation, collaboration and interplay between workers of different scientific disciplines should always be kept up and never allowed to slacken. Otherwise science does not advance, it marks time, progress remains within artisan limits, perspectives for further advance are not opened up.

The development of applied sciences relies, to a great extent, on fundamental sciences. Frequently there is no immediate profit in a scientific discovery, however, what at present appears to be a "pure" scientific result, which cannot be utilized tomorrow might prove to be otherwise for the future generations, which will put it to use for great things. The history of the development of science provides innumerable examples of this kind. Let us take, for instance, Newton and Leibnitz's invention of mathematical analysis. Their contemporaries appreciated them, but could they have imagined at that time that the engineer of the future would use it so extensively in the construction of bridges, sky-scrapers, and launching projectiles over 120 kilometres? No, they could not. This is what has happened with the scientific theories of the outstanding astronomers Tycho Brahe and Kepler, of Einstein and other great scientists and physicists.

In the conditions of our country we must insist more in the field of application, where we must concentrate the main forces of our scientific research work. This does not mean that original studies should not be made in the fields of fundamental sciences. On the contrary, we must strive even more in order to master the theory of natural and technical sciences so that we can understand and apply the achievements of applied sciences with success and on a large scale. This is how the transition from theory to practice is effected, this is how empiricism and academicism are combated. Our men of science must consider routine as something to be condemned and non-productive in the study of science and its application in practice, consider it a serious hindrance, which must be eliminated resolutely. Besides this, they must also fight sophistry in science, because not only does it make knowledge sterile, but even brings about the degeneration of science itself.

In this context, the logic of combining theory with practice must be developed both among the men of science and those of production, at the University and at the grass-roots, both among the specialists working at the grass-roots and the specialists working in central institutions. The men of science must be guided by the principle what theoretical and experimental data can be raised to science only when they are logically connected together.

Even from this general survey of the great problems of science we can see how much work and effort is required on our part at present and in the future in order to grasp and apply the achievements of advancing science.
Society influences the development of science, but the latter in turn influences the development of society. The socialist revolution, in particular, imparts a powerful impulse to science. Great as the development of science may have been under the French bourgeois-democratic revolution, the great October Socialist Revolution, led by Lenin and Stalin, gave an even greater boost to science.

With the triumph of the people's revolution and the construction of socialism in our country science has assumed great development. It is an incontrovertible fact that our social sciences, which apply the line and policy of the Party, have made their valuable contribution to the scientific explanation and analysis of the laws of development of socialist society, the defence of the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, and the exposure of bourgeois and revisionist views and practices, the scientific study of the ancient and glorious history of our people. They have played a major role in the communist education of the working people, in the further improvement of the relations of production and the superstructure of our socialist society.

Important studies and works have been carried out for the development of the forces of production at rapid rates, the setting up of a complex and independent economy, and the construction of the material-technical base of socialism. Workers, cooperativists and specialists are forging ahead with their creative thinking, putting forward proposals, making improvements, replacing the old with the new.

But still, in spite of the great work that is being done everywhere, we cannot say that a correct understanding of scientific research and studies has been achieved. Many technical and scientific forces remain unmobilized and fail to make their proper contribution to qualified work. In quite a number of cases day-to-day instant work predominates over scientific work, when the contrary should happen. As well as this, narrow and artisan concepts continue to exercise their inhibitory influence. Advanced experience, which relies on many scientific elements, is not disseminated and implemented to the due extent. It is a fact that the level of scientific workers has been raised, but still it does not respond to the stage we have reached today, and even less to the stage we will reach in the future.

The plans we draft are based on science, therefore they are scientific. However the application of science in every sector and branch, in order to serve the fulfilment of the plan, is still inadequate, because the level of scientific work too, in spite of the progress we have made, is still low. It is necessary to raise the level of scientific work in the struggle for the fulfilment of the plan. Some fail to delve deep into this problem. Some others, bureaucrats, supposedly «truthful and sticking to the point» of what has been laid down in the plan, inhibit technical-scientific progress. The bureaucrats are the conservatives, who are not disposed to put up with the development of science. This is a result of their lack of scientific proportion, of their preparation at an artisan level, which is insufficient and inhibiting. There are also administrative obstacles encouraging such tendencies.

In these questions a great change of direction must be made by the leadership at all levels, by the workers, cooperativists and specialists, by the middle and higher cadres, everywhere they work and direct. More efforts must be made to forge ahead more boldly, self-assuredly and methodically for the grasping and application of science. Otherwise, there will be progress, of course, but the progress will be small and not up to the great tasks and growing needs of the country.

Our men, whether in the directing apparatus or production, at the centre of the grass-roots, must always bear in mind Lenin's insistent teaching:

«...we must learn and then see to it that science does not remain with us a dead letter or a phrase in vogue (a thing which, we must not conceal it, frequently happens with us), that science become fully and fully an inseparable part of our everyday life. In a word,» Lenin continued, «we are called upon to do not what the bourgeoisie of West Europe demand, but what is necessary and demanded from a country which has set itself the tasks of becoming a socialist country.» (V.L. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 33, p. 350, Alb. ed.)

I think that the tasks mentioned in the report on the development of scientific-research work, which was presented before the Plenum, must be regarded as an integral part of the five-year plan we are drafting. Science should help in planning production, precede production and open up perspectives for the development of the economy and culture. The draft-plan is being worked out, is being discussed at the grass-roots and will subsequently be returned to the central organs. However, the decisions of this Plenum should not be understood as separate from the 7th Five-year Plan and none is allowed to get on with the idea «what's done is done», and leave to spontaneity the scientific studies and research, which have to do with the drafting and completing of the five-year plan. This should in no way be allowed to happen.

Naturally, this Plenum sets tasks, which on some questions go a little beyond the objectives of the 7th Five-year Plan. However, if the main tasks for the development of science and technology are included in the framework of the five-year plan, they too must help us define more accurately our
needs for cadres, funds, materials, what we must do for the improvement of the organization of scientific work, from the grass-roots to the centre, and for other tasks.

The objective of all this work must be to make the development of science and technical progress a powerful basis for the realization of the major targets and tasks that await us. In this connection, it is important to keep in mind well what the 7th Plenum of the Central Committee has stressed, namely, that science is confronted with the task of putting all the political and mental forces of its workers to the new five-year plan we are drafting. Everything that will be envisaged under this five-year plan for the development of the productive forces and the improvement of the relations of production, which is also connected with science and scientific study, should absolutely be guaranteed from all standpoints.

The problem in this case must be examined in its two aspects: that of drafting a most scientific plan as possible and putting it into practice, and that of opening up new prospects. This, of course, also presupposes further complementary and accurate scientific argumentation in the process of the implementation of the tasks of the plan. Scientific and technical progress is a great reserve, which should be utilized to improve and overfulfil our plans.

The successful realization of these objectives, in search work and technical progress are defined in the main orientations of the Central Committee for the perspective development of the economy and culture. In connection with the 7th Five-year Plan they consist in the development in extent and in depth of the heavy extracting and processing industry, in the development and strengthening of the energy base of the country, mainly in the oil industry, in fully commissioning the projects which the Chinese revisionists have sabotaged or left half-way, where the mechanical-engineering industry has to play a special role, in the development of agriculture and livestock breeding, in the fulfillment of the needs of the defence of the country, as well as in the development of the other branches and sectors of the economy and culture.

The successful realization of these objectives, in the present circumstances and at the present stage, demands a most correct concept of scientific work and, in general, of the development and deepening of the technical-scientific revolution. Rationalizations and innovations made by workers and specialists, and which bring about progress in technology, no doubt, rely on some advanced empirical elements. In them there are also sporadic elements and action of scientific knowledge. These rationalizations and innovations should continue to be made and even increased, both quantitatively and qualitatively. This is a major work of the masses, which resolves important problems of production and which should be better encouraged and organized so as to respond properly to the conditions created and the great tasks facing us.

However, we must not confuse small scientific work, so to say, that which is done for carrying out a rationalization in the factory, or for some improvement in agriculture, which are very useful and must absolutely be encouraged by all manner and means, with scientific work in the broader and real sense of the word. Scientific work demands a whole positive work of generalization, improvement and transformation in practice and theory, a qualitative explosion, we may say, a revolution in production, in technique, technology or organization, in one factory as a whole, or in all the factories of the same or similar nature, in various fields of our development, by giving solution to the present problems raised by life, as well as by opening up prospects for the future. These requirements of scientific-research work must be seen in unity both by the scientific workers at the centre and the grass-roots. They have to do with the active role of science itself, with the quality and effectiveness of scientific-research work. Departure from them is fraught with negative consequences for the present and the future of the development of the country and science itself.

Let us consider the field of technology and constructions in this aspect. The setting up of a number of production lines, workshops and plants with our own forces is a success, just as the production of tractors, drilling machines, ships and other means of transport, are a success too.

We have a planned and thrifty economy, which stems from the very nature of our socio-economic order, but we also are a small country. All this induces us to use and we will use for a long time to come the material and technical base we have set up, while taking great care for its maintenance. We will also continue to build machines and equipment on the basis of the existing level. But now the time has come, and the possibilities have also been created, to think and work with a better view of the perspective, in order to design and produce machines and equipment of new types, with technical-economic indices and parameters to match the level of contemporary technique and technology, and proceed not from the assumption that we should stick to the type that is more easily realized and built, but which is not always the best and the most convenient. This is how we develop the forces of production both extensively and intensively.

The scientists, specialists, innovators and the other working people, who engage in creative scientific work in this field, must have their powerful
say and constantly ask themselves: Is this we are making the best, the most effective? Does it respond to the needs and socio-economic possibilities of our country? Without doing this in practice we will not be marching in step with the time, will talk about the necessity of deepening the intensification of the economy, but in reality will not be doing as much as necessary, compared with the possibilities existing at present, which will be increased in the future. This I mean as a suggestion to the work groups that have been set up for designing technologies and producing machinery, for reconstructions and the new projects of the 7th Five-year Plan.

Of course, these are neither simple nor easily soluble problems. They call for much study, comparisons and experimentation, for here we have to do, in the first place, with technology which, as is known, is a whole of complex methods and processes utilized for working on primary and various materials in the process of production, and transform them into finished products. Here we come up against the monopoly on technology, which the capitalists and the revisionists try to employ as a means of exercising pressure on the peoples and of subjugating them, which we should always keep well in mind in our work.

We must be careful not only about local productions, but also about the machines and equipment we continue to import from abroad, aiming to achieve a correct harmonization between these advanced technical level and the energy base and raw material sources available in our country, and not try to buy what is cheapest, because it may prove to be most costly. Likewise, we must proceed cautiously with regard to the superautomatic equipment, which we should not bring in, because they are very expensive and we cannot put them to use.

The major improvements that are required to be carried out in technology, in all the branches and sectors of the economy, as well as the present tasks, which will be greater in the future, for the designing and building of many new projects on a self-supporting basis, put forward forcefully and imperatively the necessity of training cadres for this field. Our programs should be revised and the level of the teaching and training of the cadres for the technological aspects of production should be raised higher in our schools, secondary or higher ones, just as the problems of coping with shortages of specialists in some branches, who should be trained in the country or, if necessary, some of them may be sent for specialization abroad, can be studied, as well.

At present our country has embarked more broadly on a new phase of development of the mechanical-engineering industry — that of the machinebuilding industry. According to the preliminary draft-plan for the 7th five-year period, the production of machinery and equipment will increase about 80 per cent in comparison with the 6th Five-year Plan, which has occurred in no other five-year period. During the coming five-year period, more than 15,000 tons of machinery and about 1,000 tons of equipment will be produced for the first time this year only for the projects of the Ministry of Industry and Mining. More than 600,000 drawings will have to be made for mineral-dressing factories, for reconstructing and building many mineral-smelting enterprises and factories, plants of the chemical, wood-processing and other industries. This regards the quantitative aspect of the problem for one department alone, a problem, which has its own requirements and difficulties, but the qualitative aspect of the problem is even more complex.

We have not such experience of this degree, but this we must gain without fail. Need will impel us to forge ahead, as we have done in all the fields of life and science up to day. We know well what Engels has written, when analysing the dialectical link between science and practical necessities:

"If technology depends to a considerable degree on the level of science, science depends to an even greater degree on the level and necessities of technology. When society is faced with a technical necessity, it drives science much more forward than ten universities." (K. Marx and F. Engels, Selected Works, vol. 2, p. 390, Alb. ed.)

How have technical and natural sciences approached the problems for constructions and reconstructions that we are faced with? How much are our men of science involved in these problems and how have they tackled the tasks set two or three years ago? From what I have been informed, of 59 studies envisaged to be carried out by the institutes and working groups of the Ministry of Industry and Mining, of the Light Industry, of Agriculture and Construction in the past two years, one third of them has not yet been completed, and even those that have been completed have not yet been discussed and approved. Of about 160 studies and designs of various categories to be completed within 1980, only 39 have been finished in the recent two years.

This state of things is not in the least satisfactory, there is lack of serious involvement, cooperation and control. How many problems and difficulties will be raised and how much time will it take to implement these studies? For some of the projects that figure in this year’s plan, and for others on which work will begin in 1981, the tasks for the construction of machines have been trans-
ferred to mechanical-engineering plants in general, only in terms of their value. But what sort of ma-
chines will they be, who will design them and what will their destination be? All these questions still
wait a proper answer. Here we can talk as much as we like about scientific plans and science in the
mechanical-engineering industry, but this does not make the attainment of objectives any surer. All
over these questions detailed discussions are needed for a quick change for the better; people should be
clearly informed about their tasks and the needs of the country.

The report does not dwell long enough on the scientific problems of electro- and thermo-ener-
ggetics. Nevertheless, I think that prognosis of new power resources, the extension and develop-
ment of the single-power system and its utilization at a higher scientific level, in order to raise the
degree of reliability of supply for the power con-
sumers, as well as economic indices, in order to in-
troduce electric power more widely into production
ensure the automation of various production processes, assume major importance in this
field.

Studies, designs and experiments, connected with the problems of thermo-energetics, should be
raised to a higher scientific and organizational level. They should comprise important problems, such as
the scientific study of the power balance of pro-
jects with large power consumption, of industrial regions and of the country as a whole. Studies
should be carried out about the best ways of burning solid fuel, adapting thermogenerating equipment to
various types of coal and electric power, in order to
increase the degree of concentration of generating
sources of thermal energy, so that this energy is
utilized in a complex manner in industry, agricul-
ture, heating, etc.

Based on the Marxist-Leninist agrarian policy of
our country, our agriculture has marched and is
marching ahead on original, correct roads and with
a clear perspective. Today we have about two
thirds of the country's population living in the coun-
tryside, and this will continue to be so for most of
it in the future too. This is possible due to the ex-
tensive and intensive development of agriculture,
as well as the ever wider introduction of industry and
activities of other branches and sectors of the

economy into the territory of the countryside. How-
ever, agricultural activities will always occupy the
main place there. We are going on the road of
intensification of agricultural production, in the
conditions when the labour force in agriculture con-
tinues to increase both from the village population
and, in part, also from the city population. Likewise,
we are successfully implementing the policy of con-
stantly narrowing down distinctions between city
and country.

Marching on this road represents a great suc-
cess, which is in the interest of the whole society, a
thing that does not occur anywhere in the world,
where the countryside is being depleted and agri-
culture degraded. On the one hand, the capitalists
and revisionists talk about the transformation of
their countries into industrial and superindustrial
countries, while, on the other, they are faced with
the undeniable facts of stagnation and slump of
agricultural production, of deep-going agrarian cri-
ses, of gloomy perspectives and even outright pa-
nic, that have them in their grip. Directly or in-
directly they are forced to admit these phenomena
from the positions of neo-Malthusianism.

Advancement of the achievements in the field of
agrarian policy, the progress of the countryside and
the development of agriculture, the drawing of the
countryside nearer to and its progress along with the
city, all this sets major tasks before the agri-
cultural, economic and social sciences, which must
make a profound study of the problems of the ex-
tensive and intensive development of agriculture,
of the harmonization of the branches of agricul-
tural production and their effectiveness, of the im-
provement of the relations of distribution and ex-
changes, of the educational, cultural and social ad-
vance of our socialist village.

Our Party plays a militant vanguard role in the
defence of Marxism-Leninism. Life brought about
that we should build socialism in our country in
specific conditions and circumstances, encircled by
savage imperialist and revisionist enemies, that we
should go successfully ahead on untroubled paths.

Seeing the question in this light, the social sciences
are faced with major tasks and problems, both in
summing up the experience of our socialist revolu-
tion and construction, and in providing as many
scientific arguments as possible for the perspectives
of our development.

The bourgeoisie and the revisionists, all the
scribes of capital: philosophers, politicians, econo-
mists, sociologists, historians and other lackeys, are
fervishly trying to whitewash and defend the rot-
ten oppressive capitalist order, to check the re-
volution and the liberation struggle of the peoples
to combat and revise the Marxist-Leninist theory on
the revolution, the party of the working class and
the dictatorship of the proletariat, the construction
of socialism, the class struggle and on its other
cardinal problems. In this hodge-podge connected
by the international bourgeoisie, in the context of
the global counter-revolutionary plans of imperialist
strategy, it is the imperative task of the social
sciences to play under the leadership of the Party
a major role in the defence of Marxism-Leninism
to widen the prospects and to bring the experience
of our socialist revolution more to the relief.
Whereas the great October Socialist Revolution, led by Lenin and Stalin, on the basis of the doctrine of Marx and Engels, is known all over the world, so everybody speaks well or ill of it, our revolution is relatively less known. Most people in the world know that there exists a socialist Albania, which stands unflinchingly and consistent to its own line, but they cannot conceal their astonishment and ask: «How does this come about? What does Albania rely on?» The task of our social sciences is to explain the objective and subjective factors of our revolution and socialist construction, explain how the party took advantage of the concrete conditions of our country. This theory leads to the revolutionary road through which the others are bound to pass without exception, after destroying imperialism and revisionism.

The present epoch, regardless of all pressure, blackmail, deception and corruption, is witness to what our great classics, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, have scientifically predicted, that is, that the antagonistic contradictions between the forces of production and the oppressive and exploitative capitalist relations of production have entered the road of their solution. The proletariat, which is oppressed and exploited, the millions of the hungry in Asia, Africa, Latin America and elsewhere in the world, will be patient only up to a point, beyond which they will no longer tolerate the existing state of things, and then revolution will break out for sure.

Our socialist country is and should become an ever greater example of inspiration to and encouragement for the proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the world. Hence, the necessity for our social, political and philosophical, economic, historical, linguistic, ethnographic and other sciences, to carry out complex studies and make broad generalizations about the ancient history of the Albanian people, their heroic past and genesis, the history of our language and the making of our nation, the glorious epic of the National Liberation War, the road we have traversed for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, creation and development of our socialist economy and culture and about a number of other problems brought forward by life and our revolutionary development. Social sciences should be oriented, first of all, towards current themes and those problems demanding solution, because it is not normal that we have not yet put in the hands of the people the history of the period of the construction of socialism, and do not have exhaustive studies of the philosophical, political and economic thinking of our Party, of the problem of the complete construction of our socialist society, broad generalizations in the field of international relations. Likewise studies should be carried out from scientific positions to expose reactionary views in science. Broader and more profound studies should be carried out in the field of our people’s military art, etc.

Social sciences, the school, art and culture in our country are required to mitigate for the revolutionary tempering and education of our new man, imbued with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, for the understanding and consistent implementation of the correct line and policy of our Party.

An advanced country, which builds genuine socialism also should distinguish itself from other countries in the material and spiritual culture of its people, their socialist way of life, beginning with the new men and their cultural development, their improved health and the ever greater concern shown for it, problems of urbanistic and architecture, ending with trade and services – such a country should stand out in all fields of life. To achieve all this scientific studies with broader horizons and perspectives, as well as better measures on the part of the state organs and all the other levers of the Party, are needed.

Likewise, the organizations of the masses, which are in day-to-day contact with the broad working masses of the city and country, and which must put their work on more scientific bases, can and must make more political, ideological, sociological and other studies with their internal forces and activists. This is all the more necessary in the absence of specialized organs or institutions, which should concern themselves with these matters.

Science and scientific-research work have attained such level of development and are confronted today with such tasks and requirements, which dictate the need for a better direction and organization from the centre to the base. Since we say that the revolution in science and technology is carried out by the masses, which is an indisputable reality in our country, we must respond to the rising of this revolution to ever new heights by means of a more efficient direction and organization. This becomes still more imperative if we take account of the nature, difficulties and complexity of the activity and work of scientific research, from simple innovative creative work to the more complex scientific activity.

Here a number of questions crop up again, which we considered to be right in their time but which, in the new conditions and according to the new tasks, should be reassessed and resolved better. Of all these people engaged in various links of science, scientific innovative activity, how many are in the places they properly belong to, how much our forms of organization help carry the work forward and how they can be improved further. How much our material, financial and hard currency
resources, as well as people themselves, support the objectives we have set, which may seem sufficient and appropriate, when they may not be and are not so. And this may put the question mark on several tasks we have set in the field of development of science and technology.

In the unity of leadership in every state institution, both at the centre and the base, there should exist political and economic direction, which occupy first place. In the second place, and as auxiliaries to the former, come scientific organisms and the management next, which has its own role and functions in the service of each institution. Doubtlessly, all state activity is led by particularly specialized and harmonized scientific work. Inhibitions and bureaucracy, which crop up sometimes in direction and organization, should be combated, they should by no means be accepted by the political and economic direction. Manifestations of bureaucracy and liberalism should be combated with determination, because they inhibit in a thousand ways the application of science and its innovations.

The political and operational leadership should not get itself tangled up in trifles, it must display a spirit of initiative, without recollecting before problems and difficulties. Scientific and innovative thought, the useful proposals, should be listened to and encouraged in order to impart a vigorous impulse to production and all other activities, whether of a short or long term. They should be applied, and should not be allowed to be covered by dust. In such activity is revealed both the step forward taken in the development of science and its result in the promotion of production and in the social field.

An urgent problem is also that of seeing the effectiveness of the work of the various scientific institutions and organisms of the central departments and the Academy of Sciences and their dependence. Departmental institutions should tackle scientific and technical problems, which are closely linked with the promotion of production, education and culture, and not let themselves be turned into organs of administrative activity, as is often the case today. While taking further steps, the necessity may emerge to set up some new specialized scientific organism, but this should be done with utmost care, with ponderation and restraint, because we want to promote science and combat the spirit of «institutionalism», as well.

We have considered the institutes as nuclei which should engage themselves in scientific work, but they are required to rely strongly on those thousands and thousands of cadres of medium and higher training, as well as vanguard workers and cooperativists, where the greatest reserve lies. Only in this way can a fresh impulse be given to the innovative and scientific-research work.

In the context of all the links of scientific work a special role is played by the technical and technological bureaus, as well as scientific councils in enterprises and cooperatives. In this direction we should combat manifestations of oversimplifying work, due to which in many cases they have been turned into groups, which tackle problems of current production processes, make some minor technological improvement, a thing which, in fact, is up to the worker, who follows up and controls production. They may occasionally involve themselves in these matters, but this should not become a habit with them. Technical and technological bureaus and scientific councils should be assigned better defined tasks, and measures be taken to improve their activity, activating around them scores of higher specialists and hundreds of experienced workers and cooperativists, who have schooling and of whom there is no lack in every enterprise and cooperative.

Innovative and scientific-research work in enterprises and agricultural cooperatives is and must necessarily be much broader than work done directly by technical and technological bureaus and scientific councils. This day-by-day activity should be directed well, supported and encouraged by all manner of means. Valuable initiatives, planned and unplanned, spring and will spring continually from it. The task is to assess them, so to say, thresh them out, then take measures for their implementation. We should go further on, gradually giving them a mass character, specializing and concentrating their activity. No bureaucratic obstacles should be raised, as happens at times in practice, under the pretext that «the main thing is the fulfillment of the plan», that «this or that innovation has nothing to do with the profile of the enterprise», etc., etc.

As in any other activity, in scientific-research work, too, man, politically and ideologically educated and scientifically trained, is the decisive factor to carry things forward. The Party has trained a whole army of cadres of higher and middle training, which keeps increasing with each passing year, and has brought about a great development in science, knowledge and, as everywhere else, the results are apparent, tangible. Still we think that we ought to have done and should do more. There where we have created the proper conditions for this, people march on with courage, but at the same time many obstacles, objective and subjective, are raised, which prevent the men of science from giving their maximum. There are those who lack the will for creative scientific work, who forget that every scientific discipline has and requires a method of its own of research, development, application, conception, a basis where it is implemented.

To be exigent is all right, but the leadership at the base does not understand and does not make
sufficient efforts to understand science and the
great need production has for its application. There
are leading cadres who think they know every-
thing, so they make light of the opinion of the spe-
cialists the Party has trained for the most various
sectors and fields. You can be a leading cadre, but
this does not mean that you know everything, you
are not even required to know everything, either.
But to learn from and to listen to those who know,
this the leading cadre must do without fail. At the
same time the specialists, whom the Party and the
people have trained at the cost of so many efforts and
sacrifices, should also proceed from the basis of our
Marxist-Leninist theory in assessing thoughts
and actions, scientific and technical problems, the
demands of production, education, culture, defence,
etc. In this manner both the danger of underrating
science and technology and of technocracy are
avoided.

Another question should be made well clear to
everybody. If the number of higher cadres in pro-
duction or other sectors increases, the Party expects
and demands from them to collaborate with the
working collectives in order to make progressive
improvements and changes, otherwise their work
will not return the result wished for. Of course, the
cadres of production are held and must be res-
ponsible, in the first place, for the working out and
implementation of plans on the basis of the demands
of science and technology, but they are also required
to make their valuable contribution in scientific
and technical research work.

Therefore engineers, agronomists, economists
and all the other specialists should be charged with
concrete tasks according to plans, demanding from
them, for example, that within this or that term
 technological parameters, mechanization, savings,
yields of field crops, etc., should reach this or that
level. This will also help give science a mass char-
acter. The Party demands efficiency in production,
but this cannot be attained without efficiency in
scientific-research work.

The University and the other higher schools are
the sapling-ground for the training of capable ca-
dres, of our scientists. Their main task is to turn
out cadres, scientists, capable in every direction, in
every branch and discipline.

For this objective to be achieved, quality must
be demanded from the university teacher, in the
first place. Therefore a rigorous selection of them
should be made. They must not only be capable
in their respective branches, but also exacting
towards themselves and their students, able in de-
veloping theory and familiar with the application
of science. They must stand out for scientific
method, style and discipline. They must have science
and its development in their blood, this must be-
come second nature to them, and they should not
consider the activity of the teacher to be a mere
means of livelihood. If our higher schools or our
institutes of scientific research have any such teach-
ers who are incapable, these should be replaced
immediately with more capable cadres.

For scientific work to be fruitful, in every
scientific discipline the time assigned for the given
study, the work-load of teachers and students, theo-
retical and laboratory work, teaching activities and,
on the other hand, practical work and military
training, as well as the necessary holidays, must
be very carefully calculated.

It is necessary also to study what experience
has given us up to day. Is the time set for studies in
the different scientific disciplines sufficient? For
this purpose, close cooperation in practice is
required among the faculties of the University and
other higher schools in their various disciplines, just
for studying them in general and particular, and
on the basis of concrete analyses and the new
orientations, to make changes and improvements.

There is no doubt that the University and the
higher schools must be equipped with laboratories,
libraries and all the other necessary means, but of
course, these should not be immediately of the most
sophisticated kind, so much so that nobody knows
how to operate them.

The dependence of the University and the
higher educational institutes on the Ministry of
Education and Culture should not make the other
departments give no care and assistance to these
institutions and wash their hands of it. On the
contrary, they must co-ordinate well their work
with the Ministry of Education and Culture or with
the proposed state organ, which is under study, and
which will carry out the direction of the higher
schools.

As well as that, the links of the University and
the higher schools with the base must be further
strengthened, and this should also be done by the
Academy of Sciences and other scientific-research
institutions. This should not be understood as a
link between the dean's office and a given depart-
ment, but more so as one between the higher spe-
cialist with the base and its leadership. But this
leadership too must have as much logic and con-
descension as to listen attentively to the specialists.
It must follow the development of science, learn
from it and apply it. This is how this matter should
be understood.

We set this task because we do not see as yet
the necessary and possible integration between the
university teachers and scientific workers of the
University, the higher schools and scientific insti-
tutions with production, so that the workers of all
these institutions, people with scientific degrees too
may have their say with greater competence and
responsibility towards the state about the different
problems that concern production. We have no need, so to say, for facultative advisers, who express some opinion, when they are asked for it, or who study a problem only when they themselves have to find solution to it, which will enable them to gain a scientific degree or title. No, their opinions and duties should serve mainly the increase of production and the development of science.

In this field, perhaps we must study the experience of the organization of work at the Faculty of Medicine, where teachers work at the same time as doctors in the related clinics, and the heads of the chairs, who are the most qualified workers of medicine, direct and supervise the activity of the clinics. They are responsible not only for the training of the cadres, but also for the scientific treatment of the patients hospitalized in the clinics they direct.

There are such examples, though rare, also in the technical and natural sciences, as is the case with Prof. Petrit Radovicka, who is in charge of the chair of power stations at the University and of the section of technical sciences at the Academy, while being at the same time chief engineer at the Institute for Hydro-power Station Designing, for which, likewise, he is responsible for the other tasks and follows step by step the execution of the blueprints made under his direction.

Science is learned at school, but after going through it, it is also learned outside school. Therefore the Party must develop, organize and lead everything so that the masses have a yearning to assimilate scientific knowledge not only in institutions but also outside them. However, such a yearning, such an interest is not apparent to the necessary degree, especially among the young, although it is insufficient even among their elders. They are content with the scientific knowledge they have acquired at school, and good though it may be, and go by the opinion that it is enough for them to put the diploma into their pockets with which all doors will be opened to them. True, the diploma which represents the efforts for study over a considerable part of life, opens many doors, but behind them there are many rooms, many corridors, bright or dark, which have to be explored, clarified and illuminated. This cannot be done without broad knowledge, without persistent study, without drawing such conclusions as will help creative thinking advance.

The higher cadres will be able to tackle scientific work better when the whole system of post-university training is put on sounder bases. Their training at the University or the other higher schools takes 4 to 5 years. However, although those who complete the studies have a whole life to apply them, the tasks they are charged with increase in proportion as knowledge becomes ever richer. In these conditions constant qualification is absolutely necessary for all the cadres and specialists, and for this purpose all the possible ways and practices, be they individual or collective, should be utilized, by enlivening debate and scientific criticism. From this emerges the task that post-university qualification should be put on sounder scientific bases, because today only a small part of the cadres, and these only in a few specialties, have gone through it. It should be linked closely with life and give solution to concrete problems.

In general, the cadres and the working people are eager to learn and acquaint themselves well with the major discoveries in the fields of individual sciences, and more especially with their application. But we must be realists and understand that assimilation and mastery of science is not that easy. The more science develops, the more complex it becomes. With the methods applied to date one cannot follow up the development and progress of science and master the whole huge baggage of knowledge, or avoid parallel work. This calls for deeper and more passionate involvement of our students in sciences, and serious support on the part of party and state organs for opening up new perspectives, for concretizing and applying them in practice.

At the same time, this requires that the organization of scientific information should be as perfect as possible. For this purpose we must make use of the existing forms, trying to improve them towards perfection, while studying and thinking as the report points out, also about the organization of this information on better and sound bases, by setting up a sector or centre of information and technical-scientific documentation. The demands and tasks this centre is to be faced with dictate the need for it to be itself at a high technical-scientific level. This is necessary both for the people who will work there and for the technical appliances it will be equipped with. In this direction, the libraries, especially the central ones, should play their role better. For the specialists to broaden their knowledge and become acquainted with the novelties of science and technology, technical and scientific books and magazines must be made available to them.

Besides this, taking account of the role sciences play in our country at the present stage, their popularization should not be neglected either, for this enables a more or less cultivated public to understand science and its application in practice. Scientific popularization must not be made for the sake of sensations, but have the raising of problems it deals with in a manner as real, and theoretically and experimentally coherent, as possible, as its objective.
The good direction and organization of scientific work has the beginning in its sound and comprehensive planning. We say that the plan of scientific-research work and the technical-scientific revolution, as a whole, is part of the unified state plan. But do things stand like this from the base of the centre? The plan of scientific work does not consist only of the themes of studies divided into categories, of the people to be involved and the tools for their completion. The plan should comprise the objectives of scientific activities and studies, the results expected to be achieved, the new devices to be put into production, where mechanization and automation will be carried out, where new technological processes will be introduced and those existing improved, how concentration, specialization, and cooperation will be done, what the innovative movement should aim and achieve, etc.

Funds from the state budget for the development of sciences, which should be employed only for this purpose, must be exactly envisaged by the plan. Departments, as well as the Academy of Sciences not only should have their own budgets, investments and funds, which they must utilize in order to be able to cope with the studies, scientific research and technical improvement envisaged in their plans, but also some reserves necessary to keep the way open for unforeseen scientific innovations produced by work and life.

The planning of scientific-research work should precede the development of the economy and culture. Hence the need for more long-term prospective studies for the development of the different disciplines and branches of science and technology.

If we achieve a correct understanding of this necessary development, progress will be made. In the process of implementation, funds, materials, men, etc., many of them unforeseen, will be required. We shall either open or close the road for this development. The road should be open. The plan cannot be rigid.

There should be more seriousness and increased concern about the planning and organized implementation of scientific-research work, because the fulfillment of the plans of production, culture and defense depend on this to a perceptible degree.

With the vigorous development scientific-research work has assumed and is assuming from the base to the centre, a better, more correctly oriented and centralized direction of it is required. This raises the need for the central departments, the Academy of Sciences and the executive committees of people's councils in the districts, to supervise scientific-research work better, to direct and orientate it more closely.

As the report of the Political Bureau proposes, the progress of our science would also be promoted by instituting a Higher Committee of Sciences at ministerial rank, but structured unlike the other ministries. I think that this Higher Committee of Sciences should have neither an administration in the meaning of that of the ministries, nor laboratories and institutions directly dependent on it, as is the case with the central departments or the Academy of Sciences. This committee, which will guide the sciences in our country, should be made up only of our best scientists of the various disciplines. The entire country, everywhere, people study, work and produce, will be its laboratory. The Higher Committee of Sciences should keep itself informed about the state science and its implementation in such and such categories and working processes have reached, it should decide whether this or that should be carried further ahead, what studies enterprises or departments can carry out. It may and should itself carry out various studies about the perspective of the development of science and technology in the more important fields and directions, both for the present and for the future; decide which branch should be given priority to; define the ratio of development of the different branches of science, the needs for the training of cadres, etc., etc.

The Higher Committee of Sciences will have to co-ordinate on a national scale the more important scientific activities and assist in the study of the principal problems of inter-departmental cooperation, control how the more important scientific work is put into practice, better organize the work for the qualification and specialization of cadres, etc. In a word, it will be an organ, which will decide and operate under the direction of the Council of Ministers and be answerable to the latter. This committee, as the other state organs, will forward various materials, studies and proposals for the development of science and technology to the government and the leadership of the Party.

The committee will not take over the competences of any department, institution, the Academy of Sciences, the University or the other schools and institutes. On the contrary, it will assist them and supervise their activity in carrying out studies and applying decisions. The committee will use the state fund allocated for the development of science in our country, and in the process of supervising the scientific work of departments, institutions and the base, also observe the good or bad employment of funds, control the nature of scientific work, whether it is really up to the mark (which should bear fruit), or is only an innovation, a simple improvement of day-to-day work.

The committee will analyse not only major scientific problems, but might as well take up the study and analysis of innovations of major importance and which are susceptible to be disseminated throughout the country. Who will carry out such
studies for the government and the Central Committee? The committee I mentioned, which, should be set up, depending on each case, will activate, set tasks to and direct working groups, commissions of study and various specialists. Scientific studies must also be made and applied by the different departments whereas the government, on its part, must carry out more profound studies about the activity of the departments, without making concessions or dictating to them.

Our whole development on the road of the revolution, the all-round process of the construction of socialism in our country, all of them rely firmly on Marxist-Leninist science, on the policy and ideology of the Party, which is constructed on the basis of a deep knowledge of the objective laws determining the political, economic, social and cultural development of the country. The work of this plenum should enable the organs and organizations of the Party, everywhere they work and militate, to see constantly to it that their entire directing, organizational and educative work is placed on sounder scientific bases. This raises the task for the Party at the centre, in the districts and at the grass-roots, to be more attentive to science and to scientific-research work, to the development and deepening of the technical-scientific revolution. At the same time, the organs of the Party should be more deeply involved in scientific work, carry out scientific studies and make scientific generalizations about their directing, organizational, educative and executive work.

Along with this, the Party should concern itself about all these problems and demand from the organs of state power, the economy and all the other sectors, that they raise the scientific level of their work in all fields, at the base and in the super-structure.

It is absolutely necessary that the work of this plenum should be followed by serious and profound analyses of the achievements made so far, uncovering shortcomings and singling out tasks for every link of productive, educative, cultural or defence activity, at every institution and cell of scientific-research and innovating work, combining it with concrete measures and actions in the advantage of the construction of socialism, the defence of the Homeland, the improvement of the living conditions of the people and the further tempering of our new man.
CLOSING SPEECH OF COMRADE ENVER Hoxha

Comrade delegates,

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Congress endorsed a great program of work in all fields, it formulated concrete
tasks and clear orientations for all sectors. Their realization calls for fresh and greater mobilization, increased efforts for improving the organization and management of work, the increase of work productivity, the application of the achievements of science and advanced experience everywhere.

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

Comrades,

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

Their internationalist solidarity is a valuable support for our efforts for the socialist construction, for the struggle our Party and people wage against imperialism and modern revisionism, against all our common enemies.

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

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

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

LONG LIVE OUR HEROIC PEOPLE!

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM!

I declare the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania closed!
COMMENENR
OF THE GENERAL
ON THE 40th ANNIVERSA
F
OPENIN
BY COMRADE

Dear comrades,

We have gathered today to commemorate and celebrate a great historic event — the Conference of Peza and the creation of the National Liberation Front, which is called the Democratic Front today. This is an important jubilee. The forty years that have elapsed are full of successes and victories.

The Conference of Peza was one of the many political, organizational and military acts of our Communist Party and one of the cleverest. We were living through very dangerous moments. The Albanian people were at the crossroads: they could be wiped out or they could live. As always, they chose the road of life. And it was precisely our Party that had made the synthesis of the heroic struggles of the Albanian people through the centuries for freedom, independence and democracy against many occupiers. The people had shed their blood but had not triumphed. The Party had reached the conclusion that this would not happen again.

On April 7, 1939, when Mussolini’s fascist Italy invaded our country, the Albanian people started their resistance. Our heroic Communist Party was formed. It found the most appropriate moment to summon the Conference of Peza which pursued two aims: first, to rally all the Albanian people, regardless of what views they held, in the National Liberation Front and organize them for the armed struggle; second, to open to the people the prospect of what was to be done later.

Here lies the wisdom and foresight of the Party which rallied the whole people, all the patriots, around itself. It called on all to take part in the armed struggle, because freedom could not be won otherwise. This was the experience of the people. The Party did a great thing: it did not allow the feudal-bourgeois and clerical trends to confuse this sacred struggle through their intrigues. It was going to lead the Front itself, because it represented the ardent desires of the Albanian people. The people understood, the enemies did not understand. We crushed the enemies, together with the Italian and German occupiers.

At Peza the National Liberation Front was set up for the purpose I mentioned above.
and the foundations of the people's power were laid. Our National Liberation War and our revolution had the seizure of state power as their main aim. The fate of Albania depended on who would seize state power. We were convinced that the people would seize power under the leadership of the Party and nobody else. We triumphed by fighting alone within the country, with external allies, but with great vigilance that they should not set foot here, in Albania. And this was one of the reasons for our great victory.

That is why we must thoroughly understand the importance of this great deed of our Party, which was not accidental, but well thought out. The Party had taken into account all the difficulties that would be raised on its road by the enemies and those who posed as friends, but were enemies. I shall not dwell on this question, because Comrade Ramiz Alia, one of my outstanding comrades-in-arms, who has led large units of the National Liberation Army for the liberation of Albania and the liberation of the peoples of Yugoslavia, and is a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, is going to speak.

On this occasion, I want to greet the heroic Albanian people, to commemorate the heroes of Albania, the girls and boys, the men and women who fell in the war for the liberation of the Homeland; to greet the veterans of the National Liberation War, to greet our girls and boys who performed miracles in the war and have now grown into mature women and men, who have taken the reins of the Homeland in their hands and have ensured its continuity. They have become an inspiration for the new generations which are led by the guiding star — the Party of Labour of Albania, which throws light on Albania, which has created and will multiply the prosperity and happiness of the Homeland and the people, which has turned Albania into an impregnable bastion against any eventual threat. The internal and external enemies who dare to touch our country will break their heads and destroy themselves.

Long live the Party of Labour of Albania, so dear, so beloved to the Albanian people, which is inspired by the interests of the people and the Marxist-Leninist ideology!
ENVER HOXHÄ

SPEECH PRIOR T
FOR THE 10
OF THE PEOP
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Albania threatens nobody with the others, but if anyone vi retali ate in kind. Likewise, it will rep or insults anybody

DEAR COMRADE ELECTORS,


THEREFORE, AT THESE SOLEMN MOMENTS, WHEN WE ARE PREPARING TO VOTE FOR THE RENEWAL OF THE PEOPLE’S ASSEMBLY, AS AT EVERY OTHER MOMENT, OUR FINEST THOUGHTS, OUR FEELINGS OF PROFOUND LOVE AND GRATITUDE ARE FOR THE PARTY, FOR ITS CORRECT LINE, FOR ITS UNSHAKEN LOYALTY TO MARXISM-LENINISM.

For almost four decades we have been living and working as free people in our Homeland. Looking back over the road we have traversed, all of us feel great joy over the successes achieved and legitimate pride in the toil and efforts of our people. This period will go down in history as the period when the vitality and vigour of our people, their militant spirit and persistence in work, their great thirst for learning and their progressive spirit were displayed in all their strength. These were the lofty virtues, which the Party knew how to bring to light and to transform into a great motive force, that made possible the rapid and successful accomplishment of all those great socio-economic transformations which we have seen in our lifetime. It was the freedom-loving and revolutionary character of our people, the lessons they had drawn from the bitter past, when Albania was ruled and oppressed by foreigners, which impelled them to unite firmly around the Party and, under its leadership, to fight and emerge victorious over the plots and interference of the imperialists, and the betrayal by the modern revisionists — Yugoslav, Soviet and Chinese.

The elections to the People’s Assembly are an occasion for us all, for the entire people, to meet and talk, to sum up the work accomplished and to examine the tasks awaiting us.

The new elections find Albania confident of its destiny, a country which stands firmly on its
THE ELECTIONS
LEGISLATURE
OF ALBANIA

wants to live in friendship
tes its rights and borders, it will
the sternest manner to the injustices
ight employ against it

own feet, which has a clear perspective and a
guaranteed future. The Albanian people have never
been so united in their interests, in their political
and ideological views, their moral norms and social
behaviour, as they are today. This steel unity,
tempered by the Party in the heroic battles for the
liberation of the Homeland and for the great so-
cialist transformations, is the firm and unbreakable
foundation on which the people's state power, the
freedom and independence of the Homeland are
based. This unity constitutes that great monolithic
force which has withstood savage enemies and de-
feated their intrigues and plots.

Against this unity of the Party and people
Mehmet Shehu, too, one of the most dangerous
traitors and enemies of socialist Albania, broke
his head. He had been criticized many times by the
Party for his grave mistakes, but had managed
to camouflage himself. The documents that have
been discovered and incontestable evidence prove
that since before the War he had been working for
the American secret service. During the War and
after Liberation Mehmet Shehu fought and worked
in Albania as a mercenary in the pay of foreigners
and under their orders. When he was in the 1st
Brigade he was recruited by the Yugoslav secret
service-OZNA (today the UDB) and then, by the
Soviet KGB, and he served them all zealously.
Acting on the orders and instructions of foreign
espionage centres, especially the CIA and the UDB,
he and the group of plotters linked with him, who
are now in the hands of the authorities for full
investigation, worked to destroy the Party and
the people's state power and to put Albania under
foreign rule.

In order to carry through the subversive, gang-
ster plans worked out by their patrons in Wa-
shington, Belgrade and elsewhere, Mehmet Shehu
and his associates were prepared to commit grave
crimes. Mehmet Shehu had received orders from
the Yugoslav UDB to kill the First Secretary of
the Central Committee and other leaders of the
Party and state, as well as to use terrorist means
to crush all those who would rise against this
great treachery. If they were unable to act to carry
out their criminal intentions, this was connected
with their great fear of the people and the Party
and their steel unity, which does not allow any
enemy, however cunning and diabolical, to have
its way. Mehmet Shehu was never able to alter
or distort the line of the Party, because if he tried
to do so he would be immediately unmasked.

Caught between two fires — the order of the
UDB, which was driven to desperation as it lost
ground in Kosova, and his fear of the unity of the
Party and the people, Mehmet Shehu could see no
alternative but the shameful course of suicide.

The great unity of our people has its source
in the correct line of the Party which has always
embodied and expressed the historical demands
of the masses. The people dreamed of living free and independent in their own country, of eliminating exploitation and social oppression, of overcoming the age-old backwardness. They demanded the all-round emancipation of Albanian society, the liberation of all the creative forces, the free development of the capacities and talents suppressed by the regimes of the past. They wanted to be masters of their own country and equal in their relations with other nations.

Under the leadership of the Party, our people have realized these aspirations completely. They are a living reality, which we see, touch and experience every day. Socialist Albania is a completely free and independent country and state which is indebted to nobody for anything. The tutelage and dictate, interference and debts, from which many countries, not only small ones, but also big ones suffer, are alien and unacceptable to Albania. Never before has Albania enjoyed an international position stronger than it has today.

Within a relatively very short time, Albania has been transformed from a poor and starving country into one full of factories and combines, mines and hydro-power stations, with drained and irrigated fields, with schools and scientific institutions. Our people are enlightened politically and ideologically, educated and cultured, able to accomplish any work which is needed for the progress and the defence of the Homeland with their own forces. In our country a revolutionary and patriotic younger generation is growing up, an all-round educated generation which will certainly carry the torch of the revolution ever further forward and raise the glory of our socialist Homeland higher and higher.

Our people have been able to achieve these brilliant results, have advanced and are advancing, because both in their economic development and in all other fields they have relied entirely on their own forces, because our Party, in all its activity, has applied the principles of Marxism-Leninism faithfully and in a creative manner. In Albania Marxism-Leninism has given a great proof of its power to revolutionize and transform, when it is implemented correctly and consistently.

Today old and young among us see with their own eyes and feel in their hearts the justice of the people’s state power, the indisputable superiority and the vitality of our socialist social order.

With the toil, sweat and creative talent of our people, relying on our own natural and financial resources, an entirely new, powerful multi-branched modern industry has been created over the whole territory of the country.

It is with legitimate pride that we see such gigantic works as the metallurgical combine and the unified power system with the hydro-power stations on the Drin River, the oil wells and the plants for the deep processing of oil, the chemical plants and textile combines, the tens of mines, combines and factories for processing metals and many other majestic projects.

With our industrial products we now fulfill the essential needs of the people for a consumption which is ceaselessly expanding, the needs of the economy which is developing vigorously, and the requirements for strengthening the defence capacity of the Homeland. Industry has now become the main source of socialist accumulation and export income. It is a factor of prime importance in our complete self-reliance.

It is a merit of our Party that it linked the setting up and development of industry closely with the development of agriculture and the advance of the countryside on the road of socialism. Adhering to the line defined by the Party, our socialist agriculture has been ceaselessly strengthened and is advancing resolutely on the road of intensification and securing high yields. The drained, flood-protected and irrigated plains, the hills and mountain sides turned into grain producing land and plantations of fruit trees, the creation of a complex irrigation system, the increase in livestock numbers and the modernization of animal husbandry, the setting up of an extensive park of agricultural machinery — these are some of the achievements which have radically changed the picture of our agriculture.

Further evidence of the strength of our socialist agriculture and its advance is the fact that, despite the exceptionally severe drought of this year, more wheat and maize was produced than in any other year of the post-Liberation period. Our agriculture has now made the people’s food supplies independent of imports, ensures the raw materials for the light and food industry and provides important sources of accumulation and foreign currency. Our socialist countryside is populated and flourishing, its way of life is becoming more and more like that of the city.

An extensive transport system has been set up with hundreds of kilometres of railway, with a large park of motor-vehicles and with a merchant fleet which is steadily growing stronger. This system has strengthened the unified character of the economy and greatly invigorated the economic and social life of the country.

The development of the economy, the progress in material, intellectual and spiritual life, have been accompanied and supported by a real revolution in the field of education and culture, the training of cadres, and science and technique. Our people, guided by the Party, have never separated their work and activity from the great question of making the socialist victories secure and strengthening the defence capacity of our beloved Homeland.

Comrade ENVER HOXHA
speaking at the meeting with
the electorate
Four years ago, on the eve of elections for the last legislature, we publicly denounced the betrayal of the Chinese revisionists and their anti-Albanian activity. The enemies hoped that socialist Albania would be forced to its knees and appeal for foreign aid. But they were proven wrong in their calculations. Some neutral people also thought that we could not manage without foreign aid and credits.

Time proved that Albania neither bowed its head nor fell on its knees, but forged ahead proudly, relying on its own forces, without aid from anyone, and moreover, advanced more rapidly and further. But the facts speak more eloquently about this.

During the past four years tens of industrial, agricultural, transport and socio-cultural projects were completed and began to function. The coming into production of the «Light of the Party» hydro-power station at Fierza, the second blast furnace, the coking battery and the refractory materials plant at the «Steel of the Party» metallurgical combine, the ferro-chrome plant in Burrel, the copper smelting plant at Lëg, the Lëg-Shkodra railway, the doubling of the capacity of the sugar combine at Maliq, the building of eight large irrigation reservoirs such as those at Gj Angie in Korça, Tapiza in Tirana, Izvor in Tepelena, etc., the construction of the Museum of National History and more than 52 thousand apartments and houses, accommodating over 250 thousand people in towns and villages, belong to the period of the last legislature.

During the past four years alone, about 160 thousand people entered employment, mainly in production, thus all the new work force was activated. The stability of our finances has been strengthened, enabling nearly 40 per cent of the funds of the state budget to be utilized for the improvement of the living conditions of the working people, for the development of education and the health service, for the extension of the system of social security and pensions, and for other needs of the community. In socialist Albania there is no unemployment, no inflation, no taxes or levies on the population. House rents are very low.

The new reduction in prices for a series of consumer goods and for communal services is another manifestation of the care of the Party for the well-being of the people, of the strength of the economy and the development of the economic and social processes in our socialist country on the right road.

The results we have achieved are even more outstanding if we bear in mind that in all the capitalist and revisionist countries there is a great depression in the economy, declining production, unemployment, price rises, great inflation and falling standard of living.

In essence, the present world economic crisis is like all the other previous economic crises. As Marx has explained and history confirmed, they are unavoidable phenomena of the capitalist system. What is new in the present crisis is that it has demonstrated the bankruptcy of the bourgeois and revisionist theories and practices designed to avoid them. It has been confirmed in practice that the stimulation of production through the artificial increase of internal consumption, by turning all the people into debtors to monopolies, is fraught with catastrophic consequences for the entire country. The vainglorious boasts about raising the standard of living through loans, as in Yugoslavia, where people are obliged to spend this winter without heating and with great shortages of consumer goods of prime necessity, have fallen flat.

Likewise, basing economic development on foreign loans, which was trumpeted for a time, both in the West and in the East, as the road to the salvation of mankind, has turned out to be a strategy for the enslavement of the poor and weak countries by imperialism and the big industrialized powers.

Great progress has been made in the field of education and culture, technique and science. The great care which the Party has displayed for these sectors and the efforts which the people's power has made for their development have yielded splendid results. Our educational system is one of the most progressive, one of the most democratic and popular in the world. Wherever they are, our children have been provided with the possibility to attend the 8-year schools. Secondary schools have been extended to the countryside where they attract more and more an extremely large and ever increasing number of pupils. Many possibilities have been created everywhere for people to attend secondary and higher education, part time.

Creative literary and artistic work, sound in content and varied in form, enriches the spiritual life of our people. Literature, music, figurative arts, films, the theatre, television, etc., guided by the Party, carry out great political and ideological educational work and play an important role in the formation of the socialist traits in the character of our people, in implanting the norms of communist morality.

The Party has given special care to the assimilation and development of science and technique in our country. Despite the limited tradition in these sectors, this care of the Party has enabled our people, talented and thirsting for knowledge, to learn and competently apply the complicated techniques which the rapid development of the modern economy and other sectors requires. The setting up of a considerable number of specialized institutes for scientific studies, the creation of technological bureaus, many study groups, etc., testify to the expansion which scientific work has assumed in our country, as well as to the need the economy and the entire society have for it.
At the same time, the Party has always worked to ensure that scientific studies and methods in production, organization, management and everywhere else become an integral part of the daily practice of our people.

Vivid evidence of the strength of the people's state power and the vitality of our social order can be seen in the great changes in the capital of our dear Homeland. During these years Tirana has been completely transformed. Its population is over 8 times greater than that of the period before Liberation, and more than 80 per cent of this population lives in new dwellings. The secondary school pupils alone outnumber the total population of the city of Tirana before the war. Today the 70 thousand workers who work and create in the capital ensure one fifth of the industrial production of the country. All our cities and villages have been transformed in the same way as Tirana.

With the perspectives that the 8th Congress of the Party has opened, a still happier and more prosperous future awaits our people. The new legislature of the People's Assembly coincides in time with the implementation of the 7th Five-year Plan. We have all the human, material and financial resources to forge resolutely ahead and to achieve still greater results in all fields during this period. And without doubt, through our work and efforts, we shall succeed in having more oil and minerals, more steel, electric power, bread grain, and other agricultural and livestock products, more and better quality industrial goods for mass consumption.

Our economy will grow still stronger, the development of the productive forces will be carried further forward. Hundreds of important economic and socio-cultural projects will be built. Such major projects as the Koman hydro-power station, the plant for lubricating oils and the plant for the production of nickel and metallic cobalt will be added to industry. The production of the ferro-chrome metallurgical plant will be doubled, a number of factories for the enrichment of minerals and the processing of agricultural and livestock products will be built, the textile combines and knitwear plants will be extended and reconstructed, etc.

Work will begin also on the construction of many important projects of ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, hydro-power, building materials, etc. In this way, industry will be further strengthened and play its decisive role in the all-round advance of the country even better.

The course of the intensification of agriculture, placing it on a more scientific basis, will be adopted more extensively, opening up great prospects for the increase of agricultural and livestock production, for the further development of socialist life in the countryside and for strengthening the independence of the country. Priority will be given to intensification of production in an extensive lowland zone. Big investments will be made for land development, irrigation, mechanization, the increase and improvement of plantations of pip, stone and citrus fruit and olive trees.

As you know, on the basis of the 7th Five-year Plan and the last Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, an entire program will be implemented for the further strengthening of our transport, giving priority to railway transport which has already been extended in the main directions of the movement of goods and passengers.

The attainment of the objectives for the development of production will guarantee and raise still higher the well-being of the people, both in town and countryside. The supply of the market with industrial goods and foodstuffs will be improved ceaselessly, the structure of the food consumed by the people will be improved, important investments will be made for housing, and a number of other measures, intended for the further improvement of the well-being of the people in all aspects of life, will be taken.

The educational and cultural development of the working people and the protection and strengthening of their health will, as always, be in the centre of the attention of our Party and socialist state. New steps will also be taken in the various sectors of culture, to ensure that their work is extended deep among the masses and serves their all-round education better.

At all times and in every situation the Party and the people's state power have devoted the greatest attention to the defence of the Homeland. Today our country has a powerful defence capacity which guarantees the freedom and independence won at the cost of so much blood and sacrifices, and the peaceful work of our people. It is our duty to steel this defence more and more so that we are always in a state of complete readiness to defeat any enemy who may attempt to violate our territorial integrity and national sovereignty.

The unity of our people is as strong as steel. Our internal situation is healthy. The Decree of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, which will be proclaimed tomorrow, under which many prisoners convicted of various offences are pardoned or their sentences reduced, confirms this.

At a time when in all the countries of the world prices go up every day, in socialist Albania they go down; at a time when in all the countries of the world prisons are filled, in socialist Albania they are depleted. This shows the economic and political strength of the state of our dictatorship of the proletariat.

The elections to the People's Assembly have always been a manifestation of our socialist de-
mocracy, of the popular character of our state. All our people have gone to the polls enthusiastically every time and all of them have voted for the candidates of the Democratic Front, because they have been conscious and convinced that in this way they express their love for the Party and loyalty to its line, their unanimous support for the people's state power, their condemnation of the enemies, external and internal, their determination to march boldly and proudly on the brilliant road of socialism.

This is what has happened in the past. This is what will happen in these elections. Participation in the elections and voting for the candidates of the Democratic Front is an expression of political and ideological maturity, of class and patriotic consciousness, of responsibility for the fate of the country.

Dear comrades,

We are living in a very tense international situation, full of great threats and dangers to the freedom and independence of the peoples, peace and international security. This situation is the result of the intensification of the aggressive policy and activities of the imperialist superpowers and the revival of various reactionary, fascist and war-mongering forces.

Both in the United States of America and in the Soviet Union, an adventurous militarist course is becoming predominant in their foreign policy, a strategy of direct military intervention as a means to secure expansion and their political and economic hegemony in the world is being implemented. Now the superpowers have made not only the peoples and countries which have been outside the zones of their domination, but also their closest partners in the military alliances and economic blocs, the objectives of this general offensive.

In these situations, the peoples, of course, are not sitting idle. The revolutionary, patriotic, democratic and peace-loving forces everywhere in the world are putting up open and determined resistance to the inhuman aggressive policy of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. In Afghanistan, in the Middle East, in Salvador, etc., armed struggle is being waged to regain the violated freedom and the lost independence. The Iranian people are making great efforts to defend their revolution from the threats and blackmail of the two superpowers. In all the capitalist countries without exception the resistance of the working class to defend their democratic rights and their right to work won in long class battles has extended greatly. The struggle of many countries for national sovereignty over their raw materials and for independent development is being waged at a higher level and in broader proportions.

These struggles and efforts also constitute those main factors which hit the world capitalist and imperialist system, which cause the crises in the capitalist alliances and exacerbate the inter-imperialist contradictions, which restrain and hinder imperialism in the realization of its enslaving and war-mongering plans.

Our Party and Government, as always, attentively follow the various processes which take place in the world and draw the respective conclusions about the stands they should adopt towards them, stands which must respond to the needs of the defence and security of our state and country. We are aware that the situations in the world never stand still and immovable. They are always changing and evolving for better or for worse, according to the ratio of the class forces in the world, the development of the various contradictions, crises, etc.

Now we see that, as a result of the hegemonic policy and brutal intervention of the United States of America and the Soviet Union, new tensions and conflicts are being created in Europe, the Mediterranean, the Middle East, and the Balkans, directly threatening the peace and security of many countries of these regions.

The countries of Western and Eastern Europe are in the iron grip of the two superpowers which now not only want to grab their wealth, but also to squeeze the life out of them. Quite rightly, the broad popular masses in many countries have risen in protests and demonstrations against the stationing of American and Soviet atomic weapons and are insistently demanding their removal from our old continent. The masses are aware that by putting these countries under their atomic umbrellas, the superpowers want to keep them in perpetual political and economic subjection and to make the whole of Europe cannon fodder for the Americans and the Soviets.

Regardless of what justifications may be put up, the dispatch of military units from some European countries to Lebanon, along with those of the United States, constitutes a very dangerous precedent for direct military intervention in the internal affairs of independent countries. In a way, this action is a return to the old policy of the European Great Powers which, under the pretext of «putting down unrest» and «restoring order», sent their troops to various countries in order to establish their domination there.

The opinion of our Party is that the strengthening of peace and security in Europe, in the Mediterranean or in the Middle East, the development and prosperity of the European countries, the protection of their culture, traditions and civilization are achieved and consolidated by opposing the hegemonic policy of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, by giving them no possibility whatsoever of exploiting their political, economic and other links with these countries.
in order to attack other countries, to jeopardize the freedom and independence of the peoples, peace and international security.

Neither the Atlantic fact, the Warsaw Treaty, the military bases established in various countries, nor the superpowers' atomic weapons guarantee the defence of the European countries, their free and independent development, their sovereignty and territorial integrity. They are secured by breaking up these pacts and by sending the American and Soviet soldiers back to their homes, by breaking and smashing the political, economic and military chains, with which Washington and Moscow have bound Europe.

Such a thing should be done in the Balkans, too, where, taking advantage of the difficult situations created in some country, the superpowers have begun to move, to exert various pressures and demand new concessions in their favour. The provision of military bases and different facilities for the United States and the Soviet Union threatens the peace and security of the Balkans and so does sinking deep into debt to the superpowers, which entails many dangers, not only for the independence of the debtor country, but also for its neighbours. It is known that, when you have mortgaged your title deeds and cannot pay up, the day comes when the creditor seizes not only your home, but also the ground on which it is built.

The Balkan peoples have suffered enough in the past and do not want the map of their peninsula to be changed in favour of this or that superpower. Therefore, the Balkan states should not permit the imperialist powers to enter the Balkans on any occasion or in any way, to disturb the peace and security of their countries.

The present situation in the Middle East has become disturbing. The new Israeli aggression against Lebanon, organized, financed and incited by the American imperialists, has created direct threats and dangers, not only for the peoples of the surrounding zone, but also for those of a much wider area.

Taking advantage of the great American aid and the divisions amongst the Arab peoples, Israel has extended its range of provocations and wants to destroy, one after the other, all those countries which do not accept the grabbing of Arab territories and genocide imposed on the long-suffering Palestinian people.

The expansionist policy and activity of Israel at the expense of the Arabs is also incited and favoured by the policy of the Soviet Union, its behind-the-scenes deals and plots to the detriment of the Arab peoples.

After Camp David, Israel attacked Lebanon. Now it is demanding the submission of Jordan and is threatening Syria with war. Whose turn will it be tomorrow — Iraq's, Saudi Arabia's or Iran's? The American and Israeli staffs are thinking about and working for this. But will the brave Arab peoples allow Israel and its American bosses to do whatever they please to their detriment? Will they remain divided as they are so that Israel and American imperialism defeat and crush them one by one, as they are doing?

We believe that this will not happen. The Arab peoples are freedom-loving peoples with very ancient fighting traditions, peoples that have given mankind a whole civilization. They will certainly find the strength to unite and stop the Zionist aggressors from grabbing the Arab lands and exterminating the people who inhabit them. However protracted the struggle, however great the difficulties and however many the sacrifices required of them, victory will be theirs. Right is on their side, the whole of progressive mankind is with them. Our people have always stood beside the fraternal Arab peoples, the heroic Palestinian people and supported their just cause. In the future, too, the just struggle of the Arabs and Palestinians will have the full and unreserved support of the Albanian people.

Recently, especially since Reagan came into office, there has been a noticeable increase both of American interference and Soviet intrigues in Latin America. The peoples of Latin America are responding to this attack by increasing their resistance to enslaving imperialist plans. The Albanian people have supported and continue to support this struggle of the Latin-American peoples, and this was expressed in the case of the conflict over the Malvinas, in which we supported the undeniable rights of the Argentinean people.

The struggle of our people for the construction of socialism, for the defence of freedom and independence is in favour of and an active support for the struggle the peoples are waging against imperialism and reaction. At the same time, we consider the struggle of the peoples for freedom and independence as our own struggle, as a great support for our cause.

Comrades,

At the 8th Congress of the Party the principles from which the foreign policy of our country proceeds, and our stand towards the major current international problems, as well as towards individual countries and the different political forces and movements in the world were clearly defined and expressed. Today, as in the past, this policy has the complete backing of our people, because it expresses their thoughts and desires, because it defends the supreme interests of the Homeland.

Our people support this policy because it is an entirely independent policy which is not inhi-
bited by any external influence of whatever nature. The voice of Albania in international relations is her voice alone. And this is an additional reason why it is listened to, respected and taken into account.

Our stands are known. We have said and continue to say that we will have no rapprochement or reconciliation with either American imperialism or Soviet social-imperialism which to us and all the peoples are the greatest enemies. We will resolutely oppose their aims of hegemony and relentlessly expose their aggressive plans. Our opinion is, and life has proved, that our struggle and irreconcilable stand against American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism constitute an essential condition for the preservation of the freedom and independence of the Homeland, for progress on our socialist road.

With the other countries, such as France, the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, Belgium, the Netherlands, etc., regardless of their social system, we are for normal relations on the basis of non-interference, equality and mutual interest. We want these relations to serve the economic, cultural and social development of both sides, the strengthening of friendship between peoples and sovereign states and, at the same time, the interests of the preservation and strengthening of peace in the world.

Our country has been and is for the development of international trade, which it considers a useful and necessary means for every country. However, we demand from all our partners in trade that it should be based only on mutual benefit and complete equality, that it should be free of any pressure and discrimination. Moreover, we do not permit trade relations to be utilized as a means to interfere in our internal affairs or to impose alien political and ideological concepts on us. To us trade means trade, that is, the free and balanced exchange of goods, and we never confuse it with the acceptance of credits, which is quite another matter.

Socialist Albania, our people, very highly esteem the progressive achievements of every country in culture, science and technology, all values which serve the development and advance of mankind. Hence, we are for normal cultural exchanges with other countries, for mutual recognition of progressive and democratic achievements in this field, without discrimination or prejudice.

As is natural, our country devotes particular attention to its relations with the neighbouring countries. What has inspired and inspires its stand is the desire to live together as good neighbours, always to have useful relations and to build normal collaboration on the basis of the principles of complete equality and non-interference in the

Comrade ENVER HOXHA's speech is received with enthusiasm by those present.
internal affairs of others, respect for national sovereignty and non-violation of territorial integrity, and exchanges on the basis of mutual interest.

We have good relations with the Italian people and we do not confuse them with Mussolini’s fascists who spread death and destruction in our country. In my wartime notes I read with pleasure the words that General Azzi, who, after the capitulation of Mussolini’s army, confidently surrendered his whole army to the General Staff of our partisan army and the Albanian people, said to me when we met in the village of Arbana, in the vicinity of Tirana, «We are grateful to the Albanian people and partisans who saved and sheltered thousands of my soldiers, sons of the Italian people. I personally and the Italian people will not forget this generosity. I will be a friend of the Albanian people till I die.» continued General Azzi. And he remained a friend until he died.

The regimes of our countries are opposed to each other, we have our laws and way of life, and the Italians have theirs. Nevertheless, we have normal trade and cultural relations with Italy, which we are ready to extend on the basis of mutual benefit and without interfering in each other’s internal affairs. If any Italian government considers these relations of no interest, it may do whatever it likes, this will not affect us much. Nevertheless, we think differently — that these relations are useful to both sides. Ours is not an isolated and closed country, we have things to sell to Italy and things to buy from it for hard cash, as we have with many other countries.

A glorious Arbërëshi community also links us with the Italian people. Neither we nor the Italians should forget Garibaldi’s fine words and high esteem for the Albanians and the Arbërëshi.

For five centuries the Arbërëshi have been living in Calabria and Sicily. This community has given Italy and Albania outstanding people. While living in friendship with the Italian people, the Arbërëshi have preserved their Albanian customs and language through the centuries. This community, which draws us closer to the Italian people, is a factor for friendship.

The Albanian people and the Turkish people have a great love for each other. We make «diplomatic love» with nobody. This is not the custom of the Albanian but, when we pledge our word, we keep it and do not turn whichever way the wind blows. We condemn those who violate our friendship or misuse our trust. The great and sincere friendship that links us with the fraternal Turkish people has never been shaken. The different forms of regime have never shaken this friendship, because it is based on the fine sentiments of our peoples, it is based on those links of fraternity and blood relations with hundreds of thousands of Albanians who live, work, are married and have children, who die and are buried in a common soil with the Turks.

We honour and respect the great leader of the Turkish people, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who, as an outstanding democrat, destroyed the Ottoman Empire and the Caliphate and set up the new democratic Turkey. Let all the pseudo-democrats and pseudo-socialists who oppress the peoples, who trample on their rights and keep colonialism alive, sugar-coated with pompous words, follow the example of Kemal Atatürk who cut the «Gordian knot» of the Ottoman Empire with his sword. It is our desire that our friendship with the fraternal Turkish people should be continuously strengthened and developed further in every field.

We love and respect the Greek people, because they nurture the same feelings of friendship towards the Albanian people. We are sincere with each other. Neither wishes the other ill, but only well. These are historical links cemented with the blood shed together against the same occupiers. We do not confuse the feelings of the Greek people with those of the chauvinists.

We shall develop our relations of friendship with the Greek people further. The Greek people call the Albanian heroes of the Greek revolution of 1821 who fought under the command of Ypsilantis, «Arvanites penemeni» and «paliceria Arvanites». Capo d’Istria and the Russian czars, the Serbian kralj and the Moldavian voivodes betrayed the Greek revolution, but the Albanians, with Marko Boça at the head, with Ali Pasha Tepelena and the Çaparaja, remained loyal to it to the death.

The Government of the People’s Socialist Republic of Albania and the Greek governments — right-wing, new democratic or socialist, have always considered the friendship between the Albanian people and the Greek people as a pressing political necessity. Regrettably, however, for the past 40 years, without any reason, the so-called «law on the state of war with Albania», an absurd law without any basis, which is condemned both by the Albanian and the Greek peoples, as well as by world opinion, has been maintained in Greece. Every reasonable and realistic person in Greece understands that such a law hampers the shortening of ways for an even more friendly development in the direction of Arta, Preveza, and Ioannina as well as the whole of Greece.

It was not in my intention to speak today about our relations with Yugoslavia, because we have expressed the stand of our state towards that country a thousand times and we stand by what we have said. However, I am obliged to
speak about them, because the Belgrade chiefs not only have turned a deaf ear to what our Party and Government have pointed out but have built up a whole campaign of slanders and attacks against socialist Albania and its policy which is as clear as the light of day, with all their propaganda and diplomatic means. For at least 40 years on end, not to go further back, the Belgrade chiefs have incited the southern Slavs, and especially the Serbs, to live in constant enmity with the Albanians inhabiting their own territories in Yugoslavia, as well as with independent socialist Albania. This hostility towards the Albanians, this savage chauvinism and contempt towards them, this untrained tendency and appetite to annex Albania is something atavistic in them. What makes the issue still more dangerous is that the other southern Slav peoples lack the courage to stop this wave of savagery.

In the time of the National Liberation War we sincerely loved the Yugoslavs, and respected and honoured Tito more than he deserved. We sent large partisan units which fought side by side with the Yugoslav and Kosova Albanian partisan units in Southern and Central Yugoslavia. Hundreds and hundreds of heroic sons and daughters of Albania were killed or wounded for the liberation of Yugoslavia, but now a Serbian dog called Sinan Hasani comes out and dares to insult on the blood they shed. He even goes to such lengths as to claim that the Yugoslavs formed our Party, they organized the Albanian National Liberation War and gave Albania everything. But let the dog bark, that is what he is paid for.

Both in the past and right up to this moment when I am speaking to you, Tito and company have always rejected our hand of friendship and done everything in their power to cut it off. Openly or through their secret agents, for forty years on end Tito and his successors have constantly hatched up plots to destroy socialist Albania, to wreck our Party, to physically liquidate some of its main leaders. This they tried to do through their long-standing agent, the traitor Mehmet Shehu, too. But all their plots failed and they will always fail.

In the past the Serbian Kralj, Karadjordjević, together with Wangel's Great-Russian bands, brought to Albania his agent — the bandit Ahmet Zog, who, as a great traitor to the Homeland, gave Yugoslavia Shën-Naum of Pogradec and Virmosh as a gift in return for this assistance. The Belgrade chiefs want to do the same thing today with the criminal terrorist gangs of a certain hooligan and trafficker in arms, drugs and white slaves, Leka Zegu, to whom, astounding though it may seem, a country friendly to us gives shelter and allows him to give interviews to the press and to call for the overthrow of the people's power in Albania. We have facts to prove that it was the Yugoslav Titoites who sent to our coast Xhevdet Mustafa's group of gangsters, whom we wiped out mercilessly without giving them time to draw breath or see the sun of Albania. At the appropriate moment the world will be told the details of this affair and what it was intended for. However, the dangerous thing about it is that the Yugoslavs, violating the sovereignty of two countries friendly to us and without our knowledge, trained these criminals and lanced them in our country, to train terrorist gangs and sent them into another country is a grave criminal act condemned in the practice of international relations.

Now we have only this to say to the Yugoslav Titoites: don't play with fire, because if a conflagration breaks out, you will get yourselves burnt in it. For our part, we defend ourselves and we know how to do so, we know how to fight and triumph over any enemy. But we do not like this ominous course, full of dangers, which you are following. Nevertheless, if you force our hand we shall give you the reply you deserve. But we tell the Yugoslav leaders not to take this hopeless course which is fraught with many dangers for our two countries, for the Balkans and perhaps even for Europe. You, the southern Slav peoples, are responsible because, instead of making the Great Serbs see reason and forcing them to change course, to adhere to the principles and practice of good neighbourliness with socialist Albania and to establish normal, peaceful relations with the Albanians living in Yugoslavia, you allow them to fan up the flames.

We are convinced that there are progressive elements among the other southern Slav peoples, as well as among the Serbs. There is no other way to solve the problems apart from a change in the political stand towards Albania and the Albanians living in Yugoslavia. We shall continue on the course set by the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania, the main report of which the Yugoslav leaders have read upside down. Our proposals were as wise as they were conciliatory, whereas your course is fraught with many dangers for Yugoslavia, which we want to remain as it is. You do not pay serious attention to our words which are an expression of the sincere feelings of the Albanian people. So much the worse for you. The world will charge you with grave responsibility.

Some governments of European countries and the United States of America are trifling with our feelings and interests. We say to them that nobody is allowed to trifle with Albania and its interests,
as was done in the past. The old times when the fate of our country could easily be trampled underfoot and Albania could be attacked and partitioned have gone by for good.

We shall continue, as always, to defend our Albanian brothers living on their own territories in Yugoslavia, with all the strength of our hearts, in their rights which the Constitution recognizes to them. Let the Yugoslavs and world opinion have no doubts about this. This is recognized by international law and this is how all those states which have national minorities outside their borders act.

At the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania we made our stand towards Yugoslavia clear and we remain unshakable in this stand. The destruction and disintegration of Yugoslavia will never come from us. We are for the stability of the Federation. But with the Great Serb, Macedonian and Montenegrin chauvinists our conciliatory words go in one ear and out the other. Their eyes have been blinded by their chauvinism and megalomania. When we appealed for reason and common sense, they pressed on with even more savage terror against the Albanians living on their territories in Yugoslavia. They have thrown into jail thousands of heroic young men and women of Kosovo whom they torture barbarously and to whom they apply a thousand insulting epithets. We tell the Yugoslavs to free the young people from prison, for the Albanian cannot tolerate for long such violations of the honour and rights of his young men and women. Let them not fill the cup, because the response may have very dangerous consequences.

All Kosovo and the Albanian regions of Yugoslavia have been placed under savage chauvinist military pressure. Now the «differentiation», which means making Albanians spy on Albanians in favour of sinister Serbian forces, is going on on a large scale. But the people of Kosovo cannot accept this shameful course, because it leads to fratricide, while the Great Serbs will rub their hands in glee.

The Serbs are inciting blood feuds among Albanians. Kosovo is being plunged in poverty and covered with graves. People do not know where their sons and daughters are. The Albanian intellectuals are being decimated, insulted, humiliated and thrown out in the street. Only in the time of the Inquisition have such persecutions occurred. No, the Albanian people living in Yugoslavia will not allow anything of their sacred national heritage to be suppressed. Never at any time or in any country has the Albanian bowed in submission to or fled from the enemy when his freedom and legitimate rights have been violated.

You, gentlemen of Belgrade, have sent 60 thousand Serbian soldiers to Kosovo to suppress and kill the people of Kosovo and to intimidate socialist Albania. But we are not intimidated, we are ready, vigilant to a man. You speak with the language of force, while we try to speak with the language of reason. But we know how to speak in the language of force, too.

Albania is a sensitive strategic key point. Europe must keep this in mind. Some sneer at our fortifications, while arming themselves to the teeth with every kind of weapons, and others underrate our strength. So much the worse for them. Certain journalists whose pens are for hire, certain café politicians with their «analyses of strategic plans» and the Great Serbs in the first place, spread the idea and insinuate that in these or those circumstances, indeed in all circumstances, Albania will be gobbled up by the Russians, will lean to the Soviets, etc.

We tell the Great Serbs, the secret firm friends of the Russians, that there are two ways for the Russo-Bulgarian revisionists to attack Albania in order to reach our part of the Adriatic coast. The one way is through the Vardar and Kosovo and the other through the Straits of Otranto. In the first case, without the slightest doubt, the whole Albanian people living in Kosovo and other regions of Yugoslavia — in Skopje and Kačanik, in Tetova and Gostivar, in Liub and Plava-Guca, will meet the aggressors with guns. The whole of Yugoslavia will be ablaze and the Russo-Bulgarian revisionist invaders, if they ever succeed in reaching our Alps, will be in the same shape as the German Nazis after the battle of Stalingrad.

In the second case, we Albanians hold the key to the Straits of Otranto. Sazan Island and the Karaburun Peninsula — and do not fear that I am revealing any secret, are rocks clad in iron and concrete which the Soviet naval fleet cannot pass.

If our Russo-Bulgarian enemies and others want to embark on such adventures they ought to know that the Albanians are not a state of three million, but a nation of six million people. Ours was a small people in the time of the Second World War, but although alone and unarmed, they defeated and liquidated a considerable number of Italian fascist and German nazi divisions. Now the times have changed in favour of socialist Albania, hence: Hands off Albania!

Albania threatens nobody, it wants to live in friendship with the others, but, if anyone violates its rights and borders, it will retaliate in kind. Likewise, it will reply in the sternest manner to the injustices or insults anybody might employ against it.
I am speaking openly and this is the firm opinion of all our people. We say what we think, others have not failed to speak against us and moreover to slander us. We make no unfounded statements and do not indulge in slanders. Herein lies our strength, and that is why the progressive peoples respect socialist Albania just as we have great respect for them. For this just and benevolent stand, we offer them our heart-felt thanks.

Mssrs the Yugoslav leaders arrogate to themselves the right to raise their voice about the «injustices» the Bulgarian, the Greeks or the Albanians allegedly commit against the Macedonians of Pirin and Aeegeus or the tiny Macedonian minorities in Albania, while we, according to them, have no such right. They accuse us of «interfering in their internal affairs» when we defend the rights, under the laws of the Federation, of our brothers, whom they not only deny their rights, but whom they kill, imprison, and force into emigration, while Serbian and Montenegrin colonists are brought into their birthplace to replace them.

It was Mr Stambolic who launched the slogan of an «ethnically pure Kosova» which the «Albanian nationalists» allegedly demanded. This is not a slogan of the Albanians, but of the Great Serbs, launched in order to drown Kosova in blood. The Serbs and Montenegrins were rightly frightened by this policy of terror and began to flee from fear and because of the poverty that prevails in Kosova. The Great Serbs are now trying to saddle the Albanians with this crime, although they themselves are responsible for the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins.

Recently the Yugoslavs, assisted by their friend — Russia, have been gathering up «Macedonians of the Aeegeus» from all over the place in order to have them as a vanguard for Greece. One fine morning we shall hear that Alexander the Great was a Slav, too. Why shouldn’t they do even this? They have a precedent in the Great-Russian «historian» of the 19th century, Vasilyevsky. In his book on Byzantium he goes to such lengths as to write there in black and white that since the modern Greeks are Orthodox christians, they are Slavs, hence they do not originate from the ancient Greeks who gave mankind one of the most brilliant civilizations in the world. With the full conviction of a Great-Russian chauvinist, Vasilyevsky states quite boldly in his book: «The modern Greeks are of Slav origin.»

The chauvinists of Northern Epirus and certain Greek bishops do the same thing when, basing themselves on the statistics of Phanari of the time of Sultan Hamid II, they describe all the Orthodox christians in Albania as Greeks. And these so-called Greeks, who were supposed to number 400,000 at that time, have remained 400,000 to this very day, although almost 30 years have gone by. According to them, the so-called Greeks of Northern Epirus have neither increased nor decreased, have had neither births nor deaths. Likewise, they say, 28,000 Greeks of the Northern Epirus languish in «Albanian prisons» at all times and all seasons. Unfortunately for those Greek bishops, who have nothing to do with the Greek people. I can tell the Greek people and government on my full authority that in the whole of Albania there are only 33 persons of the Greek minority serving short sentences of imprisonment for various offences, and only 4 of them for political offences. Why is this so with the Greek minority of our country? This is so because our people of the Greek minority are good, honest people, like the Greek people themselves, because they enjoy all the rights which every Albanian citizen enjoys, because everywhere among the Greek minority everything is in their own hands. There the cadres of the Party and state are only people from the Greek minority. In every village of the Greek minority there are primary and agricultural secondary schools and in Gjirokastra there is a teachers training school in Greek. All the other cadres, such as doctors, agronomists, veterinarians, economists, teachers and professors, are people of the Greek minority, and there are houses of culture everywhere. The incomes of the people of the Greek minority are among the highest in our country. We Albanians live like brothers with the people of the Greek minority in our common Homeland. The Greek minority in Albania is not groaning, Mssrs the chauvinists of the Northern Epirus, but singing and prospering.

As for religion, you need not worry about it. To believe or not to believe is a personal right, a question of conscience and not an institutional question: religion cannot be imposed according to the desire or will of the hodjas, the bishops or the Pope of Rome.

I follow the Greek press and have read the questions that some Greek or West-German journalists have put to the people of the Greek minority in our country and the answers they have received from them. One of these journalists asked an old woman of our Greek minority this question:

«Where is your church, where is your priest?»

She answered: «Neither the church nor the priest did anything to save me from the aghas and the beys. When they held sway, they gave me neither bread to eat nor water to drink, neither electricity to light my home nor school for my sons and daughters. Only the National Liberation War, only my Party of Labour gave me all these bles-
sings. That is why I love the Party and not the priest."

The newspaperman went on with his questions to the old woman: «What about the sins you have committed, to whom will you confess?»

Again the old woman replied with subtle humor: «My son has told me, 'Live well in this world, mother, and as for the «other world», blame me and my Party for your sins when you get there'.»

There are hundreds and hundreds of millions of people in the world who do not want to believe in religion. Then why all this astonishment at socialist Albania?

Our state is atheistic by the will of its people, and there is no moral or material force which can impose on it anything different. Our people are masters of their own fate and sentiments. The screams of Northern Epirus chauvinists do not bother the Greek minority and socialist Albania in the least, even if the chauvinists are stirred up and paid under the lap by somebody else, and that somebody is not the fraternal Greek people.

Comrades,

The new elections for deputies to the People's Assembly are being held on the eve of a major event — the celebration of the 70th anniversary of National Independence.

The Albanian people, all the Albanians, wherever they are, have always celebrated with great jubilation the great day of November 28, 1912 when that wise old patriot — Ismail Qemali — heisted the national flag in Vlora and proclaimed the independence of the country.

In celebrating this glorious anniversary, we recall the legendary battles that the Albanian people have waged for centuries on end for the freedom and independence of the Homeland, their titanic efforts to preserve and develop their language and culture, their ardent love for their land and traditions.

Our gratitude and that of the coming generations goes to those Albanian patriots who, even in the most difficult conditions, even at the gravest moments, kept ablaze the torch of patriotism, their unshakeable conviction that better days would certainly come for their people, too. The deed of these patriots remains a permanent source of inspiration and mobilization for us. It calls on us to defend the freedom and independence of the Homeland with self-denial, to always serve the people devotedly to the end, and to work tirelessly for the good and honour of our beloved Albania.

Allow me to take the opportunity of the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the proclamation of independence to greet all our people, as well as all the Albanian patriots in the world, and present my best wishes to them on the occasion of this day dear to our hearts.

The elections to the People's Assembly find work going on at full swing all over the country to put the decisions of the 8th Congress of the Party in practice, to fulfil the important tasks of the 7th Five-year Plan. Let them serve as an inspiration and impulse to further strengthening the steel unity of the people around the Party, to greater mobilization and zest at work, to working with discipline and knowledge, to implementing everywhere the militant slogan of the Party, «Work and Vigilance», to making the people's state power ever stronger, our socialist Albania ever more beautiful, richer and happier.

Long live our people!
Long live the Party of Labour of Albania!
Long live our people's power!

* Famous Albanians and brave Albanians (Greek in the original).
COMRADE ENVER H. ADDI
TO THE EX-DELEGATES OF THE ANTI-FASCIST YC

Dear comrade ex-delegates to the 1st Congress of the Anti-fascist Youth Union of Albania.

Congratulations on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the 1st Congress of the Anti-fascist Youth Union of Albania!

I greet you, the ex-delegates to this Congress, as well as the representatives of the new generations who have come together with you to Helmës to take part in this great festivity. I wish I were with you there, where 40 years ago we worked for some months amongst the brave, patriotic and noble-minded people, not only of this village, but also of all Skrapar district.

I envy you the opportunity you have of meeting together at the beautiful plain of Lirëza. With my mind’s eyes I see the field dotted with white tents, the «hall» of the congress which, although it was a far cry from the halls of our present sports palaces, still had a sort of strange beauty with its wooden stools and tables wafting the sweet fragrance of those mountains. However, I feel your joy and take part in it. I hope your joy will never end, because both you, the ex-delegates, and all our wonderful youth fully deserve to be joyful and happy.

On that unforgettable August day you came to your congress to report on your heroic battles and to pledge that you would carry them through to the end, to the complete liberation of the country and the building of new Albania. And you kept your word: in our free Homeland you built railways and factories, erected and ran schools, became cadres and served on various fronts for the strengthening of the Party, the people’s power and the People’s Army.

Hundreds of thousands of other young men and women have followed and are following now in the road the Party leads them, in the road you and many of your heroic comrades, such as Qemal Stafa and Misto Mame, Manush Alimani and Kastriot Muço, Margarita Tutulani, Ajet Xhindole and many others who laid down their lives for these happy days, have opened for our people.

The Albanian Labour Youth Union has come to all its congresses with ever new achievements in the field of industrial, agricultural, educati-
OXHA'S GREETINGS
EXRESSSED
OF THE 1st CONGRESS
OUTH UNION OF ALBANIA

onal, political-ideological and cultural-scientific development. We are proud of our youth, always brave, persistent at work and lessons, vigi-
lent in the defence of the gains of socialism and Marxism-Leninism. We have a youth as pure as the limpid air and the crystal-clear waters
of the mountains in which you have come together. And so will the
wonderful youth of Albania remain for ever, a youth morally sound,
full of energy, revolutionary and immune to any illness which has
affected whole contingents of the youth in the capitalist and revision-

ist countries.

Comrades,

You are celebrating the 40th anniversary of the 1st Congress of your militant organization in the revolutionary atmosphere which has
ever enveloped the working class, the cooperativist peasantry, the
youth, the women, young and old, in our country which is preparing
itself to meet the 40th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland
and the establishment of the people’s power with ever greater achieve-
ments. More than ever united round the Party, our youth comes to
the great festivity of the 40th anniversary of Liberation proud of
their many victories, ready to engage in other and even greater bat-
tles. The Party has entrusted the youth with the historic task of
carrying the revolution and socialism always forward, of defending
the socialist Homeland with vigilance and even with their blood. I am
convinced that you will always remain first-line fighters, closely
linked with the people, brave, wise and indomitable in the faithful
implementation and loyal defence of the line of the Party for the
construction of socialism and the happiness of the generations of
eternal youth.

Embracing you with love, I wish all of you good health, persis-
tence at work and lessons, and happiness in life.

Long live our heroic youth and its militant organization - the
Albanian Labour Youth Union!

Yours

ENVER HOXHA

Durrës, August 7, 1984
Ah, my beloved Homeland! Seventy-two years have gone by since the proclamation of independence. For 40 years you have been living and advancing in socialism, liberated forever from oppression and exploitation, from the intrigues and villainies of foreign occupiers and the internal enemies. All through the centuries, you, my Albania, have experienced endless sufferings and hardships. Your life has been filled with bloody wars, which have been waged in every corner of your territory, in the mountains and on the plains, in the castles and the humble cottages. You shed your blood, my people, in order to live free and independent like the mountain eagle that you were, with your freedom-loving spirit and dauntless character, with your clear mind and wisdom, your great, courageous and generous heart, your desires and ardent aspirations. You were never afraid to fight against the enemy and slavery, never intimidated by occupation, despite the trickery, the burnings and killings which the enemy engaged in; you never bent the knee to foreigners or accepted betrayal, but always stood proudly and fought back. In your belt you carried the silver-chased pistols, on your shoulders rifles, in your hands the drawn sword and you fought furiously. Attacked from all sides, you were often defeated, but never conquered, my Albania and my people!

It is hard to find in the world another small country like our Albania, with a people such as the Albanian people, who have fought so much, who have dared so much, who have displayed such great courage and wisdom, who have smashed all the enemies and emerged proudly in history, who have emerged free and sovereign, and have seized power through the strength of their own arms, without seeking or enjoying the aid of anyone else. The most ferocious enemies have attacked this valiant people and sought to wipe them from the face of the earth, to eliminate Albania from the map of the world, to partition it and divide it amongst its neighbours, the rulers of which were agents of Great Powers. But in vain. Albania and the Albanians fought and triumphed, they were, are and will be immortal.

Ah, my Albania, my people, history speaks of these great merits. Now history speaks more loudly, but it has spoken in the past, too, although the foreign enemies have done their utmost to stop anyone from hearing your voice. Nevertheless, this voice could not be smothered, because the echo of the Albanians' wars reverberated from the mountains, spread through space and told the world how a dauntless people, with Skanderbeg at the head, be-
CAME THE TERROR OF THE OTTOMANS. WHILE EUROPE TREMBLED BEFORE THE TURKISH SULTANS' Hordes, IN THE MOUNTAINS OF ALBANIA A PEOPLE, LED BY A HERO WHO DEFENDED THE HOMELAND AND EUROPE FROM INVASION, FOUGHT AND RESISTED. MY VALIANT PEOPLE, YOU SHEDTorrents of blood but no one was grateful to you, and despite this, you were not discouraged, because life had taught you that you must take your fate into your own hands and defend and liberate your Homeland.

Many enemies have violated our mother soil — the Romans of Caesar and Mark Antony, the Ottomans, the Serbian hordes, from the time of Stephan Dusan to the Karageorgevices, the Greeks of Venizelos and Zographos, the Italians of the First World War and those of Mussolini, the Austro-Hungarians of Francis Joseph and the Germans of Hitler. But you, the Albanian people, faced up to all these invaders emerging after each occupation more united, more rejuvenated, more determined to refuse to bow your head to anyone.

The archives of the chancelleries of the states of Europe have been filled with documents which testify to your struggle, to your valiant deeds and your ardent aspirations for freedom. But these archives are not open, to this day they remain closed. The archives of Istanbul, Belgrade and Athens, Italy, Austria and France remain closed. But, my heroic people, your majestic history has been written better and more clearly than in the memoranda of foreign chancelleries with your blood and sweat and you yourselves have sung about it generation after generation. Your songs faithfully describe your great history, your customs, habits and costumes; they are hymns to your valour, endurance, loyalty and nobility, to your life in its harmonious development.

Thus you sang them to yourselves, to your blood, to your immortality. These songs inspired the generations that came, armed them with love for the Homeland and for freedom, told them of the courage, determination and dauntless spirit of their forefathers, told them that their freedom, honour, language, customs and culture could be defended only with blood and sweat.

Your songs evoke the aid which you, the Albanian people, have given other peoples in the course of history. They are songs to Skanderbeg and his valiant Albanian fighters who assisted Hunyadi, who assisted in the liberation of the Kingdom of Naples; they are songs to your sons who went and fought as far away as France with Marshal de Querc; they are songs to the valiant fighters of this land who assisted the revolution for the independen-
ce of Greece. Where has the Albanian not fought for freedom, not displayed valour, not displayed vitality and wisdom!

From your ranks, my people, great men have emerged, men who have fought with the rifle and the pen, who have inspired the generations and imbued them with patriotism, with their sense of freedom. These men have dreamed, worked and striven for the Motherland to live free, for the Albanians to gain learning, to assimilate knowledge and build the free Albania, unhampered by chains or by foreigners, in which the Albanian language would flower, «our language so beautiful, so pure», so tuneful in the songs of the inhabitants of the highlands and the plains, of the courageous women and the girls and boys. How greatly that language was loved and valued by the outstanding patriots of all periods, especially those of our National Renaissance, who, with their keen minds, desired that this language should be written and taught in the Albanian schools and that these schools should wipe out from amongst the people the ignorance, the influence of languages of countries which oppressed us, should wipe out the ignorance of the Middle Ages and religions which poisoned the spirit of the Albanian people. These pioneers of the Albanian language sacrificed themselves on the altar of the Homeland, their blood became a beacon-light, their work took root, grew up and developed amidst storms, amidst the suffering and poverty. From the Albanian schools, which were opened through the efforts of these outstanding patriots, emerged people who collected the songs of our history and the customs of the people, which strengthened the determination of the Albanian to liberate himself, which gave us light and the strength of knowledge, until in the end, you, my beloved people, overcame all these hardships.

History had taught you that those peoples who do not fight are eliminated, therefore, you, my people, fought for freedom, for your language, for your customs, for your sacred soil, and you were not eliminated, but triumphed. Centuries went by in ceaseless wars in which you suffered death and destruction but you did not yield and were not quelled, and eventually, on November 29, 1944, together with your freedom you also won power, became masters of your own fate and emerged in the light for ever, because at the head of your struggle you had the heroic Communist Party, to which you, the people, gave birth and which you defended and nurtured with the blood of your finest sons, so that it would grow strong as the moments and your future and that of our Homeland required. This was a well-earned victory.

Rarely has any other people deserved such a victory as you deserved it, my people, because you have been strong, courageous, and optimistic and you have always loved life. You brought forth noble sons and daughters, fiery-hearted, eagle-eyed and strong as the rocks of the Alps, who fell upon the enemy like thunder and lightning. Such were your sons and daughters who led you in battle with songs on their lips together with the war cries, of whose history, battles and sacrifice you, my valiant and great-hearted people, sang.

Not just one or two, or a few thousand individuals, but a whole people were inspired at every moment, in every period, at all the troubled moments of history, by your glorious past, my Homeland. Never was the head of the Albanian confused in storms and blizzards. Never were the Albanian people conquered, but they forged ahead through the storms and conquered the enemies, however mighty, ferocious and well-armed they were.

You, my dear people, were not barbarians, others behaved like barbarians towards you; you, my people, were not without culture, others wanted to impose their enslaving culture on you. You had not only strong muscles, but also keen minds and great hearts, and that is why the invaders could neither assimilate you, nor wipe you out. The enemies have left nothing unsaid against you, but life, struggle, history, has proved them wrong. You have been superior to your enemies from every standpoint.

Your whole life, my people, has been revolution, even when you were starving, naked or dressed in rags, with your bodies bleeding from wounds, but fiery-spirited and unbowed.
At no time has your life been meaningless, but on the contrary, every year, every day of your life, has been filled with struggles and strivings for freedom, justice and economic and social development and progress. This way of life has always kept us vigorous, and the Party of Labour has always had this on the order of the day. The Party has made the revolutionary traditions of our people an inseparable part of our life: the outstanding dates, events and figures of the people are celebrated, sung and written about. A marvellous situation has been created everywhere, the political enlightenment and outstanding patriotism of the people are immortal. As a result of this sound state of affairs Albania is advancing and building socialism successfully, people are conscientious in work and in action, fighters for the great cause of socialism and communism, and young and old love our heroic Party wholeheartedly.

All the blessings which we have created and are enjoying during the years of socialism stem from the National Liberation War of the people led by the Communist Party, which has always been enlightened by Marxism-Leninism — its unerring guide. Guided by this ideology from the time of its creation, the Party was able to imbue and temper the new man of socialist Albania with the patriotism of centuries, to unite and mobilize the whole people in the sacred war for freedom, to lead them on such a course that, besides winning their freedom, the people took power in their own hands, established the people's state power and set to work to make our beloved Albania a flourishing garden, the free country of free people.

We fought and triumphed, the whole of Albania was raised to its feet during the National Liberation War. All our villages became nurseries of partisans. The whole people was able to unite firmly around the Party, drove the barbarous foreign invaders from our soil once and for all, overthrew the power of the feudal lords, beys and capitalists, and punished the traitors as they deserved. Many of the finest sons of this people fell with honour on the field of battle, but they became torch-bearers and today all over Albania their remains rest in monumental cemeteries to which the people go continually to pay the greatest homage, because the blood they shed cemented the foundations of the new Albania.

All the foreigners who visit our country bow with respect before the graves of our heroes and say with conviction and admiration that these people have fought, have shed their blood and that war has been waged on every inch of this soil.

After Liberation you, my people, continued the struggle heroically. The Party led you in even greater, even more difficult battles, the battles for socialism which you had to win through toil and sweat, through knowledge and determination. Day by day, you are working, triumphing and advancing without laying down the rifle and without bending the knee to old enemies or to new ones in all kinds of disguises.

The Party, the people and socialism, filled Albania with great factories, combines and hydro-power stations, made the plains flourish, beautified hills and mountains with terraces, planted forests up to the Alps, and developed the livestock farming and agriculture of which Naim sang with such passion, filled the country with schools, cultural and scientific institutions, wiped out the illiteracy, the darkness and backwardness of the past, and brought the light of learning, development and scientific progress everywhere. Socialist Albania today is the only country in the world which is building socialism entirely with its own forces, without accepting credits from anyone and without being indebted to anyone, a country without taxes, without inflation and unemployment, a country where schooling and the medical service are free of charge. Every corner of Albania has been transformed to its foundations, the life of our long-suffering people has changed radically and has become secure, enlightened and prosperous. Above all, during this whole process, the Party united all the people more firmly and made them conscious of their great and decisive role in history.

This beautiful Albania which you, my Party, have built amidst so many storms, struggles and intrigues, this happy life which we enjoy today, this new man whom you formed,
are your glorious works which you achieved through the strength of your people, through your determination and maturity, and through your mind enlightened by Marxism-Leninism, without holding out your hand to foreigners. Not only has the aid of foreigners been very restricted, but as experience has proved, although provided under the disguise of proletarian internationalism, in essence it had an enslaving imperialist character. Believing that it did not have an enslaving character, the Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania accepted this aid in order to set the country on its feet again. But when we saw that with the aid that they provided the Titoites, the Soviet revisionists and those of the countries of Eastern Europe, and Mao Zedong’s China had ulterior, hostile, enslaving aims, or intended to turn Albania into an appendage dependent on them, so that it would lose its freedom and independence, we tore the mask from them and told them bluntly and clearly that socialist Albania, the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people were not for sale for a handful of rags, or for a few rubles, dinars or yuan, just as they had not sold themselves to the Anglo-American imperialists for their handful of rags or for their pounds sterling and dollars.

For 40 years on end, my valiant Albania, you have kept the honoured flag of Marxism-Leninism flying, just as through the centuries you have kept the flag of freedom flying, the red flag with the two-headed eagle, to which you added a five-pointed star, the star of freedom, the star of socialism and communism.

Not for one moment during the 40 years of life in socialism have you, my people, with the Party of Labour at the head, allowed the new perfidious and powerful enemies to conquer you. Once again you drew the sword, which was now keener-edged, tempered in the fires of repeated battles, and forged on the anvil of history. With this sword you, my Party, mercilessly struck down the imperialists and reactionaries, struck down the modern revisionists of all hues, and compelled those secret revisionists, who, for their own hegemonic aims, seemed to be, and from time to time posed as if they were, Marxist-Leninists and our friends, to throw off their disguise. With these stands and your lofty example, you, my Party, performed your internationalist duty and, at the same time, told others that the struggle against the revisionist currents must not cease, that there could be no agreement or compromise with them, because they were renegades and traitors. The word of our Party, its clear thinking, its courage and determination, shone forth and became beacon-lights for the peoples and revolutionaries in the world.

You, my socialist Homeland, led by the Party of Labour, waged this heroic struggle with astonishing vigour, and your powerful voice was listened to because you rose resolutely against Titoism which was unmasked in the eyes of the whole world as an ideological and political agency of American imperialism and world reaction. Over a long period you have always struggled and raised your voice against American imperialism and all the reactionary bourgeoisie of the world which seeks to keep the peoples and the proletariat of the whole world under its heel, and in the same way you have raised your voice against the Soviet social-imperialists who are struggling for world hegemony, to oppress the peoples by threatening them with the force of arms, and atomic bombs. Later your powerful voice was raised to the skies of this troubled world against the practice and theory of Mao Zedong and the entire Chinese leadership which betrayed Marxism-Leninism and set out on the revisionist course to make China an imperialist world superpower.

Infuriated by the just stands, the determination and the courage of a small people and a valiant Party, the imperialist and revisionist enemies left nothing unsaid against us. They speak and write angrily and with evil aims, «What is this people, what is this Party which is making such a clamour, what are these stubborn creatures who are not afraid to oppose powerful states?! They must be crushed, they must be liquidated, they must be brought to their knees, starved into submission through blockades...» However, they are gravyly mista-
ken, as they have always been mistaken, because they have not known and have not wanted
to know the history of the Albanian people, the manly character of the Albanian, have not
wanted to recognize what lofty meaning the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the
Homeland has always had for the Albanian. As the capitalists, imperialists and reactionaries
they are they have thought and still think that nothing can withstand their economic and
military strength and their ideology. But, you see, the peoples, whether big or small, have
the strength to resist enemies. The peoples who fight always triumph; the enemies are quite
unable to destroy the Marxist-Leninist parties which stand unwaveringly on their principles.
Marxism-Leninism, which guides the proletariat, the genuine communist parties and the
peoples who are demanding liberation and their rights, is invincible.

The struggle against Soviet revisionism and all modern revisionism is one of your most
brilliant epics, my Party. This heroic struggle is an honour and pride for you, the working
class of Albania, for you, the Albanian people, for you, our socialist Albania! All the states of
the world, of whatever regime, all the peoples, all the political currents, friendly and hostile,
cannot but admit that you are completely free, independent, and stand as firm as granite.

Our socialist Albania, you withstood the furious waves of enemies and did not yield.
Your just, courageous, revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist stands have made numerous friends
and admirers from all countries rally round you; even though you were small, the world
proletariat looked and looks to you with hope and trust, because in your course and deter-
mination it sees its great ideal, Marxism-Leninism, the struggle for the revolution, the struggle
for the overthrow of the reactionary forces which oppress and exploit it, accomplished and
invincible. You have told and tell the proletariat and the peoples the truth, and the truth has
extraordinary importance. The truth gives you vigour, does not allow you to fall into the abyss
and break your neck, illuminates the way, opens new paths, causes mighty forces to emerge
from the bosom of the people to overcome all the enemies, all the difficulties, and all the in-
trigues.

With their stands and opinions, socialist Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania
have given and give heart and confidence to all and tell the proletariat and the peoples: stand
as we stand, fight as we fight, because you will triumph as we have triumphed and are triumph-
ing. Our victory is certain, our victory is a common victory, therefore, we must close our
ranks in the heat of the war against enemies. Open fire on the revisionists, betrayers of the
working class and the peoples, open fire on the imperialist plans of big world capital, because
only in this way can the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the Homeland be won,
and the revolution develop and triumph. All the talk about taking power by means of re-
forms is poppycock. The bourgeoisie and capitalism can never agree to allow the working
class, the most advanced class in the world to which the future belongs, to take power. On the
contrary, every day the enemies of the peoples and the proletariat are preparing sugar-coated
poison pills and forging new chains of enslavement, therefore, only by fighting against the
old system of the power of capital can the peoples and the proletariat triumph step by step
and take power into their own hands. The Party of Labour followed this course and thus the
Albanian people were liberated, and so socialist Albania has been built and is advancing.

In all your actions, heroic Party, you have had a lofty aim, and have always proceeded
cautiously but without fear. Your stand has never been one of crawling, you have never been
opportunist, but neither have you been sectarian, you have always marched forward on the
Marxist-Leninist course. Your sole aim throughout has been the good of the peoples. You
have sincerely loved the genuine Marxist-Leninists, have defended them to the end, and will
always defend them in this way. You have always stated your opinions openly, gently when
necessary, but you have raised your tone when this has been required. With those who have
made mistakes, you have tried patiently to correct them, have advised them wisely, and at
the same time, you have listened attentively to any valuable advice and have learned from it.
You have supported their correct actions, but when they have been wrong you have criticised them. This is the course you have always followed, but when the cup has been filled, and you have been convinced that there is no way other than that of struggle, you have not been afraid but have declared war on enemies and have never ceased this struggle.

We have never retreated or made any concessions to enemies. History has taught us this, we have learned it not only from our own sufferings and hardships but also from those of all the peoples of the world, from their countless struggles during the centuries.

Marxism-Leninism has opened our eyes with the conclusions drawn from the analyses which it has made of the development of society through the class struggle. It teaches us that the class struggle is the motor of society, which keeps you alive, gives you strength, gives you victory. If you extinguish this struggle the bourgeoisie and capitalism will stranggle and enslave you, and our people have never liked slavery. On the contrary, our people have always fought against the grip of slavery. Therefore, our Party has never ceased the class struggle, either internally or in the international arena, and never will cease it, even for a moment. For 40 years on end our people and Party have resolutely opposed and combated everything old and conservative, opportunist and liberal, all those who have tried openly or secretly to divert us from our correct course, we have fought any force or ideology which has aimed to infect the consciousness of our people, to hinder our march towards better days, towards the present and the more secure future. We have always kept the class struggle ablaze, and it is precisely this great and revolutionizing motive force which has made our small Homeland unshakeable «either by the cannon, or the bomb», as the folk song says, that is, either by revisionism, capitalism, or reaction.

We have many friends and admirers in the world. Our friends are all the peoples of the world who have a great love and respect for Albania, speak with admiration about our country and our socialist reality, and want to know where we find this strength, because they still do not understand how this reality has been achieved. Therefore, it is our duty to make the victories of the Party of Labour, the Albanian people and socialist Albania known in all their aspects to the peoples, to explain them not only with the present, but with all the glorious past history of the Albanian people. These victories are like a steel chain, the links of which are the revolutionary events inseparable from each other, which represent, at different stages, the permanent ideals of the freedom, independence, democracy, and unity of our nation, of our well-being, culture and ceaseless progress. We must explain to our brothers and admiring friends that this chain of the life of the Albanian people has achieved unprecedented toughness at the present day, thanks to Marxism-Leninism which we are trying to understand profoundly in all its aspects and to faithfully apply its principles in the conditions of our country and the international situation.

We have not permitted the principles of our foreign policy to be subordinated to the momentary changes in the world situation. We always take the international political and economic situation into account, but in our relations with other states, in our stands, we have always been guided by the Marxist-Leninist principles because they are the key to the correct understanding and assessment of world events, circumstances that arise, the intrigues and aims of imperialism towards the aspirations of the revolutionary forces, the peoples and the proletariat of each country and the whole world.

Because of all these things, when the red-letter days, the 28th and 29th of November, draw near, socialist Albania celebrates in the full meaning of the term. Everywhere there is rejoicing over the work, the achievements and the fine new life. The whole people sing about and rejoice over the great victories that have been achieved in all fields, the new socialist life, the security and great and clear prospects for the future.

I feel boundless satisfaction when I see on the TV, hear on the radio, or read in the papers about the great construction work that is going on all over the Homeland, about the
triumphs and successes which have been achieved, one after the other, in all fields. It warms my heart when I see our tireless and skilful workers and specialists building dams, constructing machinery, and setting modern plants and combines in action with competence and skill; when I see the cooperativists in the plains, the hills and the mountains, carefully cultivating the crops and getting yields of world level; when I see the great army of our new socialist intelligentsia, the pupils and students, bending over books, or in laboratories, working on sketches and designs; when alongside men, everywhere, I see the Albanian girls and women whom the Party drew into life, working and singing, producing and managing, and raising healthy happy children, the future of the Homeland. The whole of Albania is in movement, in development, in consistent progress. Today every inch of it is the scene of construction and creation, and a school, and a barricade insurmountable to the enemies, and a stage where our people, the creators of everything, sing to the Party, their life, to freedom and socialism.

The people themselves, with the Party at the head, have created such a situation, that is why when they are working and rejoicing, especially when they come to celebrations, our people express with astonishing force the fine pure feelings which inspire them to even greater deeds.

For us, the soldiers of the Party, there can be no greater satisfaction than this, when we see you, our people, masters of your own fate, happy, contented, and free in a sovereign and independent Albania, in an Albania transformed into an impregnable fortress, and with ceaseless socialist development. The satisfaction and pride which we feel is the fruit of the great victories we have achieved, of our uninterrupted efforts, of our permanent concern to ensure that our Party is always at the head, as our tested guide.

We have lived through the past 40 years as revolutionaries know how to live, build and defend. In these years of the epoch of the Party our dear Albania has been transformed to its very foundations, has known that growth, that renewal, that all-round development which it had not experienced for whole centuries. Everything about it is new and healthy, its appearance and content, its life which is flourishing and gaining new dimensions, the new man endowed with the lofty virtues of the communist ideology, happy and proud about what has been achieved, convinced and conscious about the continuity of our course, of our efforts, our honour and prestige.

During the coming decades the people and Party, firmly united, as always, will do even more for this dear land, for this country of eagles. Hence, let us guard what we have achieved as the apple of our eye, let us go on consistently to develop it further, to leave the coming generations an Albania ever stronger, always red, like the undying flame of the hearts and ideals of communists and partisans, an Albania which will live and progress through the centuries. I am convinced that the people and the Party will raise our triumphant flag higher and higher, will raise the honour, prestige and name of socialist Albania higher and higher in the world.

To our beloved socialist Albania, to our wonderful heroic people,

Greetings on the occasion of the November celebrations!
Comrades, communists, workers, cooperativists, intellectuals, women and youth of Albania, veterans of the National Liberation War and compatriots,

With great sorrow and deep grief we inform you that today, on 11 April 1985, at 02.15 hours, the heart of the beloved and glorious Leader of the Party and our people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Chairman of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, General Commander of the Armed Forces of the PSR of Albania, ceased to beat.

The founder of our glorious Party, the organizer and leader of the National Liberation War and our people's revolution, the architect of the construction of the new socialist Albania, departed from us. The heroic Commander of our National Liberation Army, the Man who created the Democratic Front and laid the foundations of the People's Power, closed his eyes.

The life and work of Comrade Enver Hoxha is the living history of the present-day Albania. His name is connected with all the class battles and all the victories of the Party and the Albanian people.

His thought and personality have always been present in all the stages through which our people have gone, from the day when the Communist Party was founded to this day, at any moment when the fates of the people and the Homeland hung in the balance. His leadership and guidance have been decisive at all the key moments when decisions were made on the course to be followed and the battles to be waged.

A staunch revolutionary and a devoted patriot, Comrade Enver Hoxha was the first among the Albanian communists to understand the great historic need for the creation of the Communist Party, the only staff capable of uniting the people and leading them in the war for the liberation of Albania and the establishment of the people's power. His great historic merit is the creation of this staff, of strengthening it organizationally and educating it ideologically at the very grave moments of the fascist occupation and oppression, and
the betrayal of the nation by the old political forces. At the head of the Party, He drafted and worked out the general political line of the National Liberation War, found and defined the roads to the achievement of the victory of 29 November 1944, in fierce clashes with external and internal enemies, with opportunists and factionalists.

Under the leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Party united the Albanian people in the National Liberation Front. He was the initiator and organizer of the historic Conference of Peza. For the first time in their history our people achieved their fighting unity on the basis of a platform which expressed their genuine desires and aspirations. It was this unity which faced up to the savage forces of the fascist occupiers and traitors to the country.

Comrade Enver Hoxha is the direct organizer of the National Liberation Army. Under His command, our glorious partisans fought with unrivalled heroism within and beyond the borders of Albania, and with the support of the patriotic forces of the whole people, liberated our beloved Homeland.

The people's power and the new Albanian state, which were born in the heat of the National Liberation War, are built on the revolutionary thinking and leading activity of Comrade Enver Hoxha. Under His care and according to His teachings, the people's councils became the powerful weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the democracy for the masses, and of the construction of socialism.

Comrade Enver Hoxha drafted and worked out the program of magnificent transformations and the construction of the new socialist society. The victorious battles for the industrialization of the country, the building of all the monumental projects which gave the country its new working class and a powerful base for its all-round economic and social development, were waged under the leadership of the communists, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head.
Relying on Marxism-Leninism and knowing the sufferings and centuries-old aspirations of our patriotic peasantry, Comrade Enver Hoxha gave the fundamental orientations for the collectivization and modernization of agriculture. The correctness of the road mapped out by the Party is clearly seen in the present reality of our cooperativist village.

Comrade Enver Hoxha led the Party and the people in the deep-going ideological and cultural revolution which has been carried out in our country. If Albania today is an advanced socialist country which develops on its own forces, the land of people freed from any social and spiritual oppression, the land of democracy and well-being for all, of education and culture for the broad masses of the people, all this is due to the struggle which the Albanian people have waged with the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head.

There is no field of political, ideological and social activity of our Party and state in which the philosophical thinking, the organizational power and leading activity of Comrade Enver Hoxha have not been manifested. He has worked out the general line of the foreign policy and stands of our Party and state over international questions. This policy, firm opposition to American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and world reaction, sincere support for the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the peoples, and solidarity with the democratic and anti-imperialist forces, has strengthened the international position of our country, has increased the sympathy and respect for socialist Albania in the world, has increased the number of its friends and well-wishers.

Under the leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Party of Labour of Albania has waged a heroic struggle against modern revisionism. No one has defended the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin against opportunist distortions with such great revolutionary feeling, at any time and in any situation, as he did, no one has exposed the social-imperialist and social-chauninist policies and activities of the Titosites, the Khrushchevites and other renegades, as he did.

No one has fought with such energy and determination against the internal enemies of the Party, the factionalist groups and foreign agents from Koçi Xoxe to the gang of Mehmet Shehu, as he did. This struggle has saved our Party, people and Homeland.

Comrade Enver Hoxha ranks among those outstanding revolutionaries who have made a great and special contribution to the development of the Marxist-Leninist theoretical thinking bearing on all the questions of the revolution and the construction of socialism. His summing up of the experience of the liberation war and the practice of the building of our new society, His analyses of the processes of current world development and their conclusions of great ideological value, serve as bearings and reference for the day-to-day revolutionary activity.

As a true internationalist, He has tirelessly supported the new Marxist-Leninist parties and their revolutionary struggle, has always stood by them and attentively followed their struggle for their consolidation and advancement.
Comrade Enver Hoxha is the greatest historic figure of our people and nation, which will illuminate the road for the present and coming generations with its undying light. He will live for ever beloved, honoured and respected in the hearts of all the communists and our people. With His Work and teachings, He will always stand by them in order to inspire them in their struggle and work for the good of the Homeland and communism.

Let His ardent call addressed to the Albanian people on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland:

"Let us guard what we have achieved as the apple of our eye, let us go on consistently to develop it further, to leave the coming generations an Albania ever stronger, always red, like the undying flame of the hearts and ideals of communists and partisans, an Albania which will live and progress through the centuries. I am convinced that the people and the Party will raise our triumphant flag higher and higher, will raise the honour, prestige and name of socialist Albania higher and higher in the world," remain always our battle flag.

This is the unanimous pledge which our Party of Labour and the whole Albanian people take today.

In these moments of deep sorrow over the loss of our beloved Leader, comrade and teacher, Enver Hoxha, let us strengthen our steel unity and close our ranks even tighter round the Party and its Central Committee, let us mobilize even more our forces so as to make our Albania what Comrade Enver Hoxha wanted it to be, strong, prosperous and advanced, let us work tirelessly as He worked and fought for half a century on end in order to raise its name ever higher.

Glory to the brilliant and immortal Work of Comrade ENVER HOXHA!

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

THE PRESIDIUM OF THE PEOPLE’S ASSEMBLY OF THE PEOPLE’S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA

THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE PEOPLE’S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA

THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT OF ALBANIA

Tirana, April 11, 1985